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THIS is a narrative of the organization and growth of an American educational institution, a detail in the social history of America. It is the story of how Trinity College, which is now the central undergraduate school of Duke University, arose out of the needs of a community in the up-country of North Carolina. The story follows chronologically the progress of the institution from its beginning as Brown's Schoolhouse, an elementary subscription school (?-1839); to Union Institute, a private academy (1839-1851); to Normal College, a state-affiliated training school for teachers (1851-1856); to Trinity College, a liberal arts college controlled by the North Carolina Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, (1856-1892).

From its beginning the general purpose of the school was to provide better educational opportunities for the plain people. Union Institute was organized with the "view of reaching the common walks of life with a more thorough education than had been previously afforded them." When the academy was converted into Normal College, a similar aim was expressed: "to promote the interest of the great middle class of people." After this "People's College" became Trinity, its general educational aim remained unchanged. As a "democratic Christian

(Continued on back flap)

College," the reorganized liberal arts school was supported by the middle ranks of society.

Its leaders were drawn from the people whom the school sought to serve. Rugged, God-fearing, and quick to respond to the demands of contemporary society, these leaders, like the College, "fought their way upward." Their successes and failures were a part of the struggles of the school as well as a part of the successes and failures of a people seeking a larger share in opportunities promised in the Declaration of Independence and the American Bill of Rights.

* * * * *

Nora Campbell Chaffin, a native of North Carolina, did her undergraduate work at Trinity College, Durham, and received the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. from Duke University. She taught in several North Carolina high schools and was an instructor at Duke University when she was appointed Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of History at Vanderbilt University. She now holds the rank of Associate Professor.

From 1945 to 1947 Miss Chaffin served as Editorial Associate for the *Journal of Southern History*. In addition to her numerous articles in the *Duke Alumni Register*, she has contributed articles to the *North Carolina Historical Review*, *The Southern Association Quarterly*, and many North Carolina newspapers.

DUKE UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University

DATE DUE

Braxton Craven, about 1876

Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University

By

NORA CAMPBELL CHAFFIN

DURHAM, N. C.
DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1950

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1950

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Preface

THIS IS A NARRATIVE of the organization and growth of an American educational institution. It is the story of how Trinity College, which is now the central undergraduate school of Duke University, arose out of the needs of a community in the upcountry of rural North Carolina. The story follows chronologically the progress of the institution from its beginning as Brown's Schoolhouse, an elementary subscription school (?—1839); to Union Institute, a private academy (1839–1851); to Normal College, a state-affiliated training school for teachers (1851–1856); to Trinity College, a liberal arts college controlled by the North Carolina conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1856–1892).

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Its leaders were drawn from the people whom the school sought to serve. Rugged, God-fearing, and quick to respond to the demands of contemporary society, these leaders, like the College, "fought their way upward." Their successes and failures were a part of the struggles of the school as well as a part of the successes and failures

of a people seeking a larger share in opportunities promised in the Declaration of Independence and the American Bill of Rights.

In the preparation of this work the author has incurred many obligations which she gratefully acknowledges. The study was begun under the inspiration of the late President William Preston Few and the late Professor William Kenneth Boyd. For a few years before his death Professor Boyd was engaged in research into the history of Trinity College. It was his purpose to write a history in connection with the celebration of the centennial year of Trinity College, Duke University. Professor Boyd lived to write only a part of the projected history. After his death Mrs. Boyd presented his manuscript to President Few, who in turn gave it into the hands of the author, formerly a student and research assistant associated with Professor Boyd. Part of Professor Boyd's work is a brief discussion of the history of North Carolina contemporaneous with the development of Brown's Schoolhouse, Union Institute Academy, Normal and Trinity colleges. With the permission of the late President Few, this summary is presented as an introduction to the author's study.

Professor Charles Sackett Sydnor has given generously of his time in reading and in criticizing the entire work, and whatever merit it may possess is due in large part to the benefits of his experience as a historian of the South. Helpful suggestions were made by Professor Richard Harrison Shryock. The late Colonel John F. Bruton, of Wilson, North Carolina, clarified sources and pointed out records. Materials and other information were made accessible through the help of Dr. Robert Lee Flowers. The late Dr. Henry R. Dwire not only made available records and other aids, but also read parts of the manuscript and shared his experience as a publisher. Professor William Thomas Laprade, Dr. Alice Mary Baldwin, Professor Ruth Margery Addoms, Professor Archibald Currie Jordan, Mr. David Kelly Jackson, and Mr. Ashbel G. Brice have read critically the entire manuscript, and in other ways contributed to the study. Dean William Hane Wannamaker, Mr. Charles B. Markham, Dr. Charles E. Jordan, Mr. W. A. Tyree, Professors Paul Hibbert Clyde, Bayrd Still, and Louise Hall, Bishop Paul Neff Garber, Dr. Nannie May Tilley, the late Professor Holland Holton,

Miss Lucille Gainey, and Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Benedict read parts of the manuscript or rendered other help. The map of Union Institute was drawn by Miss Noma Lee Goodwin.

Records or illustrations were furnished by Professor and Mrs. William Baskerville Hamilton; Professor Robert H. Woody; Mrs. Alfred James Henderson; Mrs. Laura D. Worth, Asheboro, North Carolina; Miss Elizabeth C. Faw, Marietta, Georgia; Mr. John R. Peacock, Mrs. C. C. Hayworth, and Mr. Victor King, High Point, North Carolina; Mr. J. W. Alspaugh, Miss Adelaide Fries, and Mr. James A. Gray, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Miss Hattie Tomlinson, Archdale, North Carolina; Mrs. Bruce Craven and Mrs. Nereus C. English, Trinity, North Carolina; and the late Miss Kate Craven, Durham, North Carolina. Other friends of Trinity College and Duke University made suggestions and extended courtesies.

Mrs. Blanche Henry Clark Weaver, formerly a member of the history department of Vanderbilt University, prepared the index. The author is indebted to her for scholarly advice as well as for service beyond the maximum requirements.

The staffs of the Duke University Press, the Duke University Department of Public Relations and Alumni Affairs, the State Department of Archives, the Library of the University of North Carolina, and the Duke University Library have co-operated most generously and at times have suggested sources which might otherwise have been overlooked.

Finally, the author wishes to express her gratitude to the administration of Duke University, which granted her leave of absence in the spring of 1942 to complete this study.

N. C. C.

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Trinity College, 1839-1892:

The Beginnings of Duke University

"WHOEVER serves Trinity College can at all times feel himself compassed about with a cloud of witnesses, both among the living and the dead. In the hard services of humanity the College has tried as by fire those who govern, those who administer, those who teach, her patrons and friends, all her servants and her sons, and their friendship is correspondingly pure gold."—WILLIAM PRESTON FEW, "Twenty-five Years of Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (July, 1917), 163.

Introduction

I

THE FOURTH DECADE of the nineteenth century, which marked the genesis of the movement resulting in the foundation of Trinity College, was an epochal one in the political and social development of North Carolina. The state's area, as now, was 52,426 square miles, the boundary extending some 500 miles from seacoast to mountains and averaging about 100 miles north to south. The population in 1830 included 737,987 people: 472,843 whites and 265,144 colored. Natural resources had not been made to yield their maximum in worldly goods. Seventy-five per cent of the people made their living from agriculture, but the tobacco crop was far less than that of Virginia, and cotton production less than in the states to the south and west. The day of industry and the exchange of goods on a large scale had not yet dawned. Indeed, in 1830 and for several years thereafter, a sense of gloom, of despair, of defeatism permeated every discussion of North Carolina and its prospects. Land values in 1833 were less than in 1815, though more acreage was listed for taxation. The number of slaves was increasing at a greater ratio than that of the whites, and between 1830 and 1840 the increase of white people was less than 3 per cent. Illiteracy hung like a pall over the land. "It is a melancholy fact," wrote a citizen of Edgecombe County in 1824, "that many of our farmers of wealth and character, nay, even many of our instructors and clergy, are notoriously deficient in Orthography, Reading, Writing, and the commonest rules of vulgar Arithmetic."[1] Some years later

[1] Charles L. Coon, *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840* (North Carolina Historical Commission *Publications*, Raleigh, 1908), I, 246.

a report estimated that half of every family, on the average, was unable to read and write, and a Presbyterian minister estimated the number of illiterates at 120,000.[2] The census of 1840 computed 209,554 white persons above the age of twenty, of whom over 25 per cent were illiterate. As these estimates suggest, there were no public schools before 1838. In 1826 certain assets in the state treasury, such as stocks in banks and navigation companies, were set aside to establish a Literary Fund, the dividends of which in time would be appropriated for common schools. There was also but one college, the University of North Carolina. Educational opportunity was practically limited to private schools and academies, numbering 141 in 1840. Ignorance and prejudice arising from the low state of education were often capitalized. Dr. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University, wrote in 1832:

> I have been placed in circumstances, and there are few I fear who have not been similarly situated, where it would be dangerous to the election of a candidate to have it thought that he had any pretensions to an inclination of culture, at least beyond a bare capacity to read. And some miserable being, to secure the great objective of his ambition, has frontlessly presented it as a sure and glorious passport to success over the head of a rival who was so unfortunate as to have had some education, that he belonged to the class of the ignorant, with whom the greater part considered it their glory to be ranked.[3]

The plight of trade and transportation was also serious. The seaboard had no good harbors, and so foreign commerce languished, leading to a dependence on the ports of South Carolina and Virginia. There were no good roads connecting the Coastal Plain with the hinterland of the Piedmont. Routes of trade generally followed the river courses. The major streams of the Western counties—the Yadkin and the Catawba—drained into South Carolina, and the commercial contacts of Salisbury and the regions beyond were with Charleston and Augusta rather than with Wilmington or New Bern. The result was a group isolation unknown today. "The citizens of the West are familiar with the laws, the institutions, the towns of Tennessee, of South Carolina, and Georgia," said an official report of 1833. Another wrote:

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 813, 862.
[3] *Ibid.*, II, 563-564.

A few of them have visited New York and other Eastern cities: but the individual is rare who possesses any accurate information with respect to Wilmington or New Bern. On our Northeastern border Virginia is much more extensively known to our citizens than the state which should be the object of their affections: and on the South, an extensive intercourse with Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston, transfers to those towns the attachments which should center at home.[4]

The effect of such conditions on business was thus summarized:

Having no commercial city in which the staples of our soil can be exchanged for foreign merchandise, our merchants purchase their goods and contract their debts in Charleston, Petersburg, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Part of these debts are discharged by shipments of produce: the balance in cash. Almost every year the State is literally drained of money to pay debts abroad.[5]

It is not surprising that North Carolina was a good state to come *from*. The Federal census of 1850 showed that over 33 per cent of living North Carolinians resided in some other state than that of their nativity. An index of the low state of public spirit was the amount of revenue collected, $50,000 in 1800; $111,000 in 1830.

There could be no improvement in these conditions except by the establishment of social and economic institutions, such as schools and means of communication, supported at public expense. To this the great obstacle was local sectionalism. Nature designed North Carolina for more than one commonwealth. Within its boundaries are three distinct zones or sections. The first extends from the Atlantic Ocean inland for a distance of approximately one hundred miles, an undulating, nearly level region embracing two fifths of the state's area, a part of the great Coastal Plain which stretches from New Jersey to Florida. It was once covered by the sea, being elevated above water by more than one upheaval. The soils are of clay and sand, intermixed with alluvial deposits from the rivers. In marked contrast is the Piedmont, which begins approximately one hundred miles from the sea coast and extends westward nearly two hundred miles to the Appalachian Mountains. It is a peneplain interspersed with hills and the remains of extinct mountain ranges.

[4] Quoted in William Kenneth Boyd, *History of North Carolina: The Federal Period, 1783-1860* (Chicago and New York, 1919), p. 98.

[5] William Henry Hoyt, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphy* (North Carolina Historical Commission *Publications*, Raleigh, 1914), II, 107.

The soils are more varied than on the Coastal Plain, the rivers more swift and not navigable, but abounding in water power. Beyond, between the Blue Ridge and Great Smokies, rises the Appalachian Plateau, a region of rough mountains noted for scenery and climate.

This sectionalism of nature was reinforced by racial and economic influences. The Coastal Plain was colonized to a large extent by people of English extraction who migrated from other colonies to seek better lands in the alluvial valleys of the tidewater rivers. Gradually an agricultural economy based on slave labor developed. Tobacco, naval stores, and cotton became the staple products. In contrast, many early settlers of the Piedmont were Scotch-Irish and Germans who had emigrated from Pennsylvania and elsewhere. The staples found on the Coastal Plain did not flourish, except cotton in the counties along the South Carolina border and tobacco along the Virginia border. Slave labor was not so extensive: the farm rather than the plantation was more prevalent. The Appalachian Plateau in its economy resembled the Piedmont rather than the Coastal Plain; there slaves were fewer than in the other regions, life was simpler, society more primitive.

Bound up with geographical and economic sectionalism was political privilege. Representation in the legislature was apportioned equally among the counties, but since colonial days the East, as the Coastal Plain was popularly called, had had the major number of counties and therefore had dominated state politics. But in the early years of the nineteenth century the West (the Piedmont and beyond) increased in population, and its natural resources were greater. Because of necessity and also because of its underprivileged status, the West demanded reforms, political and economic—a reapportionment of representation and public aid for transportation and education. Adamant in opposition was the East: the western herd should not be turned into the political pasture; aid for roads and canals could be secured only if the East were given the lion's share of the appropriations. Thus political sectionalism overshadowed all issues and apparently was a permanent impediment to economic and institutional progress.

But American society has never been static; the forces for change are stronger than those for reaction, and during the years between

1830 and 1840 the cause of progress triumphed. First came a political revolt. In 1834 there was a strong reaction against the policies of President Andrew Jackson, and the Whig party was born. To win a state staunchly Jacksonian, the issue of constitutional reform was successfully championed; and in 1835 a constitutional convention so revised representation as to give the West more adequate membership in the legislature, and also placed the election of the governor in the hands of the people. Then in 1836 appeared a gift from the gods. The Federal Government distributed its surplus revenue among the states, and North Carolina's share was $1,433,757.39. Of this, the sum of $300,000 was appropriated to extinguish the state debt; $100,000 to current expenses; and the remainder divided between the Literary Fund and the Fund for Internal Improvements, on condition that the income from the investments of the Internal Improvements Fund be credited to the Literary Fund. So the causes of schools and transportation were linked together. The Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad was promptly given a subscription of $600,000; by 1838 the assets of the Literary Fund had reached $1,943,163, and a distribution of dividends among the counties for common schools was authorized. A new day had dawned—the state had begun to act for its citizens. In later years other railroads were built with state aid; asylums for the deaf and dumb, blind, and insane were established; and from 1838 to 1860, $2,303,638 was appropriated for common schools from the Literary Fund. This was supplemented by $1,051,819 from local taxation, making a total expenditure of $3,369,058. But the influence of local sectionalism did not disappear. The contrast of East and West remained. With hardly an exception, the heralds of reform, the leaders of progress, were from the West; and the sectional cleavage was illustrated in the location of colleges and college life. All the institutions of higher education for men were located in the Piedmont, and at Chapel Hill and Trinity boys from the West joined respectively the Dialectic and Hesperian literary societies; those from the East, the Philanthropic and Columbian.

II

Significant, too, in that decade which marked the beginning of a new day, was the impulse toward higher education. In 1830 a

group of Missionary Baptists organized the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, one of the objectives being to establish a school "to afford to our young ministers facilities for obtaining such an education as to qualify them to be able ministers of the New Testament." To this end the purchase of a farm in Wake County fifteen miles north of Raleigh was authorized, and in February, 1834, the Wake Forest Institute was opened. There was but one teacher, and the number of students the first year was seventy-two, of whom only four were ministerial—a fact of great significance, indicating that education under the aegis of the Church could not be confined to the training of preachers, and so the institution soon became a college of arts. In the meantime the Legislature of North Carolina, in December, 1833, had been approached for a charter. It was not revealed that not all Baptists favored the establishment of the Wake Forest Institute. The anti-Missionaries were opposed to the entire program of those who would foster missions, a state convention, and education. Their thought centered in a hyper-Calvinism. God in his own time and way would accomplish the repentance and conversion of the elect, the nonelect could never be saved, and for man to interfere in God's process is presumptuous. Missions are therefore man-made, merely schemes to make money, state conventions a threat to democracy, and to educate a minister after he is called by the Lord is blasphemy, for did not Saint Paul say, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he is called." In North Carolina an apostle of such views was Joshua Lawrence, of Edgecombe County. When the legislature took under consideration the Wake Forest bill, its members found before them a pamphlet by Lawrence in which they were warned that the incorporation of a theological school would be "a meddling into religious matters—the making of laws in matters of religion—a trespassing on the Kingdom of God—the supporting and maintaining of a Christian Ministry." Indeed, theological schools were more dangerous than the Spanish Inquisition, "the direct step to a rich church and a proud and pompous ministry: That they always have been, are now, and will be a curse to the Church of God and to the Nations of the earth."[6]

[6] The title of the pamphlet was *A North Carolina Whig's Remonstrance* by "Clod Hopper." No copy exists, but a review with quotations may be found in the *Baptist Interpreter*, Jan. 4, 1834.

To this protest political opinion was not unreceptive. Strong was the Jeffersonian tradition that Church and State be separate, and in Virginia an effort to charter a Baptist Theological Institution had failed because it was believed that the state could not sanction the propaganda of any one denomination, the result being the incorporation of Richmond College, an institution of arts. Another prejudice that could be capitalized was that against monopolies and perpetuities. These were held by the Constitution of North Carolina to be "contrary to the genius of a free state." Did, or did not, the incorporation of a college fall within this condemnation? Concession had to be made to these prejudices, and the Wake Forest charter as finally drafted made no mention of the Baptist Church or religion. On the other hand, it constituted the "Trustees of Wake Forest Institute," a body politic, "for the purpose of educating youth and for no other purpose whatsoever." The trustees were given the power to fill vacancies and to elect their own successors: by no jot or tittle were they legally responsible to any church whatsoever. Nor was the property acquired or held by the trustees to have the privilege of church property, exemption from taxation; on the contrary, "all real estate belonging to said corporation shall be subject to taxation as other real estate." To quiet the fear concerning monopolies and perpetuities, the amount of property that the trustees could hold was limited to $150,000 in value, and it was stipulated that the provisions of this charter "shall continue in force 20 years and no longer." Yet, in spite of these concessions, the charter was passed in the senate only by the casting vote of the Speaker, William D. Moseley.[7]

In contrast to the conflict of forces in the incorporation of Wake Forest was the peaceful process in the chartering of Episcopal and Presbyterian institutions. In 1834 Bishop Levi S. Ives requested the Diocese of North Carolina to establish a theological and classical school. Property was acquired in Raleigh, and the institution was promptly opened. The following year the legislature granted a charter. Bishop Ives and twelve others became trustees of the Episcopal School in North Carolina, and their successors were to be

[7] In 1838 a revised charter was granted. The name Wake Forest College now appeared with power to grant degrees. The property limitations were extended to $200,000 and exemption from taxation was granted, but the duration of the charter was limited to fifty years.

elected by the state diocesan convention. There was no fear of a union of Church and State, of showing preference to one denomination over another. Because of financial difficulties the school closed in 1838.

Meanwhile, among the Scotch-Irish of the southwestern counties of the Piedmont, there was a move to establish a western college somewhere southeast of the Yadkin River, because "the more Western counties of the state are distant from Chapel Hill, which renders it inconvenient for their youth to prosecute their education there." In 1820 a charter was written, and subscriptions amounting to $60,000 were secured. But there was disagreement concerning the location; influences centering around the University of North Carolina did not favor a rival college, and the cause had no organized opinion in its favor. Hence the western college never became a reality; its trustees met for the last time in 1824. The promoters of the unrealized project were Presbyterians, and in a few years they resolved to found a college under Church auspices. In 1835 Concord Presbytery, moved by "the expediency of adopting some system of sound and thorough education that may be acceptable to all classes of the community" and "impressed with the importance of securing the means of education to young men within its bounds of hopeful piety and talents preparing for the Gospel Ministry," resolved to establish a manual-labor school. Subscriptions were taken amounting to $30,000, a site was chosen in Mecklenburg County, a president and one professor were chosen, a building was erected, and in March, 1837, teaching began. Co-operating were the Presbyteries of Morganton in North Carolina and Bethel in South Carolina. In 1838 the legislature incorporated the institution as Davidson College. As in the case of the Episcopal School, there was no question of conferring privileges upon a religious denomination. The Presbyteries of Concord, Morganton, and Bethel, and others that might co-operate in the future, were authorized to elect the trustees of the college. But the fear of perpetuities and monopolies persisted. The duration of the charter was to be fifty years, property held by the trustees was not to exceed $200,000, and land over 500 acres was subject to taxation. To a greater degree than any other college in North Carolina, Davidson was identified with the patronizing church. By

its charter, the Presbyteries could elect the president and faculty; only when they failed to act did election devolve upon the trustees. In 1839 the trustees adopted a constitution. By this, members of the faculty were required to be in full communion with the Presbyterian Church, and each member was also required to take the following pledge:

> I do sincerely believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, the only infallible rule faith and practice.
>
> I do sincerely receive and adopt the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America as faithfully exhibiting the doctrines taught in the Holy Scriptures.
>
> I do sincerely approve and adopt the form of government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in these United States and I do solemnly engage not to teach anything that is opposed to any doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith, nor to oppose any of the fundamental principles of the Presbyterian Church government while I continue as Professor or teacher in this institution.[8]

Students were not exempt from the measuring rod of orthodoxy. In the rules of deportment were the following: "The denial of the being of a God, or the inspired and divine authority of the Holy Scripture: or endeavor to propagate principles subversive to the Christian religion, by any student shall subject him to expulsion from college." School and kirk were thus bound by identical intellectual and spiritual standards.

Intellectual training quite logically was conservative. Latin, Greek, and mathematics were the core of the curriculum, and the College became widely known for its "high drill" in these subjects. An alumnus, in later years, made the following criticism:

> It is respectfully suggested that this high drilling has separated from this college many young men whose means could not support it, and who reasonably expected to come here, but sought help in other schools (which were then multiplied), by which they were fitted for such places of honor and trust which this country provided and which they are now filling—judges, representatives, city and county officials, magistrates, merchants, manufacturers and editors—and as such are the leaders of the people.

In those early years the financial resources were limited, and there was a constant struggle to survive. In 1855 relief came through the

[8] Cornelia Rebekah Shaw, *Davidson College* (New York, 1923), p. 45.

bequest of $250,000 from the will of Maxwell Chambers. But the holdings of the college were limited by the charter to $200,000. A statute of the legislature changed this limitation to $500,000; but it passed after the death of the testator, and the college, through a decision of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, was compelled to relinquish the excess of $200,000. For a Southern college of that day and generation, the Chambers endowment of $200,000 was unique. It made the institution the wealthiest college in North Carolina, with the exception of the University of North Carolina. Of the trust, $81,000 was invested in a stately building.

Last of the major denominations to establish an institution of higher learning in North Carolina was the Methodist. For this there is ample reason in the fact that for many years the Methodist circuits in the state were appendages of the annual conference of Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee; and in 1830 the Methodists of the Virginia Conference established Randolph-Macon College, located at Boydton, Virginia, near the North Carolina line, and named for two non-Methodist worthies, John Randolph, of Virginia, and Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina. In 1836 the Virginia Conference established the bounds of the North Carolina Conference, but it did not include in the new jurisdiction all of the circuits within the state; for those beyond the Blue Ridge were assigned to the Holston Conference, those along the South Carolina border remained with the South Carolina Conference, and the northeastern counties were retained in the Virginia Conference. The adjustment of property interests was left to the session of the Virginia Conference of 1837. Then in 1838 the North Carolina Conference held its first session at Greensboro. Immediately questions of education were presented. In Greensboro, around the Methodist Church, which was built in 1830, there had grown up a school for girls, and there was a movement to make this into an institution of collegiate rank. In 1837 the Virginia Conference had been approached, and it appointed trustees. These trustees now approached the North Carolina Conference, which agreed to co-operate in the enterprise. The legislature of 1838, accordingly, incorporated Greensboro Female College, one half of the trustees to be members of the North Carolina Conference. This action was of considerable significance. It stood at the threshold

of a distinctive Southern movement to establish institutions of collegiate rank for women. Wesleyan Female College in Georgia had been founded in 1836, and by 1860 there were a number of colleges or seminaries for women in the South. But the interest of the Conference in education was not confined to Greensboro. Two academies were taken under its patronage, Leasburg and Clemmonsville, the Conference assuming the obligation to appoint trustees and accepting the academies under its patronage and control. Finally subscriptions formerly made for Randolph-Macon were acknowledged as binding, and the Conference also agreed to indorse the raising of $10,000 for that institution, provided its trustees would grant five scholarships for the North Carolina Conference in perpetuity; and a financial agent to take subscriptions for the colleges was authorized. Nearly twenty years were to pass before the ties with Randolph-Macon were severed and North Carolina Methodists adopted a college of their own.

III

Challenging, almost insuperable, were the problems confronting the founders of these colleges. What kind of constituency could be established in a state with 25 per cent of its adult white population illiterate? Appeal was made to the religious impulse and church loyalty. But granted a unanimous response, which never happened, there were only thirty thousand Missionary Baptists in North Carolina, an even smaller number of Presbyterians, and the Methodist host, the largest denomination, was divided among the conferences of neighboring states. There were no public high schools to prepare students for college—that was the function of the academies, and there was universal complaint of inefficient preparation. Each college therefore maintained a preparatory department. Great was the scholastic mortality. Wake Forest before 1860 had matriculated 1,020 students, of whom 98 graduated. Davidson had 1,912 matriculates, with 922 graduates. Normal (Trinity) from 1853 to 1860 graduated 51. In 1860 the total number of students in these institutions was 373—Wake Forest 67, Davidson 112, Trinity 194.

Just as vital was the question of finance. Where could the money be found with which to build colleges? North Carolina was rural, agricultural. Capital was almost entirely locked up in land and

slaves. There was little surplus money for public causes. Moreover, it was by no means the wealthiest state of the South. The assessed valuation of property in 1850 was $212,071,413, the lowest in the Southern region excepting Texas, Florida, and Arkansas, then in their pioneer epochs, and Mississippi. Contributions were relied upon for initial investments, expansion, and deficits. The initial subscriptions for Davidson were $30,392; for Wake Forest, $38,000. Financial agents were constantly at work securing subscriptions, but collections were another matter. By 1860 the invested funds were $131,000 for Davidson, $46,000 for Wake Forest, and $20,000 for North Carolina College, a Lutheran institution chartered in 1859. Because the average income of the patrons was low, tuition averaged $50 a year. To reach the poor boy and also to make the college community self-sustaining, the manual-labor plan was tried at Wake Forest and Davidson. The college was virtually a plantation, the students laboring under supervision and by squads in the fields for three hours a day. But the boys came to college to get away from the farm, youth resented supervision, and tired backs and sore hands did not stimulate the mind for an evening's study. Wages were also low. Within a few years the manual-labor schemes were abolished.

There were naturally periods of financial stress. To prevent a foreclosure of its property, Wake Forest in 1841 borrowed $10,000 from the State Literary Fund. The low condition of finances was responsible in a large degree for frequent changes in administration. Davidson had three presidents prior to 1860; Wake Forest, four. Professorial salaries were low, averaging $1,000, and small was the number of professors. The rosters of 1860 showed five at Wake Forest and six each at Davidson and Trinity. Libraries were meager; the books collected and bought by the literary societies outnumbered those of the institutions as corporations. In 1860 Wake Forest had 6,000 volumes; Davidson, 2,000. Scientific apparatus, too, was insufficient even for the day before the establishment of laboratories. There was no increase of knowledge through discovery of new facts. Teaching was didactic, based on texts or on lectures elaborating elementary principles.

As was to be expected in institutions founded under the auspices of the Church, religion was emphasized. The aim of the colleges

was to awaken in the souls of the boys the fear of the Lord as much as to train their minds. There were no professors of Biblical literature or religious education, but that end was pursued by methods beyond the curriculum. There were morning and evening chapel exercises which all had to attend. There was also a college church, the pastor being the president, and its Sunday services had to be attended. How strict was the discipline at Davidson Church is illustrated by an incident in 1840. A college student in 1838 had gone to a dance. Evidence of this was disclosed some eighteen months later. Thereupon the Church session "held an interview with him in which he acknowledged the crime and professed in a satisfactory manner a feeling of regret and repentance. His regular standing in the church was therefore continued."[9]

At Wake Forest the church was a training school for future laymen, the offices of clerk and deacon being filled usually by students. Revivals were held in all the colleges at least once, often twice, a year. Wake Forest was particularly evangelical, winning many converts to the Baptist faith. Its greatest preacher was President W. M. Wingate. How spontaneously the revival flame might be generated and spread under his influence has been thus told:

> On the third Sunday night in September, 1857, after preaching a sermon of great power and observing some interest on the part of the students, Dr. Wingate asked if any one in the congregation would like to have the church to pray for him. He seemed to feel it was quite doubtful whether there was any such in the audience. Immediately, without any urging, twelve or fifteen students got up and walked to the front seat. He was surprised at the number, and every member of the church was amazed. Here was a great work of grace upon them, and they had not expected it—had not asked for it. College exercises were suspended for two weeks. Such a meeting, such preaching and praying we did have! The meeting did not close till every student except one made a profession of religion. I have seen many meetings at the College since then, but in force, power and thoroughness I have never seen anything to compare with it. Dr. Wingate was at his best and his sermons were wonderful.[10]

From Normal (Trinity) came the following news in 1857: "We are in the midst of a revival of religion at this place: many souls

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[10] G. W. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College* (Wake Forest, N. C., 1935), p. 479.

have become converted to God." Commenting, the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* said: "A college without revivals is like the Temple when the Shekinah had departed. A college whose whole history is marked with revivals leads the van of civilization and lights the way to heaven." Worthy was the aim of evangelism: to bring about a reconciliation of man with his Maker. But its reactions did not always promote intellectual tolerance or catholicity of literary taste. Thus in 1858 the Philomathesian Society of Wake Forest ordered the destruction of Thomas Paine's works and also the *Decameron*. A copy of the latter work on the shelves of the Euzelian Society was condemned to the flames in 1860. Meantime in 1857 the Eumenean Society of Davidson ordered a purification of its library—the burning of the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paine. By no means did all the students enter the ministry. One third of the graduates of Wake Forest, possibly a larger number at Davidson, and about 18 per cent at Trinity became pastors. The other graduates entered secular professions.

Of interest is the fact that all of the colleges for men were located in rural communities. There was a prejudice against towns and cities, which were supposed to have a corrupting influence on youth. In contrast, the colleges for women were in the towns; Greensboro, Statesville, Charlotte, and Asheville were notably the seats of female colleges. Around the infant colleges for men grew the college towns of Wake Forest, Davidson, and Trinity.

Amusements were few; organized athletics were unknown. Indeed, the only game played of which we have a report was bandy, of Scotch origin, in which the opposing teams drove a ball with sticks and clubs. Physical exercise came largely in the daily chores. "We chopped most of the wood we used," wrote a Davidson graduate.[11] Youth, with insufficient outlet for surplus energy, was inclined to pranks and horseplay. A favorite recreation in all the colleges was ringing the college bell. One night at Wake Forest the bell was rung at an early hour; the college officer appeared, but he could find no ringer. The members of the faculty arrived, but the mystery of the ringing bell continued. Finally, by accident a professor caught his foot in a rope and stumbled. Following the rope, he traced it to

[11] Shaw, *Davidson College*, p. 83.

the rocking chair of a student who was studiously reading, oblivious of the tumult, while his rocking to and fro rang the bell. Sometimes the rollicking spirit might turn to stubbornness, particularly when it was believed that discipline was unjust. At Davidson on the night of December 21, 1854, there was much noise and disturbance. The next morning the faculty held an investigation and dismissed a student on "circumstantial suspicion." When his fellow-students returned to college in January, they demanded his reinstatement. This being refused, the students left the institution. Fewer than half returned and made their peace, and most of these were members of the lower classes. Discipline was strict. During study hours dormitories were policed by professors. At Davidson corporal punishment was resorted to. Naturally youth resented the monastic ideal of discipline. Interest in matters outside the routine of the classroom was found in the literary societies, which exercised a discipline of their own. There were also missionary societies and temperance societies in all the colleges; and once at Wake Forest there was an anti-tobacco society. Theaters and billiard tables, like barrooms, were forbidden. The climax of each year was commencement, and its center of interest was the literary address delivered by some local or sectional celebrity. At Wake Forest and Davidson some of these addresses were published in pamphlet form as the contributions of those institutions to the literature of contemporary thought.

IV

Older than these colleges was an institution of the state, the University of North Carolina, the first American state university to open its doors. Its inception is usually attributed to the Forty-first Article of the Constitution of 1776, which provided in its last clause "that all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." This was not original, but was copied directly from the Constitution of Pennsylvania. Its meaning was vague and indefinite. It might be interpreted either as guaranteeing the right of private institutions to incorporation, a right that had been denied by the Crown except to such as were dominated by the Church of England, or committing the state to establish an institution of its own. No action was taken until 1789. Then, through

the influence of William R. Davie, a man whose thought was permeated with the liberal philosophy of the time, the legislature created a body politic, "the Trustees of the University of North Carolina." Financial support was to be from private funds and endowments, the memory of all benefactors to be preserved in an official record and in the names of the college buildings. A special statute appropriated schedules of arrears in the hands of sheriffs, and also all escheats. The location of the institution was not to be within five miles of any court town. Some site, practically in the wilderness, had therefore to be selected, and in 1792 a promontory in Orange County where north and south highways crossed was chosen. It was known as New Hope Chapel, from an Episcopal Church in the neighborhood. There a town was laid out, farmers and planters of the neighborhood having donated over 1,300 acres. From subscriptions and a legislative appropriation of $10,000—the only such appropriation made prior to 1860—the first building was erected, and in 1795 the institution was opened with a president and one tutor.

For a decade the college in its curriculum was untrammeled by academic tradition. The trustees approved a program of work which called for five professors. Of these, only one was to be in the field of languages; the others were to instruct in rhetoric and literature, mathematics, moral and political philosophy (including history), natural philosophy (including astronomy and geography), chemistry and the philosophy of medicine, agriculture and mechanics. The motive underlying such a program of instruction, according to Davie, was the desire to train "citizens capable of comprehending, improving, and defending the principles of government, citizens, who from the highest possible impulse, a just sense of their own and the general happiness, would be induced to practice the duties of social morality." Subsidiary was a desire that North Carolina be not tributary "to other states and countries for our literary and public characters." Thus a sense of state pride and a need for trained citizens capable of self-government were the objectives of the University—objectives born of the democratic dogma, of the rights of man, and of the sense of pride arising from political independence.

There were great difficulties in carrying out these worthy ideals of the trustees. Intellectually and socially, North Carolina was in

the pioneer stage. There were no colleges, few schools, and only half a dozen printing presses; and many of the political leaders were from other states. Isolation limited contacts at home or abroad. In 1790 there was only one mail route, which was in the eastern counties; and in the early years of the University there was a weekly mail. Teachers had to be imported; indeed, from 1795 to 1860 every president or presiding professor, save one, and also, with few exceptions, the outstanding teachers, were men called from other states. Not until 1818 was the corps of professorships, as planned in 1795, completed. Prior to that the faculty never consisted of more than two professors, and most of the time of one professor, assisted by tutors.

The question of finances limited the growth of the institution. With no direct appropriation from the state, save $10,000, the main reliance was on benefactors and escheated property. From the latter sources the University realized several hundred thousand acres in Tennessee, and from this source came its endowment funds.

Just as serious was the state of public opinion. The institution had to overcome the prejudice of ignorance and obscurantism. Its charter was passed over strong opposition, and also the act granting escheats. The original modest building was denounced as "a palace-like erection, which is much too large for usefulness," a resort maintained for the sons of the rich at the expense of the poor. The professors were criticized as aliens who threatened to introduce monarchical principles, and their students, it was said, were addicts of vice and immorality. Partisan politics had its influence. Davie was a Federalist, and so were some of the early professors, but before 1800 North Carolina was blatantly Republican; hence the University was attacked by the Republican press and legislature as a center of antidemocratic ideas. The trustees therefore adopted a bylaw that "no speech by a student shall have an allusion to party politics." Some of the early teachers were heterodox, and this was the basis for opinion that the institution was not a fit place for Christian youth. As a matter of fact, there was religious training similar to that of the church colleges. The study of the Bible was required on Sundays, and from 1838 there was an official chaplain and compulsory attendance at chapel exercises.

In spite of vicissitudes, the institution survived and became integrated with the life of North Carolina. This was due largely to the fidelity of two men, Joseph Caldwell and David L. Swain. The former, a native of New Jersey and a graduate of Princeton, came to Chapel Hill first as a professor and became president in 1804. He established better internal organization and succeeded in bringing to the institution teachers of marked talents. Swain succeeded him in 1835. He was a native Carolinian, a man of the people, a skilful politician who gave the remainder of his life to making his alma mater popular at home and abroad. By 1860 the enrollment of the college was 430; the number of professors, 18. In both respects the University surpassed the rosters of the church colleges for men. Its invested funds, $233,828, were also greater than the total for the church colleges, and the same was true of the 14,000 volumes in its libraries.

V

The difference between the University and the colleges was not so much in numbers and equipment, as in their ideals and their clientele. The governing board of the University represented the ruling class and the great landowners. Among the trustees originally designated, two had been generals in the Revolution; three had been members of the Federal courts; four later became governors of North Carolina; two, United States Senators; and five, members of Congress. The most distinguished leaders of the state were connected with the institution, and membership on its board of trustees was a distinct honor. Its appeal was service to the public interest, in which it achieved marked success. Prior to 1860 among the alumni were one President of the United States, ten Cabinet officials, a dozen ministers to foreign countries, fourteen Senators, twenty-five members of Congress, fifteen governors, and fifty-five judges.

In contrast was the ideal of the church colleges that learning must be subservient to religion, that men must first of all be good, and second be servants to the public. The clientele of these colleges was not "the good and the great," but the middle class of North Carolina, a class that was industrious, sober, serious-minded, and increasingly influential in 1860. The church was the institution

closest to the lives of these people, and they were willing to trust the education of their children to its guidance.

Thus the picture of education in North Carolina prior to 1860 is one of many colors. It illustrates the virtue of American democracy, individualism, and devotion to a cause. Both Church and State were committed to that cause. There were four church colleges for men and about a dozen female colleges or seminaries. There were also a common-school system, a state university, and a host of private academies. On the other hand, there was also the great fault of democracy, the lack of co-ordination and adequate planning. The common-school term averaged only four months, insufficient to reduce the high rate of illiteracy, and there was no lengthening of the term until the twentieth century except for chartered schools in the towns after 1870. In 1860 there were thirteen institutions for women, but standards were generally lower than those of the men's colleges. The academies were mainly local in their nature, meeting community needs before the day of the public high school. There was no standardization, no measuring rod of efficiency, no hand of guidance. By inspiration, but without wealth or intelligent foresight, democracy carried on.

William Kenneth Boyd.

CHAPTER I

Brown's Schoolhouse: The Community And The School

THE SECOND QUARTER of the nineteenth century witnessed an increasing growth in humanitarian interest among the American people, and a major phase of the broad impulse toward the improvement of society was a quickened intellectual interest and fresh idealism in the development of public and private schools.[1] North Carolina felt the invigorating influence, and the people turned to the improvement of their educational institutions.[2] The gradual growth

[1] For accounts relative to the social movements of this period, see: Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850* (New York, 1930), chaps. i, iii, ix-xiii; Emerson Davis, *The Half Century* (Boston, 1851), chaps. ii-iv, vi, viii-xi; John Bach MacMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York, 1886-1926), VI, 69-114, 271-299, 550-592, VII, 73-270, VIII, 56-133, 192-302, 405-473; William MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy, 1829-1837* (New York, 1906), pp. 3-27; W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America* (New York, 1930), chaps. xv-xvii, A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), pp. 200-218; V. L. Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution in America* (New York, 1927), chap. i; *A Century of Social Thought: A Series of Lectures Delivered at Duke University during the Academic Year 1938-1939 as a Part of the Centennial Celebration of That Institution* (Durham, 1939), chaps. xiii-xvii; Edgar Wallace Knight, *Twenty Centuries of Education* (New York, 1940); Edgar Wallace Knight, *Education in the United States* (New York, 1934), chaps. vi-xiii; Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, *The History of Education* (New York, 1920), chaps. xxvi, xxvii.

[2] Boyd, *History of North Carolina 1783-1860*, III, 83-105, 139-166, 354-395; R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* (Chicago and New York, 1929), II, 7-30; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), pp. 259-309, 331-493, 693-746, 810-832; Edgar Wallace Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina* (New York, 1916), chaps. vi-xi; Edgar Wallace Knight, *Public Education in the South* (New York, 1922), chaps. iv-viii; S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1925), II, 1-118, 222-292, 379-461; M. C. S. Noble, *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1930), chaps. vi-xv; Edgar W. Knight, "Manual Labor Schools in the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVI (July, 1917), 209-221.

of Brown's Schoolhouse, an "old field school," into Trinity College was a ripple on the main current of humanitarianism throughout the land. The rural community which furnished the impetus for the development of Trinity was located in a small portion of the contiguous counties of Randolph, Guilford, and Davidson. The largest part lay in Randolph, one of the first counties organized in the Piedmont region of central North Carolina.[3]

Long before white men came to settle along the rich bottom lands of Randolph's rushing streams, to hunt in its woods, and to admire the beauty of its rolling country, Indians roamed its forests, made war on one another, raised maize on fertile plots, and built villages in protected places.[4] Many of the first white settlers came overland from Virginia, eastern North Carolina, and other colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. Some came in the late 1600's, but many of the English, Scotch-Irish, and German settlers, who made up the bulk of the population, found their way to Randolph in the eighteenth century. Besides these, a few French Huguenots, Irish, and Scotch were scattered in various parts of the county. Most of these people were Quakers, but the Baptists and Methodists became strong in some quarters, and other denominations had a limited membership.[5] The life of the people was primitive and self-sustaining. As in similar regions in the same age, they passed gradually from the pioneer stage of hunting and fishing to a definite agricultural economy with hints of future industrial or manufacturing interest.[6]

Before the fourth decade of the nineteenth century provision for education was meager. Besides instruction in the home and in the church, the only educational facilities afforded most of the

[3] Its formation was authorized by the General Assembly of 1779. See J. A. Blair, *Reminiscences of Randolph County* (Greensboro, N. C., 1890), p. 3; R. D. W. Connor (ed. and comp.), *A Manual of North Carolina Issued by the North Carolina Historical Commission for the Use of the General Assembly Session 1913* (Raleigh, 1913), p. 767.

[4] W. M. Wilson in collaboration with Mary M. Petty, *Archdale: A History of the Settlement and Growth of a Quiet Little Quaker Village* (a pamphlet written "about 1912" and privately printed), no pagination; Braxton Craven, "Randolph in Olden Times," *Evergreen*, I (March, 1851), 133-135.

[5] Craven, "Randolph in Olden Times," pp. 133-135; Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 377; Jerome Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven* (Raleigh, 1896), pp. 9-11; Blair, *Reminiscences*, pp. 26-28, 33.

[6] Blair, *Reminiscences*, pp. 4-33.

people were occasional subscription schools taught by roving schoolmasters.[7]

By 1840, two years after the beginning of the movement resulting in the development of Trinity College, the population of Randolph was more than twelve thousand, and agriculture was the prevailing economic interest.[8] By that time, too, slavery had been introduced to a limited degree; nevertheless, the farm rather than the plantation prevailed.[9] The chief product was grain; but some cotton, a little tobacco, and other farm products were raised in limited quantities. A few industries, including grist, leather, and cotton mills, appeared. A single press issued one weekly newspaper and one periodical. Among the religious denominations the Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians reported the greatest membership.[10] Provision for education came haltingly but surely. According to the census of 1840, Randolph could claim two academies and grammar schools and two primary and common schools, with a total enrollment of ninety-seven. Of the white adult population, 723 were unable to read or write.[11] There are indications that these statistics are not wholly accurate; certainly there were several subscriptions schools kept by wandering schoolmasters, and these were not included in the report of the census. Furthermore, reliable records show that at least seven academies had been established in Randolph by 1840.[12]

The Community

The community of Brown's Schoolhouse was included within a ten-mile radius of the present village of Trinity. As in other parts

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-32; F. M. Cox, "Development of Education in Randolph County" (master's thesis, Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1931), p. 24; Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina*, p. 49; Coon, *Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina*, I, i-v; Charles L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840: A Documentary History* (North Carolina Historical Commission *Publications*, Raleigh, 1915), pp. 337-342.

[8] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States for 1800* (Washington, 1841), p. 41.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 177-181.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] W. K. Boyd (ed.), *The Autobiography of Brantley York* (*The John Lawson Monographs* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Vol. I, Durham, 1910), pp. 10-22; *Southern Citizen*, Asheboro, N. C., Feb. 9, 1839, Aug. 21, 1840; Cox, "Development of Education in Randolph County," pp. 24 ff.

of Randolph, the first settlers came by oxcart, wagon, horseback, and on foot from eastern North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina. By the end of the eighteenth century, the community was inhabited by people of English, Scotch-Irish, and Irish ancestry. Families of the neighborhood included the Blairs, Browns, Englishes, Finches, Fraziers, Grays, Harpers, Hogans, Hoovers, Hunts, Johnsons, Leaches, Mendenhalls, Tomlinsons, and others.[13] Differing little from similar neighborhoods throughout the land, this community was destined to produce men prominent in public life—congressmen, state legislators, writers, educators, and businessmen. Some of the ancestors of Herbert Clark Hoover tilled the soil and supported the civic projects of the community.[14]

Most of the people were either Quakers or Methodists and eventually built places of worship within a few miles of Brown's Schoolhouse. The Methodists held their religious services at Ebenezer, Prospect, and Hopewell in Randolph County, and the Quakers worshiped at Springfield or New Garden in Guilford County.[15]

The simplicity and charm as well as the self-sustaining economy of some of these people during the first quarter of the nineteenth century was revealed in two letters written in 1823 by Anna Braithwaite to her husband. Mrs. Braithwaite, a widely known English Quaker, described her visit to the home of Nathan Hunt, a North Carolina Friend and the father of one of the leaders in the movement

[13] Interviews during the summer of 1936 with the following individuals: Miss Kate Craven, Durham, N. C.; Mr. Bruce Craven and Miss Rose Leach Johnson, Trinity, N. C.; Miss Hattie Tomlinson, Archdale, N. C.; Mr. John T. Blair, Miss Emma Blair, Mr. Victor C. King, Mrs. Chester C. Hayworth, and Mr. John R. Peacock, High Point, N. C. (this citation will be referred to hereinafter as Interviews, 1936); Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 2-18; Craven, "Randolph in Olden Times," pp. 133-135; Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1831-1853 (MS, no pagination, Duke University Library).

[14] Edwin Emerson, *Hoover and His Times* (New York, 1932), pp. 583-590; Will Irwin, *Herbert Hoover* (New York, 1928), pp. 4-8; M. T. Plyler, "Randolph Pioneers Foster a President and a University," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XVI (Oct., 1930), 321-323; Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: The Old State and the New* (Chicago, 1941), II, 15.

[15] Interviews, 1936. In April, 1941, the author read the names of many of the first settlers and their families on headstones in the cemeteries on the grounds of these churches. See Rose Leach Johnson, "Old Days at Trinity," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VII (Jan., 1922), 229-231.

which resulted in the conversion of Brown's Schoolhouse into an academy.[16] She wrote:

After attending Deep River Meeting, we came on about eight miles to this peaceful habitation (at Springfield, North Carolina). We met with a hearty welcome from dear Nathan Hunt, his wife, and family. His house is situated in a paddock, surrounded with fields and skirted by woods. He has cleared as much land as supplies him with the necessaries of life, almost all of which are grown or manufactured under his roof. His house is built of logs, filled up with plaster, but no coating of plaster inside, nor any wash or paint. It consists of five rooms down-stairs, a small kitchen, a room out of it, where the spinning wheels, etc., are: a room into which we enter from the front, perhaps fourteen feet square with a clean boarded floor, and a hearth fire; some clean, white wooden chairs, and two homely tables, a clock, a book case, a stand dyed dark blue, a sash window with twelve panes of glass. Out of this are two lodging rooms and a neat little pantry. Our room has two beds in it; clean and homely curtains of their own weaving; feather beds, clean coarse sheets and a warm sort of quilt, made of cloth, flannel, etc., patched together instead of a blanket and a nice white cotton counterpane. In the roof, there are I believe two bedrooms, and every place is so clean that one forgets the unfinished walls and rustic furniture. All of Nathan Hunt's children are married.[17]

The second letter further described Nathan Hunt's home and community:

We have had some precious evenings with dear Nathan Hunt and some of his friends. The language is strikingly exemplified in this family, "Godliness with contentment is great gain." A more affectionate circle I never saw, and it is a lesson I hope lastingly to remember. It is the gospel, the genuine religion of Christ, that renders even a log house preferable to a palace without it.

We may think of these things from a distance, but there is nothing like seeing them for ourselves. I wish that I could now, whilst I am writing, convey to thee the sweet, calm influence of all around, and at the same time give thee a picture of the twelve light window by which I write, the unfinished log walls, filled up between the logs with plaster without either wash or paint, the brick chimney bare as our outside walls, the hearth fire without any fender, the ceiling formed merely of the boards which are the flooring of the room above, without any further finish, and yet withal the air of comfort which thorough

[16] J. Bevan Braithwaite, *Memoirs of Anna Braithwaite* (London, 1905), pp. 2-132.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

cleanliness and as much true refinement as I ever met with, in every branch of the household, give this simple abode. I have a few specimens of their home manufactory for gowns, cloaks, etc., which I mean to send thee. They wear scarcely anything but what they spin, weave, and dye for themselves. They make their own bedsteads. Their curtains, bed-linen, blankets, coats, stockings are all their own manufacture. I have made myself quite at home among them in a social way, and believe that this has contributed to make way for speaking the truth with boldness and meekness.

Every house we have been into has a room for carrying on these different works. They make all their own candles, moulds, and dips; and though they may be in some instances deficient in book learning, their faculties are in full operation in a practical way. It is only eighty years since Carolina was first settled. They have had many difficulties to struggle with, that of slavery not the least. They are at a great distance from any seaport town, and land carriage is so expensive as to render it out of their power to procure what we are apt to think the necessaries of life.

On the second First-day of the Yearly Meeting, I attended New Garden meeting. I suppose there was [*sic*] nearly two thousand people. It was a striking sight. Many had come great distances. Some hundreds of carriages of various descriptions were all tied to trees in the wood by which the Meeting-house is surrounded. The meeting was, I think, a favored season, and it appeared to be with reluctance that the people separated after sitting nearly three hours. I suppose there were not less than thirty infants in the Yearly Meeting on the first day. When children cry, the mothers usually walk quietly out of the Meeting with them. Many come several miles with their babies on horseback, and have no one to leave them with; and I cannot but think there must be some zeal to induce them to come as they do.[18]

Such, then, was the way of life among some of the leading families in the vicinity of Brown's Schoolhouse. There were other families, however, whose domestic economy was similar to the one just described but whose religion and morals differed from those of their neighbors. Superstition led them to belief in ghosts and witchcraft. Religious services were rarely held and poorly attended. The young people, especially, preferred games and weekly dances. Drinking was carried to excess, fights were frequent, and other crude types of behavior were prevalent. The attitude of many of these people changed, however, between 1820 and 1840, when religious

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128. A copy of Anna Braithwaite's letter was given to the author in 1936 by the late John T. Blair, of High Point, N. C.

revivals swept through the country and both young and old shouted at camp meetings, "got religion," organized bands of religious classes, and founded churches of their particular faith.[19]

During the 1830's the community of Brown's Schoolhouse included a few planters and merchants, one manufacturer, and a considerable number of farmers. The majority were "plain people" whose leaders were men of more property than their neighbors. The small farm was the principal economic unit. Intermarriage among the descendants of the early settlers and later arrivals had resulted in the development of a community of families united by ties of blood and by a common social heritage.[20]

Probably the largest, most influential, and prolific family was that of the Leaches—a veritable clan composed largely of small farmers. These families were the descendants of two Scotch-Irish pioneers of that name—John Leach, who died in 1825, leaving a family of seven children; and William Leach, who died ten years later, also leaving a large family.[21]

In 1838 James Leach, a son of John Leach, lived in a log house on a small farm of some 150 acres, less than a mile from the present Trinity High School. He was the father of a large family, who aided him in raising grain, cattle, and hogs. He owned no slaves. One of his brothers, Hugh, lived with his family on a small farm a few miles away. The owner of one slave, Hugh served as the blacksmith for the community. Another son of John Leach, Jabez, a deeply religious man, inherited his father's home place. His farm, somewhat larger than those of his brothers, functioned also as a self-sufficient economic unit. He had two children and no

[19] Court Minutes, 1800-1840 (MS records, no pagination, Office of the Clerk of the Court, Randolph County Courthouse, Asheboro, N. C.); Autobiography of Brantley York, D.D. (MS, Duke University Library), pp. 1-78.

[20] Interviews, 1936; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850—North Carolina, Schedules, I, II, IV (MSS, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.); further reference to this source will be cited as follows: U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV.

The majority of these people were similar to the plain people described by Blanche Henry Clark and Frank Lawrence Owsley. See Blanche Henry Clark, *The Tennessee Yeoman, 1840-1860* (Nashville, 1942), and Frank Lawrence Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949).

[21] John R. Peacock, Sketches of John and William Leach (Private Collection, in the possession of the author); Miss Rose Leach Johnson to the author, Sept. 5, 1936. John Leach was buried at Springfield; William Leach, at Hopewell; the author read their names and dates upon headstones in the cemeteries of these churches.

slaves. Lewis M. Leach, the fourth son of John Leach, lived about a mile from the high school. He became more prosperous than his brothers and eventually became the owner of many acres, slaves, and other property. Sturdy, God-fearing, without formal education but gifted with common sense and native intelligence, these sons of John Leach, together with other members of the same family, were members of the class of small farmers who peopled central and western North Carolina.[22]

More prosperous were the descendants of William Leach. By 1850 his son Martin W. had accumulated many acres of land and fourteen slaves; moreover, he married Sallie A. Mangum, daughter of Senator Willie P. Mangum. Martin W. Leach was a respected leader in local affairs and at various times held public office in Randolph County. Julian E., another son of William Leach, attended the University of North Carolina and practiced law in Randolph, but died while running for public office in 1844. The youngest and best known of the sons of William Leach was James Madison Brown Leach. In 1838 he returned from the United States Military Academy, which he had attended during a portion of 1836, 1837, and 1838. Later he read law, and his gift of oratory led him into politics. During his long life he was frequently a member of the state legislature and served at various times in the Confederate and United States congresses.[23]

[22] Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV; Miss Rose Leach Johnson to the author, Sept. 5, 14, 23, Oct. 3, 14, 1936; Records of Wills, Deeds, and Court Minutes (MS records, Office of the Clerk of the Court in Randolph County Courthouse, Asheboro, N. C.); John R. Peacock, Sketches of the Leach Family (Private Collection); Record Book of James Leach, 1832-1879 (Family Records, 1830-1892, a collection in the possession of John R. Peacock, High Point, N. C.); Rose Leach Johnson, "Sketches of Historic Places in Old Trinity," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (Oct., 1917), 198-200; Rose Leach Johnson, "The Three Men Who Lived in the Northwest Corner of Randolph County," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV (Jan., 1919), 241-243; Interviews, 1936.

[23] *Ashboro Courier*, Asheboro, N. C., July 20, 1881; Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule IV; Records of Wills, Deeds, and Court Minutes, Randolph County; letters to the author from the following: Rose Leach Johnson, Sept. 5, 1936; John R. Peacock, Aug. 9, 1936; J. Maryon Saunders, Secretary of the General Alumni Association of the University of North Carolina, Oct. 14, 1936; Lieutenant Colonel T. Hughes, Headquarters, United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y., Oct. 15, 1940; J. M. Leach to Governor David L. Reid, May 15, 1851 (Governors' Papers, 1851, North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.); J. M. Leach to Jonathan Worth, Jan. 13, 15, 1867, Aug. 19, 1869 (Jonathan Worth Papers, 1841-1876, State Department

The Leaches were connected by marriage with other families in the community. James Leach married Margaret Mendenhall, a member of a local Quaker family. His sister, Roxanna, married Joseph Johnson, Jr., son of an Irish pioneer. In 1850 the Johnsons lived on a farm of two hundred acres and owned four slaves. John S. Brown, another relative of the Leach family by marriage, lived a short distance from the present Trinity High School. He, too, was of the second generation in the community. His father, John Brown, had been one of the local pioneers and had accumulated an estate of many acres. John S. fell heir to a part of his father's estate and became the owner of more land and slaves than many of his neighbors. One of the most important marital alliances of the Leaches was that with Ahi Robbins, the son of William Robbins, who had moved from Virginia to North Carolina in 1763. Ahi owned a farm of some 250 acres, which he and his large family worked with the aid of nine horses and five slaves. A man of much spirit, he became deeply interested in the educational movements of his day.[24]

In no way connected with the Leach families was General Alexander Gray, the wealthiest and most distinguished citizen of northwestern Randolph. He was a native Virginian of Scotch-Irish ancestry. Early in the nineteenth century he had moved to North Carolina and contracted an advantageous marriage with Sarah Parker Ellison, a widow and heiress to large properties. The Gray plantation lay

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of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.); John R. Peacock, Sketches of members of the family of William Leach (Private Collection); Johnson, "Sketches of Historic Places in Old Trinity," pp. 198-200; Rose Leach Johnson, "Old Days at Trinity"; S. A. Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1906), V, 256-257, 960; *Southern Citizen*, June 26, 1844; Jerome Dowd, *Sketches of Prominent Living North Carolinians* (Raleigh, 1888), pp. 313-315; Interviews, 1936. James Madison Brown Leach eventually dropped the "Brown" from his name and became known as James Madison, or J. M., Leach.

[24] U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV; Records of Wills, Deeds, and Justices of the Peace, Randolph County; Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; letters to the author from the following: Miss Rose Leach Johnson, Sept. 5, 14, 23, Oct. 3, 14, 1936; John R. Peacock, Aug. 9, 1936; Austen T. Finch, Dec., 1938; T. R. Foust, Oct., 1936; John R. Peacock, Sketches of Ahi Robbins and Joseph Mendenhall (Family Records); *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Raleigh, N. C., Nov. 17, 1886; Durham *Daily Globe*, Durham, N. C., Sept. 13, 1893; Dred Peacock, "High Point Was Merely Transfer Point for Then Flourishing Old Trinity," High Point *Enterprise*, High Point, N. C., Jan. 20, 1935; Interviews, 1936.

some five or six miles southwest of Trinity. In 1850 General Gray's land was valued for taxation at $66,000, and at his death in 1864 he owned 2,190 acres. His large economic interests are shown by the census returns of 1850. His slaves, ranging in age from six months to eighty-six years, numbered 118—the largest number owned by a single individual in either Randolph or Guilford counties. He lived in a large log house on a plantation worked by slaves, seventeen horses, five mules, and six oxen. In 1850 he produced 550 bushels of wheat, 5,000 bushels of Indian corn, smaller quantities of potatoes and peas, 9 bales of cotton (400 pounds each), 150 tons of hay, some wool, butter, beeswax, and honey. On the plantation were 38 milch cows, 36 other cattle, 50 sheep, and 250 hogs. His slaves also carried on a considerable amount of home manufacture. The wealthiest man of the local area was therefore no exception to the general rule of economic self-sufficiency.

Noteworthy was General Gray's public service. He gained his military title as an officer of the militia in the War of 1812. Ten times he served as a member of the North Carolina senate, and in 1835 represented Randolph County at the State Constitutional Convention. Keenly interested in the educational and religious movements of his community and region, he helped to build Hopewell Methodist Church; he was a member of the first public school committee of his county; he conducted a private subscription school on his plantation; and he was one of the leaders in the movement which finally resulted in the establishment of Trinity College. At one time he was a supporter of the manumission movement, which sponsored a meeting in his barn in 1816. A clause in his will testified to his social conscience: "I further will and direct that in the division of my slaves that no separation be made between husband and wife or any children from their mother." General Gray's influence was powerful in northwestern Randolph during a life span of ninety-six years.[25]

[25] P. M. Sherrill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society" (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series X, Durham, 1914), p. 41; U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV; Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; Records of Deeds, Wills, Justices of the Peace, and Court Minutes, Randolph County; John R. Peacock, Sketch of the Gray Family (Family Records); Records of Justices of the Peace, 1818-1866 (MSS, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.); Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Salem, N. C., to

General Gray and the Leaches with most of their family connections were Methodists, some were slaveholders, and all united with mutual interest in community affairs.

Another important element in this rural neighborhood in Randolph, Guilford, and Davidson counties was a group of Quakers who joined their Methodist neighbors in civic projects. Some of the best-known families of this religious faith were the Blairs, Englishes, Hunts, Mendenhalls, and Tomlinsons. Of these, Nathan Hunt, Sr., and his son, Nathan Hunt, Jr., were probably the most widely known. Their English ancestors had originally moved from Massachusetts to Pennsylvania and thence to North Carolina. They prospered and were deeply interested in humanitarian enterprises. The father was an untiring figure among the Quakers of North Carolina. Besides being a successful farmer and businessman, he was a preacher of great sincerity and power. A strong advocate of education, he sponsored the founding of educational institutions, and New Garden School (now Guilford College) became one of his cherished interests. He traveled extensively in America, Ireland, and England; wherever he went, he spoke with conviction of the simple faith of the Quakers. His home and farm, described by Anna Braithwaite in 1823, lay in Guilford County about three miles northeast of Trinity. His son, Nathan Hunt, Jr., was a successful businessman. At one time he owned a large general merchandise establishment and a ten-room inn at a point some three miles north of Trinity on the plank road leading from Fayetteville to Salem. He also did a considerable business in real estate. He was one of the founders of High Point, North Carolina; he laid out its boundaries and served as its first mayor. At one time he represented Guilford County in the General Assembly.[26]

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author, Sept. 16, 1936; Connor (ed. and comp.), *A Manual of North Carolina . . . 1913*, pp. 768, 770, 895; Blair, *Reminiscences*, pp. 551, 623; Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 110-116; Bettie D. Caldwell (comp.), *Founders and Builders of Greensboro* (Greensboro, 1925), pp. 259-261; *Southern Citizen*, Feb. 7, 1840; *Randolph County Business Directory*, 1894; Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, p. 237; Interviews, 1936. General Alexander Gray and many of his family are buried in the old family cemetery on the former Gray plantation, located a few miles southwest of the village of Trinity, N. C.

[26] Albert Hunt, History of the Hunt Family (Private Collection); Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV;

The pioneering Quaker ancestor of the Mendenhalls migrated from England to Pennsylvania. In North Carolina, Jamestown became the home of the family, but in 1838 at least one member, Joseph Mendenhall, lived with his wife and children on a small farm within the immediate vicinity of Brown's Schoolhouse.[27]

The large family of Blairs were descendants of Colbert Blair, a Scotchman who came from Pennsylvania and settled in North Carolina. Enos Blair came to the vicinity of Brown's Schoolhouse in the early nineteenth century and lived about two miles south of the school building. Several of his children married and settled in the community, and Samuel W. and R. E., or English, Blair interested themselves in education.[28]

The Blairs intermarried with the Tomlinsons, descendants of William Tomlinson, an English Quaker who settled in South Carolina prior to the Revolutionary War but later moved to Randolph. The Tomlinson home was located a mile north of Trinity at a place called Bush Hill, now Archdale. There in 1839 Allen U. Tomlinson, son of William Tomlinson, lived and conducted a thriving business in leather goods. A man of many interests, he became a

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Records of Deeds and Wills, Randolph County and Guilford County; Braithwaite, *Memoirs of Anna Braithwaite*, pp. 126-127; Mrs. Laura D. Worth to author, Aug. 29, 1936; Notes 1800-1860 (in possession of Victor C. King, High Point, N. C.); Commissioners Book for the Town of High Point, 1859 (MS, High Point Public Library, High Point, N. C.); High Point *Enterprise*, Jan. 20, 1935, Aug. 26, 1936; Connor (ed. and comp.), *Manual of North Carolina . . . 1913*, p. 634; William and Nathan Hunt, *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt* (London, 1858), pp. 3-160; Dorothy L. Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro, 1937), pp. 14-16, 18-19, 29-30; Victor C. King to author, Aug. 22, 1936; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), IX, 389 (hereinafter referred to as *D.A.B.*); Nathan Hunt, Jr., to Jonathan Worth, Dec. 16, 1862 (Jonathan Worth Papers).

[27] Interviews, 1936; Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; Records of Wills, Randolph County; John R. Peacock to author, Aug. 9, 1936; John R. Peacock, Sketch of the Mendenhall Family (Private Collection); Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 42.

[28] U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV; Records of Deeds, Wills, and Court Minutes, Randolph County and Guilford County; Charles F. Tomlinson, Sketch of Allen Unthank Tomlinson (Private Collection); Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; Blair, *Reminiscences*, pp. 48-49; Greensboro *Daily News*, Oct. 20, 1929; relics in the Springfield Museum of "Old Domestic Life" at Springfield Friends' Church, near High Point, N. C.; *Randolph County Business Directory*, 1894, p. 30; Fred Burgess, *Randolph County: Economic and Social* (New Bern, 1924), p. 20; Wilson and Petty, *Archdale*.

teacher as well as a manufacturer and at one time conducted a school on the upper floor of his tannery. Like some of the other members of the community, he was well known in North Carolina for his economic and humanitarian interests.[29]

Not many miles from the Tomlinsons lived the English family, founded by an Irish ancestor, Josha English, who settled in South Carolina. His great-grandson Thomas English eventually moved to the neighborhood of Trinity and established a family there.[30]

These Quaker families, like their Methodist neighbors, were related by ties of marriage. Habits of study, diligence in business, and self-reliance were among their characteristics. Since they opposed personal servitude, they owned practically no slaves. Uniting with their Methodist friends, they helped to provide churches and schools for the community.

During the early days formal teaching in this community, as in similar neighborhoods elsewhere in Randolph County, was irregular. Intellectual training, largely the inculcation of the three R's, was a parental function. As time passed and a wandering schoolmaster made an occasional appearance, the people began to build houses where their children were taught in subscription schools during seasonal cessation from labor on the farm. By 1838 at least three such schoolhouses had been built privately on plantations within a few miles of the present village of Trinity. General Alexander Gray and Lewis M. Leach each built one,[31] and a third was built by John Brown, one of the founders of the Brown family in northwestern Randolph. This small house, erected on the broad acres of the Brown plantation, was located less than a mile west of the present Trinity High School; and during the fourth decade of the nineteenth century it came to be known as Brown's Schoolhouse.[32]

[29] Wilson and Petty, *Archdale;* Allen U. Tomlinson to Jonathan Worth, Sept. 24, 1867 (Jonathan Worth Papers).

[30] Wilson and Petty, *Archdale;* N. C. English, Jr., Sketch of N. C. English (in possession of Mrs. N. C. English, Trinity, N. C.).

[31] Mrs. J. S. Welborn, High Point, N. C., to author, Aug. 22, 1936; Dred Peacock, "High Point Was Merely Transfer for Then Flourishing Old Trinity"; Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, p. 237; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 284.

[32] George D. Finch, Thomasville, N. C., to author, Nov. 7, 1938, Jan. 18, 1939; Durham *Daily Globe*, Sept. 13, 1893; Interviews, 1936.

Brown's Schoolhouse and Brantley York

This building, like most of the dwellings of the community, was made of round logs. Sixteen by twenty feet in size, it was crudely constructed. The roof "was covered with common boards," the windows had no glass, and "the floor was laid with puncheons and slabs." The chimney was "made of wood with a little or no clay in it, tapering up in the form of a partridge trap"; the hearth of the large open fireplace was earth.[33]

No record has been found of the first masters who kept school in this log house. It is known, however, that at some time between 1830 and 1838 one of the masters in Brown's Schoolhouse was Allen M. Frazier, an able teacher of Randolph County. According to local accounts, he exercised unusual ability in unifying community interest in support of the school. He finally resigned his position and built another schoolhouse several miles distant, where he increased his reputation as a teacher and civic leader.[34]

In 1837 the people of Brown's Schoolhouse faced the necessity of providing another schoolmaster for their children. Several members of the community knew the Reverend Brantley York, a native of the Bush Creek neighborhood, some six miles north of Franklinsville in Randolph County. He was thirty-two years old and known locally as an able schoolmaster and local Methodist preacher.[35] Since he had spent some of his boyhood years in the neighborhood, he understood the people and their needs. In the latter months of 1837 this tall young man—he stood "six feet, two inches in his stockings"—was invited to teach in Brown's Schoolhouse.[36]

[33] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 45; Durham *Daily Globe*, Sept. 13, 1893; D. U. York to Dr. R. L. Flowers, Sept. 13, 1936 (Office of the President of Duke University).

[34] Mrs. J. S. Welborn, High Point, N. C., to author, Aug. 22, 1936; U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule IV; Peacock, "High Point Was Merely Transfer Point for Then Flourishing Old Trinity"; Victor C. King, High Point, N. C., to author, Aug. 22, 1936; Interviews, 1936. Allen M. Frazier (1813-1879) is buried in the cemetery of Prospect Methodist Church in Randolph County. See Dred Peacock, "Dr. Dred Peacock on the Early Days of Trinity," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XVI (Jan., 1930), 15; Plyler, "Randolph Pioneers Foster a President and a University," pp. 321-323.

[35] John S. Brown to Benjamin P. Elliott, Oct. 23, 1839 (Benjamin P. Elliott Collection, 1831-1836, Duke University Library).

[36] This sketch of Brantley York is drawn, unless otherwise indicated, from Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, pp. 1-44.

York's cultural background was similar to that of many people in the community. His grandparents had come directly from England and had settled in North Carolina. His father, Eli York, was a miner and a prospector of mines as well as something of a chemist, distiller, and farmer. During the War of 1812 he was employed by the United States Government to manufacture gunpowder. Brantley, his young son, went with the employees of his father throughout Randolph and Guilford counties to rake dirt from under houses and barns for obtaining saltpeter. Moreover, he carved gourds for the storage of powder and aided in the transportation of the explosive by wagon loads to the Army magazine.[37]

The York family lived twelve years in the neighborhood of Bush Creek, but in 1817 moved to a plantation on the Salem road, some six miles northeast of Trinity. At this place the father erected a distillery and soon formed the habit of drunkenness. In consequence, he lost his business and became an irregular wage earner; some of his children, including Brantley, were "hired out."

About 1820 the family moved to the vicinity of Brown's Schoolhouse and occupied a house belonging to the pioneer William Leach. Young Brantley worked for many of the farmers of the community, but chiefly for William Leach. At this period of his life he was especially impressed with the Quakers of the neighborhood. He worked for many of them, including Enos Blair, and stated later that they were generally well-to-do farmers who were "religiously opposed to slavery, and were clever, serious, kindly, industrious people."

In 1822 the York family rented a farm about two miles east of the Leach place and enjoyed some success in raising grain. While the family was living on this farm, York attended his first camp meeting. During this meeting, held at Ebenezer Church, he and his friend Ahi Robbins "obtained religion," and York joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Following these religious experiences, York attended "class meetings" and "band meetings" held for the purpose of encouraging and strengthening converts and other in-

[37] B. A. York, "Memoir of Rev. Brantley York, D.D.," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 23, 30, 1893.

terested people. Ahi Robbins as a class leader exercised much influence upon the life of the young convert.

At the age of twenty, York was a laborer at a distillery; but, convinced of the wickedness of drinking, he disliked this work. The following year he abandoned the distillery and with a friend rented a farm from Lewis Leach. Since early boyhood he had resisted a recurring impression that he "was called to preach"; but while he was cultivating the land of Lewis Leach, he felt "the call" so strongly that he could scarcely sleep. Finally he made a covenant with God that he would enter the ministry. Before he could fulfil his covenant, however, he had the opportunity to share in the profits of a gold mine. He then decided to accumulate a sum of money before seeking an opportunity to enter the regular ministry. Meanwhile, in 1823, he became recognized as a minister by obtaining a license as a "local preacher" in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Previous to the time when York began to preach, he had taught school. He was practically self-educated and his meager preparation for teaching was a commentary on the poor quality of the few available schools. His first experience in attending school was not a happy one. At the age of four he visited in a local school. The master was "a very large, sour-looking man" who frightened the small boy with his loud voice and stern manners as well as with the implements of punishment that lay thick around him—switches, paddles, and ferules. York attended this school for one day. He was six years old before he went to school again. This time his teacher was "clever, kind, and indulgent, and the scholars loved him as a father." Under the kindly tutelage of this man, York learned rapidly; and even though the session lasted only a short while, he had learned "to spell in five syllables" before it closed. For two years after this experience York did not have the opportunity to attend school, but at the end of that time "was entered as a scholar at a six-months school taught by a Mr. Patterson, who was a man of easy manners, pleasant, and agreeable as a teacher." York had forgotten all his previous "learning," even his alphabet; such were his interest and effort, however, that by the close of this term he could read and spell "tolerably well" for a boy of eight years. The next year Mr. Patterson taught young York to read the New Testa-

ment and to develop skill in writing and spelling. Because of the burning of the schoolhouse, this session lasted only a short time. York received his last formal education in 1818 at a school about six miles east of the present village of Trinity. His schoolmaster was a periodic drunkard, "and though he generally bound himself in his articles to abstain from drinking during his school, he seldom failed to violate his contract by taking sprees of drinking which generally lasted some ten days to two weeks." His scholarship was exceedingly limited, extending no further than reading, writing, and arithmetic. In this school York learned to write a beautiful hand, but to do little else. At the age of fourteen he was thrown upon his own resources for completing an education so meagerly begun in the poorly managed schools of his boyhood.

He continued his self-education under discouraging circumstances. During the day he worked on the farm, and at night by the light of an open fire he studied the few books that he could find. In this way he became proficient in reading, writing, and arithmetic; but he was not satisfied with this limited training of the ordinary schoolmasters of his day. He joined a library society and for three years read all the books that were available. At one time while farming, he read about "one thousand pages a week." In later years he was to become the author of an English grammar, although he was twenty-six years old before he saw his first book on that subject. As time passed, on his own initiative he studied Latin, Greek, mathematics, the natural sciences, logic, rhetoric, and moral and intellectual philosophy.[38]

He began teaching when he was about twenty-seven years old and continued his teaching and preaching until he reached old age—even after he became blind. As a young man he taught and preached in rural communities of Randolph and Guilford counties and between 1831 and 1837 acquired a good reputation as a teacher and local preacher. He was known as one who could solve problems with plus and minus signs, and who used x's and y's in the solution of mathematical questions. He was known, too, as one who could teach geometry, trigonometry, surveying, Latin, and Greek.

[38] *Ibid.*; William Kenneth Boyd (ed.), "Rev. Brantley York on Early Days in Randolph County and Union Institute" (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series VIII, Durham, N. C., 1908-1909), pp. 15-34.

Early in 1837, besides performing duties as a local minister, York was teaching a subscription school at Piney Grove near Walker's Mills, Randolph County. During that year he was frequently urged to offer himself as a regular preacher in the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He finally consented, and the Quarterly Conference of his church recommended him for membership in the Conference.

Since he had no doubt of his final acceptance as a regular minister, he asked his employers to allow him to relinquish his teaching duties at the end of nine instead of twelve months. His request was granted, and he held his final examinations three months early. According to custom, these examinations were open to the public. York's old friend Ahi Robbins brought his son William, who had attended this session of school at Piney Grove, to be examined. Lewis M. Leach, a neighbor of Ahi Robbins, also attended the exercises connected with the closing of the school. Both men were highly pleased at the results of the examination and strongly solicited York to take charge of the school in their community. At this time York did not give a definite answer because of his decision to have his name presented for regular membership in the North Carolina Conference.[39]

At the meeting of the Conference in January, 1838, because of some misunderstanding York's recommendations for membership were withdrawn; and the disappointed young preacher returned to Randolph County.[40] He remembered the warm solicitation of Ahi Robbins and decided to accept the "invitation of several gentlemen in the neighborhood" of Brown's Schoolhouse to teach in the community. Early in 1838 he moved his family to this community, the scene of boyhood days and the home of early friends.

In the spring of 1838 he opened the doors of Brown's Schoolhouse, then in a dilapidated condition. On rainy days the pupils had to devise ways to keep their books dry, and the pupils themselves could not dodge the rain that trickled through the rotten boards of the leaky roof. Furthermore, since the one-room log house was too small to accommodate the forty or fifty pupils who gathered there

[39] Boyd (ed), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, pp. 42-43.
[40] *Ibid.*

from day to day, the schoolmaster temporarily solved the problem by erecting a "bush arbor" in front of the south door, and thus some of his students studied in the house and some outside under the arbor. Such were the physical conditions under which Brantley York taught his first session in the community destined to become the first home of Trinity College.

The people of the neighborhood, realizing the need for a larger and better constructed school building, met in the summer of 1838 to select a place upon which to erect a new house. Among those present were Joseph Johnson, James Leach, and Joseph Mendenhall. A committee appointed to select a suitable place chose a site near the present Trinity High School, less than a mile east of Brown's Schoolhouse. The location was the top of a large hill covered with pine, oak, hickory, and other native trees. Near by was a spring.[41]

During the summer, when crops were "laid by," York and the patrons of the school began to erect the new schoolhouse. The building, about thirty by twenty feet, was made of hewn logs. Upon its completion early in August, 1838, the schoolmaster planned a ceremony to commemorate the event, and friends and neighbors were invited to attend the exercises. The forty or fifty students of Brown's Schoolhouse formed a procession with their teacher and marched from the old log school to the new building. There some of the pupils spoke "pieces." Two students were graduated from Brown's Schoolhouse on this occasion—Ped Thomas and Irene Leach, daughter of James Leach and later the wife of Braxton Craven. Both spoke or read essays from a stage made of a large wooden box.[42]

This celebration ushered in a period of prosperity for the community school. The first session opened with sixty-nine pupils. Previously the schoolmaster had felt the need of help in the performance of his duties, but now it became imperative. His first assistant was Isaiah Ingold, who taught during the greater part of 1838. He was succeeded by Irene Leach, who "continued to render such aid as was needed" until Braxton Craven took her place. Tra-

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 45; Interviews, 1936.

[42] *Ibid.*; W. M. Robbins, "Trinity College—Its Antecedents," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 18, 1893; B. A. York, "Memoir of Rev. Brantley York, D.D.," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 23, 30, 1893; Levi Branson to J. F. Heitman, March 26, 1884 (Trinity College Papers, 1839-1925, Duke University Library); Interviews, 1936.

dition says that Miss Leach, an unusually able student of arithmetic, did not greatly enjoy the study of Latin; hence York, who liked Latin and cared little for arithmetic, taught Latin and related subjects while Irene Leach taught the classes in arithmetic.[43]

Although the new schoolhouse was larger than the old one, it soon became insufficient to accommodate the increasing enrollment of the growing community school. During the first session York experienced considerable difficulty in teaching sixty-nine pupils in the single room. Consequently the schoolmaster's mind was busy devising a plan that would utilize the increasing community interest in the school in such a way as to raise its educational standard. Finally he determined "to attempt to establish a permanent institution of learning based upon an Education Association and with a view of reaching the common walks of life with a more thorough education than had been previously afforded them." Although this scheme must have occupied his thoughts constantly during the winter of 1838-1839, he discussed it with only one member of the community, Jabez Leach.[44]

By early 1839 York had planned his method of procedure. At that time he held his first public examination of the year, and many patrons of the school and their friends were in attendance. The examination lasted two days; and York, invited to deliver a public lecture, complied with the request by speaking on "the importance of establishing a permanent institution of learning of high grade at this place." At the end of his lecture he presented a plan for such a school. The ensuing discussion led to the appointment of a committee consisting of General Alexander Gray, Brantley York, R. E. Blair, and J. M. B. Leach, to draw up a constitution for an academy to be supported by a local educational society. About four hundred dollars was raised by popular subscription to provide means for the erection of a suitable building. After setting a date for a mass meeting to organize the proposed society, the meeting adjourned to await the preparation of a constitution.[45]

[43] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 48; Interviews, 1936.

[44] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 45.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 46; Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; Nora C. Chaffin, "Origins of Trinity College a Century Ago," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXIV (Aug., 1938), 195-197.

CHAPTER II

Union Institute Academy (1839-1851)

FROM THE PERIOD of the Revolutionary War until about the middle of the nineteenth century the development of the academy was one of the most important phases in the growth of secondary education in the United States.[1] By 1830 nearly a thousand academies were scattered throughout the country. Twenty years later, when the New England states included about a thousand, the number in the South was nearly twenty-seven hundred.[2] From 1800 to 1860 the legislatures of North Carolina chartered 287 academies,[3] and doubtless there were others.[4] It has already been shown that by 1840 there were, or had been, at least seven such schools in Randolph County.[5] Although no record has been found of an academy in the immediate vicinity of Brown's Schoolhouse in that year, there had been such a school in the northwestern section of the county. General Alexander Gray had supported Evans's School near his home in 1822;[6] however, at the time when York suggested the establishment of an academy there is no record showing that Evan's School or any other academy existed in the immediate neighborhood.

[1] Cubberley, *The History of Education*, pp. 696-697; Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina*, pp. 44 ff.; Knight, *Public Education in the South*, pp. 73-76; Edwin McKay Highsmith, "American State Normal Curricula . . ." (doctoral dissertation, Library of the University of North Carolina, 1923), pp. 127-158.

[2] Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 376; Charles W. Dabney, *Universal Education in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1936), I, 48.

[3] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 285.

[4] Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, Prefatory Note.

[5] See chap. i.

[6] Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, p. 337.

Brantley York and Union Institute (1839-1842)

According to plan, the people of Brown's Schoolhouse met in February, 1839, to organize an educational society for the support of an academy. The following members of the community were present: General Alexander Gray, Nathan Hunt, Jr., Joseph Johnson, Joseph Mendenhall, Ahi Robbins, Brantley York, Hugh Leach, James Leach, Lewis Leach, Absolon Leach, Martin W. Leach, William English, John English, Jr., Jabez Leach, Benjamin Ball, Reddick Mendenhall, Henry Ellison, Emsley Burgess, Allen U. Tomlinson, Thomas English, English Blair, Zebadee Johnson, Kelley Johnson, Alexander Elliott, Eli C. Kearns, Pleasant Reddick [*sic*], Enos Elder, Enos A. Blair, Edwin W. Lineberry, Lindsay Lamar, and J. M. B. Leach.[7]

Most of these men were heads of families who lived within the vicinity of Hopewell, Springfield, and Prospect churches, and apparently they were either Methodists or Quakers.[8] Up to this time the school conducted in the log house built in 1838 had not been named. During this community meeting York was asked to suggest a name for the new institution about to be organized. Taking his cue from the union in educational interests of the Methodists and Quakers, he suggested Union Institute.[9] This name, destined to continue until changed to Normal College in 1851, was promptly accepted.

After considerable deliberation and study, the committee appointed to draw up a constitution submitted a report, which with "some slight alteration and amendments" was unanimously adopted. This constitution included eleven articles that outlined briefly the purpose and organization of a society for the support of an academy. The organization was to be known as the Union Institute Society, and its purpose was stated in the preamble to the constitution:

> We, the people of Randolph and the adjacent counties, living in the vicinity of the Union Institute Academy; possessing no small share of

[7] Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853. Unless otherwise indicated, reference to the organization and growth of the Union Institute Society and Academy will be this source. See also Nora C. Chaffin, "Constitution and Minutes of the Union Institute Society," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXVI (Feb., 1940), 29-32.

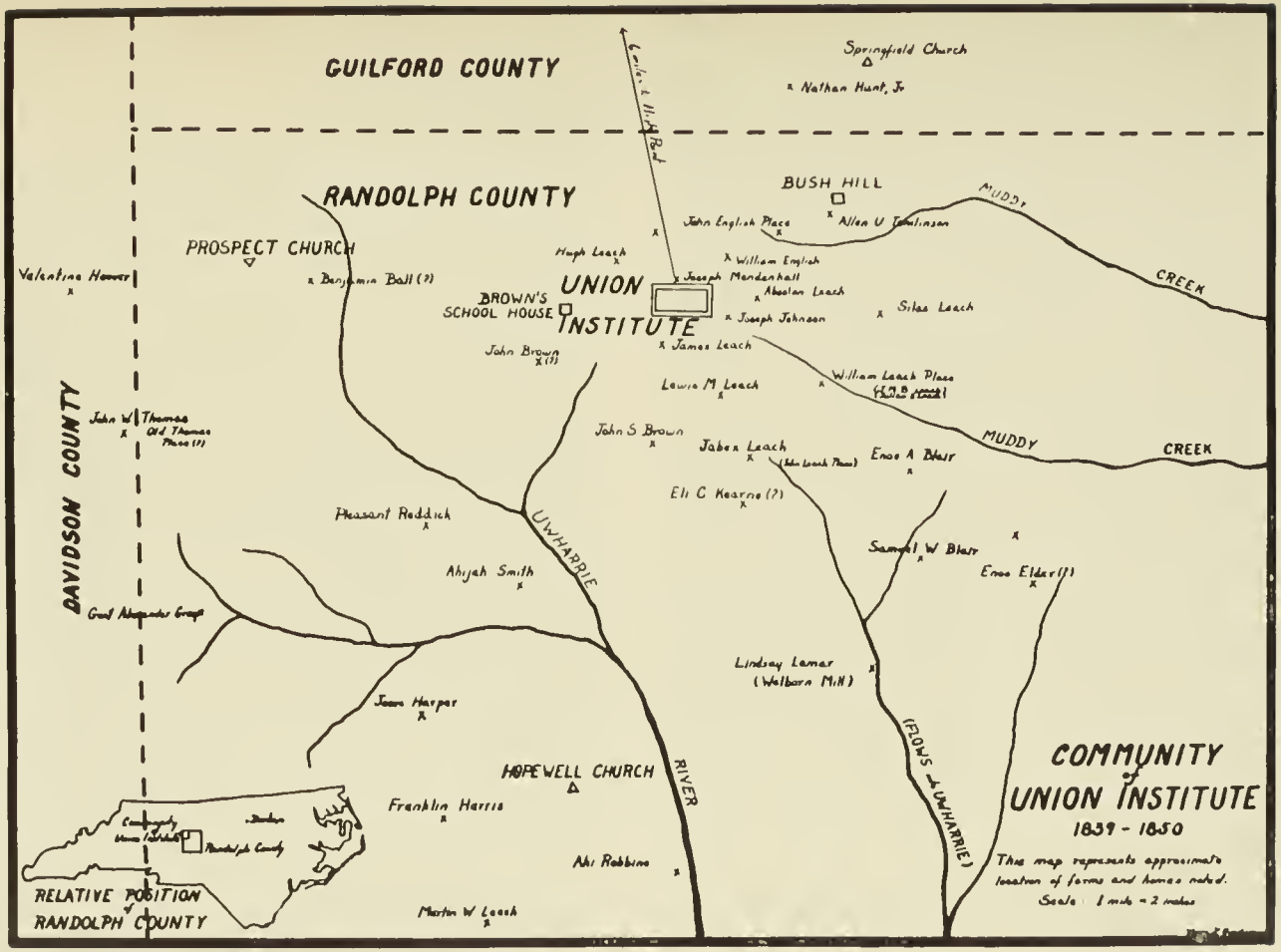
[8] See map of the Community of Union Institute, 1839-1850.

[9] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 46.

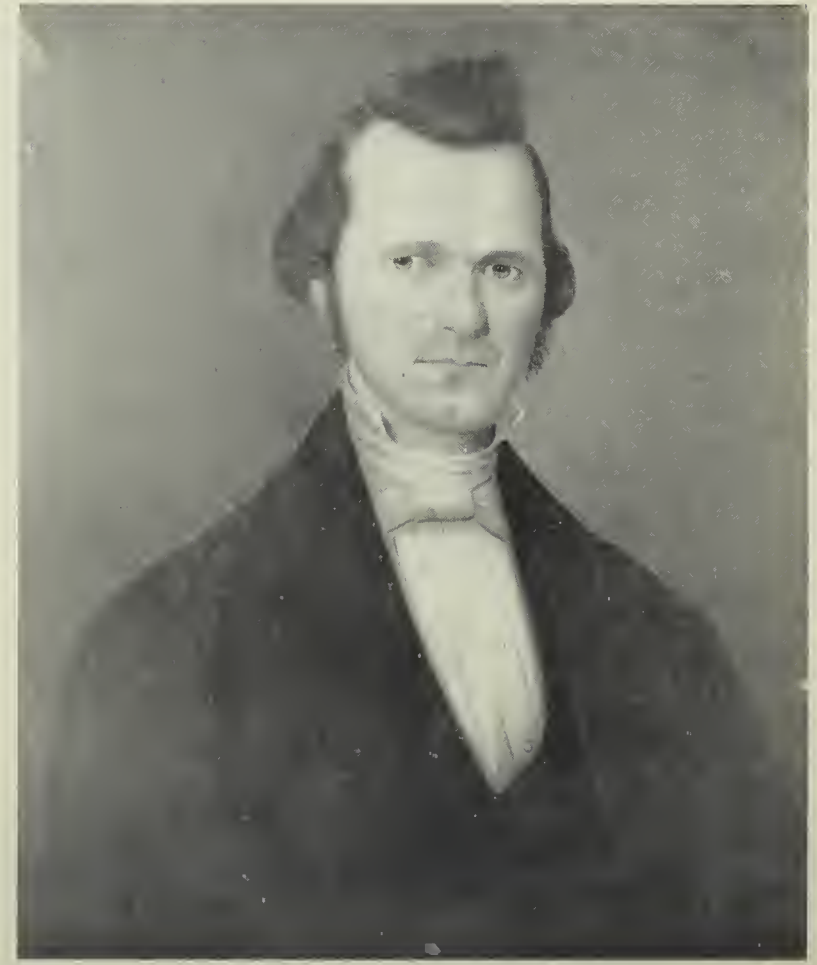
philanthropy and patriotism, believing that ignorance and error are not only the bane of religious but also of civil society, that they oppose a formidable front to the march of internal improvement, as well as to all the arts and sciences, and rear up almost an impregnable wall between man and the happiness he so ardently pants after, that we may more effectually contribute our quota in dispelling that dismal gloom which has with raven pinions brooded over our country for ages, eclipsing the brilliant sun of science and casting a deep shadow upon the whole mental region, and knowing the great advantages that bodies compact possess above individuality: we therefore *ordain* and *adopt* the following articles and resolutions.

Regular members of the society were to consist of "all male parents or guardians, who may send children or wards to this institution, and all students in the same of the age of eighteen years." Provision was made for auxiliary societies: "Each auxiliary Society which shall contribute *Fifteen Dollars* for the use of this institution, shall be entitled to send one *Delegate* to this Society," and other persons "who shall be approved of by a majority of the regular members on contributing the sum of *Five Dollars* shall be received and entitled to all the privileges common to other members."

The constitution also named officers and listed the specific duties which they were to perform. A president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, an assistant secretary, and a treasurer, all elected annually for a term of twelve months, were to direct the Society. The president should preside at meetings, but in his absence one of the vice-presidents should perform this task for him. The duties of the secretary included the listing of all officers, recording of proceedings, and preparing press notices. It was the duty of the treasurer to keep a "true account of all monies received and paid out by order of the Society with a statement of the purposes to which it has been applied but [he] shall not be at liberty to apply any of the monies otherwise than the Society shall direct." The Society was empowered to fill all vacancies which might occur among its officers or trustees. Furthermore, it was authorized to appoint agents whose duty was to receive donations for the use of the Academy and to pay such funds into the treasury. As it was originally written, the constitution provided for a quorum of fifteen members for the transaction of


GUILFORD COUNTY
Springfield Church
Nathan Hunt, Jr.
RANDOLPH COUNTY
BUSH HILL
MUDDY
CREEK
John English Place
Allen U Robinson
PROSPECT CHURCH
Hugh Leach
William English
Valentine Hoover
Benjamin Ball (?)
Joseph Mendenhall
BROWN'S SCHOOL HOUSE
UNION INSTITUTE
Absalom Leach
Silas Leach
Joseph Johnson
John Brown (?)
James Leach
William Leach Place
Lewis M Leach
DAVIDSON COUNTY
John W Thomas
Old Thomas Place (?)
John S Brown
Jabez Leach
Enos A Blair
MUDDY
CREEK
Eli C Kearns (?)
Pleasant Reddick
UWHARRIE
Samuel W Blair
Enos Elder (?)
Ahijah Smith
Good Adequate Group
Lindsey Lamar (Welborn Mill)
Jesse Harper
(FLOWS to UWHARRIE)
HOPEWELL CHURCH
RIVER
Franklin Harris
Ahi Robbins
Morton W Leach
RELATIVE POSITION of RANDOLPH COUNTY
COMMUNITY of UNION INSTITUTE
1839 - 1850
This map represents approximate location of farms and homes noted.
Scale: 1 mile = 2 inches

Brantley York



Braxton Craven, about 1850

business. Apparently this number was impracticable, for on April 30, 1840, the number was changed to nine. To clinch the control of the Society over the school, the constitution declared that "no foreign influence shall be admitted nor shall the Academy come under any other government than that of this Society."

Provision for the amendment of the constitution depended on the presence of a majority of this Society. Democratic in origin, the Union Institute Society thus provided for the perpetuation of this principle in its written constitution.

The following members of the newly formed Society signed their names to the constitution: William English, Jabez Leach, Kelley Johnson, Samuel W. Blair, John S. Brown, Lewis Leach, Enos Elder, Zebadee Johnson, Ahijah Smith, J. M. B. Leach, Hugh Leach, James Leach, Brantley York, Joseph Johnson, John English, Lindsay Lamar, Ahi Robbins, Joseph Mendenhall, Absolon Leach, Alexander Robbins, Val. Hoover, Pleasant Ruddeck [*sic*], and John W. Russom.

The members of the Society had elected officers before accepting the constitution. Nathan Hunt, Jr., who presided at the meeting of organization, was chosen president; General Alexander Gray and Martin W. Leach, vice-presidents; J. M. B. Leach, secretary; Enos Elder, assistant secretary; and Jabez Leach, treasurer.

After the adoption of the constitution, a committee composed of General Alexander Gray, Nathan Hunt, Jr., and J. M. B. Leach was appointed "to draft a brief plan or epitome of the internal regulation and government of the Academy." The Society then elected the following trustees for the school: General Alexander Gray, Nathan Hunt, Jr., Martin W. Leach, Henry Ellison, Ahi Robbins, Lewis Leach, and J. M. B. Leach. The Reverend Brantley York and Lewis Leach were chosen financial agents, and for their services they were voted 10 per cent of all monies collected. A committee composed of Joseph Johnson, Ahi Robbins, and Martin W. Leach secured from Joseph Mendenhall and James Leach "an accession of three acres of land" for the use of the Academy. Just before the adjournment of this first meeting of the Union Institute Society, York moved that J. M. B. Leach be appointed to deliver an address on education at the next meeting, scheduled for March

16, 1839. The motion was carried, and the organization adjourned its historic meeting.

Until 1842 the Union Institute Society held meetings at irregular intervals. At these sessions business was transacted and plans were made for the Academy. At the meeting on March 16, 1839, J. M. B. Leach delivered his scheduled address on education. He pointed out "with great perfection . . . the advantages attending an education and the disadvantages laboured under by those without it." After the lecture, the members of the Society "unanimously voted that gentleman their most sincere thanks and conferred upon him the incalculable honors which men of taste, talent, and learning so richly merit."

At this meeting, too, York stated the terms upon which he would teach the succeeding year: a salary of $200, "a house to live in, firewood to burn," an assistant teacher, and full control of the school. His terms were accepted.

The next meeting of the Society, May 11, 1839, did not run so smoothly; and it may be inferred that York had not experienced an easy year during 1839. J. M. B. Leach proposed that the Society carry out its agreement with York by finding and employing an assistant teacher. Upon the acceptance of Leach's proposal, York reported on the Society's financial obligation to him. He stated that his salary had not been collected or secured to him in any way, and that without it, he would "be compelled, though reluctantly, to resign his services as a teacher." The ensuing discussion became somewhat heated and finally ended with a motion by J. M. B. Leach that the school continue one week, after which period another meeting should be held "to make some permanent and efficient arrangements if possible to comply with the original bargain or secure in some way the services of Mr. York for a year." During the debate over this motion Leach insisted that the Society not be "so divided in sentiment or lukewarm as to let the school go down." To the motion Ahi Robbins finally offered an amendment that "the school should stop and the teacher should receive $2.00 per day for the ensuing week." The motion and the amendment were unanimously accepted. The Society then tabled its business relative to "commencing the

erection of the contemplated academy" and adjourned for a week to consider the whole problem.

At the appointed time, May 18, 1839, the Society reconvened. It soon became apparent that the members would be unable to raise the sum of money promised York. Thereupon they asked him what concessions he would make. In responding York revealed some of the difficulties under which he had been laboring to establish an academy in the community. In settlement he offered to take $40 in addition to the sum already subscribed and to continue the school, "*provided* the employers would bind themselves on their sacred words and honors to say nothing in any form, by word, insinuation, by retelling reports that would in any degree derogate from, or, be detrimental to the school during the year, but on the other hand to promote and forward it, by giving it a good name and soliciting boarders to come." The Society, impressed with the schoolmaster's speech, agreed unanimously to his proposals.

Having settled this unpleasant business, the Society turned its attention to plans for the future. An auxiliary society, previously organized at Oak Grove, requested that York be sent to the examination at its school and asked also that a teacher be recommended. Both requests received favorable action.

The Union Institute Society next took up the delayed business relative to the erection of a suitable building for the Academy. The dimension—fifty by twenty-five feet—had been accepted; now the Society voted for a wooden frame building. Upon motion by J. M. B. Leach, the group appointed a committee to ascertain the probable cost of the building as well as the cheapest labor. Lewis Leach, Ahi Robbins, Hugh Leach, Joseph Johnson, and J. M. B. Leach were chosen.

The Society then decided that the building program for the new academy should be inaugurated with proper ceremony, and July 4, 1839, was set as the date for laying the cornerstone. This ceremony was to be a part of the exercises held in celebration of the signing of the American Declaration of Independence. J. M. B. and Julian E. Leach, who were brothers, were selected as speakers for the occasion.

The Fourth of July was a gala day for the community and for Union Institute Society. The ceremonies lasted all day—a

morning and afternoon session separated by a period of feasting from dinners spread on the grounds. In commemoration of the historic date, J. M. B. Leach spoke in the forenoon on "the absorbing subject of American Independence." In his address he succeeded in throwing "on the canvass . . . the blood-stained picture of the American Revolution . . . [and] the unwavering attention of the people . . . indicated plainly that eloquent youth was playing on a chord in unison with their hearts." After this oration came a short recess before Julian E. Leach began his address in honor of the laying of the cornerstone. He discussed "the important and interesting topic of education . . . [and] the necessity and advantages of a liberal education." His talk was "distinguished by richness of diction and genuine logical reasoning." The speeches of the two young men impressed the members of the Society, who voted them thanks and instructed York to send a copy of the proceedings of the Society, including the speeches, to the *Greensborough Patriot* and the *Southern Citizen*, two newspapers published in Greensboro and in Asheboro, North Carolina.

The cornerstone was duly laid, and definite plans were outlined for the erection of the building. A committee, composed of Martin W. Leach, Lewis M. Leach, Jabez Leach, Nathan Hunt, Jr., and Joseph Mendenhall, was authorized "to advertise and let out the building of the academy to the lowest bidder so far as the carpenter's work is concerned, which lowest bidder shall bind himself or themselves to the committee to do said work in a good workmanlike manner and within a time to be specified by said committee." The Society assumed the responsibility for the amount of money "already subscribed on the Agents' books," and the committee agreed to be responsible for a contract for the erection of the building.

Work began immediately. Joseph Johnson hauled lumber from the sawmill of Absolon Grimes at Hanby's Creek in Davidson County, a distance of about twelve miles. The bricks used were made and burned on the school grounds.[10] With the building completed except for two chimneys, funds became exhausted, and it seemed that construction must stop. This, York determined, must not happen. In the afternoons after school he mounted his horse and rode throughout the country soliciting money for the completion of the

[10] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 41.

building. In this way the schoolhouse was finished before cold weather set in.[11] It was a one-story frame structure resting on brick pillars. Through the center was an eight-foot passageway dividing the building into two rooms of equal size, with a fireplace in each room.[12] The Union Institute Academy immediately moved into this house and began its work as an institution of learning. It was decided that the old school building should be used as a dwelling for the principal, and York moved his family into their new home. Many years after he wrote of the new Academy: "The institution was now in a flourishing condition, and in the new building the students found ample room and excellent accommodation."[13]

During this time York had been acting as financial agent for the Society. At a meeting on November 22, 1839, he reported subscriptions amounting to eighty-five dollars, the collection of twenty-one dollars of this amount, and his expense account of fourteen dollars and sixty-two and one-half cents. After accepting the report, the Society voted to appoint a committee of five men—L. M. Leach, Joseph Mendenhall, Jabez Leach, Reddick Mendenhall, Joseph Johnson, and John English—"to select a person for the agency business." To this committee York handed his books. At the same time "the subject of the situation of the present school being brought up . . . an investigation at length was entered into, the result of which was Brantley York is exonerated from any blame in regard to his management and government of the school so far as information was brought before the House."

Near the end of the first school session of the new academy, the Union Institute Society met (April 3, 1840) for the purpose of electing officers. The following were chosen: Ahi Robbins, president; Martin W. Leach, vice-president; John S. Brown, secretary; Lewis M. Leach, assistant secretary; Jabez Leach, treasurer. The only other business considered at this meeting was the appointment of Martin W. Leach and Nathan Hunt, Jr., as a committee "to secure an orator to speak at a Whig meeting to be held at this place at some time."

[11] B. A. York, "Memoir of Rev. Brantley York, D.D."
[12] Levi Branson to G. F. Heitman, March 26, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).
[13] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 47.

On April 30, 1840, a more important meeting of the Society was held. York had been so successful that the Society determined, if possible, to employ him for another term. He consented to serve if the Society would comply with the following conditions:

1. That two hundred dollars be subscribed by the people living in the vicinity of the Union Institute.
2. That an Assistant Teacher be found whenever there are Forty students or more in the school.
3. That the school be advertised six weeks during the year in the *Greensboro Patriot* and the *Southern Citizen*—the Teacher paying one-half of the expense.
4. That they furnish a comfortable house and a garden of an ordinary size together with the privilege of firewood and water.

After the Society had agreed to these conditions, York presented two resolutions which were also accepted. The first called for quarterly examinations to be held by properly qualified persons who should report the results to the Society and to the public through the columns of the *Greensborough Patriot* and *Southern Citizen.* The second resolution provided for a managing committee of five men whose duties should consist in advising with the principal concerning "the regulation and order of the school, etc."

At this same meeting Nathan Hunt, Jr., suggested the organization of a library society in connection with the Institute. Acting upon this suggestion, President Ahi Robbins appointed Nathan Hunt, Jr., Brantley York, and Kelley Johnson as a committee "to prepare and produce at the next meeting a plan of a library to be established in connection with the Society." In the few extant minutes of the Union Institute Society there is no further mention of this committee.

Acting upon its agreement with York, the Society in June and July, 1840, ran a descriptive advertisement in six issues of the *Greensborough Patriot.* The new session at the Union Institute Academy would begin in early June and last for twelve months. The year, divided into quarters, would include a "short intermission" at the end of each quarter. Tuition, at eight to ten dollars annually, and board, "in respectable and genteel families" at five dollars a month, were declared "cheaper than in any other school of the kind in the Union." The "superintendent," the Reverend Brantley York, having already taught in the community for two years past, had

proved his ability as a teacher by giving "almost universal satisfaction." He was a "gentleman eminently qualified to instruct youth, not only in various branches of scientific education, but also in the social virtues and polite arts." The advertisement emphasized "the principal design" of Union Institute Academy: "to place within reach of the common farmers, mechanics, and merchants an opportunity of giving their children at least a good business education. . . ."[14]

At the end of the first quarter of this session so well advertised, the Managing Committee, composed of Hugh Johnson, Joseph Johnson, Joseph Mendenhall, and Thomas English, made a favorable report to the Union Institute Society. After "personal observation and close inquiry," the Committee declared that "the teacher has given unremitting attention to the improvement of the students, and that the students on their part had been dutiful, obedient, and industrious. . . ." Moreover, the school was "in a very flourishing condition," and the Committee had heard of no "murmuring or complaint from any source whatever."

At this meeting, too, the Examining Committee, composed of General Alexander Gray, Franklin Harris, J. M. B. Leach, and Martin W. Leach, reported their findings. In the examinations the students had exhibited "no inconsiderable degree of proficiency in the various branches of study"; this was especially true in the more advanced classes, which "reflected honor alike on themselves and their teacher." The Examining Committee found the internal regulations of the Academy good and declared that "the teacher spares neither time nor pains the better to advance his pupils, and that the morals of all are intrusted to his care . . . and are regarded with paternal vigilance."

Union Institute Academy undoubtedly flourished through a part of the school term of 1840-1841. At no time did the number of students fall below fifty.[15] During the latter part of the year, however, attendance declined sharply.[16] The Quakers were gradually withdrawing their support. Their action may have been caused in part by a mild type of religious intolerance. The Methodist pupils

[14] *Greensborough Patriot*, June 9, 16, 23, 30, July 7, 14, 1840.

[15] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 47.

[16] W. M. Robbins, "Trinity College—Its Antecedents," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 18, 1893.

made sport of the use of "thee" and "thou" by Quaker pupils; and the parents, resenting this childish insult, gradually withdrew their children from the Academy.[17] There are other and more plausible reasons for this action. Not many miles way in Guilford County was the New Garden Boarding School, which had been founded by the Quakers in 1837. It seemed natural that the Friends should patronize their own school rather than one situated in a Methodist community, largely dominated by Methodist members and taught by a local preacher of the same persuasion. Moreover, Allen U. Tomlinson had organized a school above his tannery, a mile away at Bush Hill, near the heart of the Quaker settlement; and some of the Quaker children were sent there.[18] As the Quakers withdrew, the influence of the Methodists increased.

The shrinking enrollment may also have been due to the gradual withdrawal of the girls from the Academy, since the institution was developing into a school exclusively for boys. At this time it was generally believed that women required a different type of training from that given men, and there were schools for girls not far away in Randolph, Guilford, and Davidson counties—all within a few miles of Union Institute.[19] Despite the gradual withdrawal of the young women, however, the Academy remained open to both male and female students during the time when York was principal.[20]

Nowhere in the minutes of the Society or in the advertisements of the Academy is there any mention of decrease in attendance by the Quakers. After 1840, however, no Quaker was elected to office in the Society, and only a few were appointed on committees; Nathan Hunt, Jr., resigned as trustee on February 27, 1841. Perhaps this meant that the Quakers had withdrawn or that the Methodists had decided to develop Union Institute into a school primarily for their own sect. It appears, however, that the Friends withdrew largely

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Wilson and Petty, *Archdale.*

[19] Nora C. Chaffin, "First Women at Trinity College," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXV (April, 1939), 81; W. M. Robbins, "Trinity College—Its Antecedents." For the general attitude toward the education of women, see Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York, 1929).

[20] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 48.

because of their growing interest in Quaker schools convenient to their homes.

This shift to Methodism coincided with incorporation of the Academy, an event which occurred on January 12, 1841. The act of incorporation provided for a self-perpetuating board of trustees, composed at first of Nathan Hunt, Joseph Mendenhall, Joseph Johnson, Lewis Leach, Jabez Leach, Martin W. Leach, and Ahi Robbins. These trustees "constituted a body corporate and politic to be known as the Trustees of Union Institute Academy." They were given the usual rights and privileges of such bodies. They could acquire and dispose of property, receive gifts, sue and be sued, make regulations for the Academy, and "perform all such acts and things as are incident to, and usually exercised for, bodies politic, for the accomplishments of the object contemplated."[21]

This brief act of incorporation made no mention of the Union Institute Society. Despite the fact that the constitution gave all authority to the Society, the act vested all power in the board of trustees. By law this board was subject in no way to the Society which had originally organized the Academy. How long the Society continued to function is a matter of question; it met for some time, however, after the Academy was incorporated and remained in existence as long as York was principal.

On May 29, 1841, after the close of the academic year, the Society elected new officers: John W. Thomas, president; General Alexander Gray, vice-president; Martin W. Leach, secretary; and Jabez Leach, treasurer. At this meeting, too, the Examining Committee, composed of Martin W. Leach, Alexander Gray, and J. D. Clancy, reported that it had examined the students in "English Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Rhetoric and Composition," and had found that they "exhibited a knowledge of those branches of literature, as great as could be expected for the time they had been engaged in those studies." Furthermore, the committee noted that board in respectable homes had been reduced to four dollars a month and that the school was in a flourishing condition.[22]

[21] *Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at the Session of 1840-1841* (Raleigh, 1841), p. 116.

[22] *Greensborough Patriot*, June 1, 8, 15, 1841.

Braxton Craven and Union Institute (1842-1851)

It was during the next school term, 1841-1842, that a young man came from New Garden Boarding School to enter Union Institute.[23] This nineteen-year-old youth, Braxton Craven, was destined to impress his personality not only upon the Academy but also upon its successors, Normal and Trinity colleges.

Like York, Craven was a native of Randolph County. Tradition rather than written record furnishes the only information concerning his family and early childhood. At his death in 1882, a eulogy by an unknown author expressed the attitude of his friends toward his humble ancestry:

> A distinguished Russian general on being questioned as to his genealogy replied that genealogical trees were of little account—mere family never made a man great; thoughts and deeds alone, not pedigree, are the surest passports to enduring fame. I know of no man to whom these words are more applicable than Dr. Braxton Craven. No distinguished parentage could he boast of, and his thoughts and his deeds placed him in the front rank of the eminent men of his day.[24]

He was born August 26, 1822, and reared as an orphan in the home of Nathan Cox, a Quaker farmer who lived some four miles southeast of Ramseur in Randolph County.[25] Finding the seven-year-old boy "in distress," Cox had taken the lad into his home. Craven's sensitive nature as a child may be inferred from the following selection from a baccalaureate sermon which he delivered many years later:

> In all your ways, let me entreat you to remember the orphan by day and by night; his is a hard, oh! it is a bitter lot. There is much more poetry than truth in the world's pretended kindness to the poor, sorrowful-faced little boy that has no mother to love him and no father to protect him. He is sorely oppressed in his boyhood. He may dig himself a home in the mountain granite, but orphan haunts him like a midnight ghost. In his manhood the lingering curse of his sad condition rests upon him—this world has no cavern to hide him from the opposition. I have seen his

[23] Brantley York, "Let Truth Prevail," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 18, 1883.

[24] Eulogy on Braxton Craven delivered at Kinston, Nov. 30, 1883 (Trinity College Papers).

[25] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, *passim*. Unless otherwise specified, references to Craven's early life are based on this authority (1896 edition).

tears flow as if the fountain of his soul were broken up. I have seen him bow before God and ask for love to bind up his broken heart, and I have seen the cold combinations of this world grind him to powder. Always, my young friends, have a kind word for him, and treat him as a brother.[26]

Nathan Cox was an industrious farmer, and "Brack," as Craven was called, had the opportunity to learn the knowledge and skills necessary for life on a self-sustaining farm in North Carolina in the 1830's. Cox owned about one thousand acres of land. His first home was a tent, then a log cabin, and finally a seven-room frame house. As he prospered, he erected a loom-house for weaving, a cooperage for making barrels, a blacksmith shop, a grist mill, and two small distilleries, one for brandy and the other for whiskey. There were also a bench, blocks, and awls for making shoes, tin molds for shaping candles, and a "hackler and scutch" used in preparing flax. Since Cox opposed slavery, he owned no slaves. Labor was supplied mainly by his family, which ultimately included the parents, "Brack," and fourteen children.

In all work related to the farm Craven became a skilful and trusted worker. He learned not only to till the soil, but to care for the domestic animals, to hew logs, make shoes, "command the forge," construct barrels, and to operate the mill and distilleries. Occasionally he accompanied Nathan Cox in a covered wagon drawn by four horses to Fayetteville, North Carolina, and to Cheraw and Bennettsville, South Carolina, where Cox sold or exchanged products for articles needed on his farm.

On one of these trips to Fayetteville, Craven, who was then about eleven years old, experienced an unpleasant incident which resulted in good fortune for him. He fell from the wagon and tumbled beneath the horses. The animals trod upon his leg and made a deep wound. He was carried to a near-by store for treatment; and as he lay suffering on the counter, the storekeeper "gave him a spelling book to divert his mind." This was the first book that he ever owned. He took it home with him, and it became the "cornerstone of his education."

Craven's interest in the treasured speller developed a desire to attend a subscription school in the neighborhood. Nathan Cox

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

gratified his wish by sending both Craven and his own son to a log schoolhouse some two miles away. The schoolmaster, Jack Byers, an able teacher, was impressed with the interest and eagerness of his pupil. Young Craven attended several sessions of this school and "mastered the elementary branches of knowledge." Since his duties on the farm demanded most of his time, he studied at odd moments, often at night by the light of a candle or open fire, or while he tended the mills.

When he reached the age of sixteen, he decided that it was time for him to become independent of his foster father. Interest and success in the study of books led him to organize a school of his own, and about three miles away "at Solomon York's Plantation" he opened a subscription school. Twenty-five or thirty pupils studied with him in a log house eighteen by twenty feet in size. According to later accounts by his pupils, the sixteen-year-old schoolmaster was an excellent teacher. During this time he boarded in the home of John Allen.

While he was living in Allen's home, Craven attended a Methodist meeting at Salem Church and was converted under the preaching of the Reverend Colin Murchison, who later wrote a description of Craven's conversion:

> In the family of Reverend John Craven, I often saw a nephew of his, about the age of his son John Wesley. They were nearly always together. They had not been taking much interest in our meeting, so far as I could judge from appearances. But one morning at our prayer-meeting, I noticed these two cousins came forward together and knelt down at the front seat, near where I was standing. At the close of a prayer that was offered, I noticed they were intensely in earnest. I became deeply interested in them. I knelt down between them, laid a hand upon the shoulder of each of them. I remember now how I felt when, with all the earnestness of my entire nature, I urged those noble blood-bought souls to put their whole trust in the Savior, saying "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." "Shall be!" I repeated with emphasis. I felt their bodies under my hands quiver with emotion, and then they rose up, testified with joy and peace that they had realized a clear, sweet sense of pardon. They felt that their load of sin and guilt was removed and they were comforted.
>
> The door of the Church was opened that day, and among others who joined were the two cousins, Braxton Craven and J. Wesley Craven. In

a few weeks they both developed into good Christian workers. Braxton was notably able in prayer.[27]

During this period the seriousness of Craven's life was relieved by the social affairs of the countryside. There were parties, cotton pickings, corn shuckings, and log-rollings where he mingled merrily with the young people of the neighborhood.

At the close of his first subscription school, Craven was engaged to work for Lawrence Cox, a son-in-law of Nathan Cox. During the summer he raised a crop of corn, and the succeeding winter he again returned to the schoolroom. This time he taught a six-months subscription school at Holly Spring, a few miles from Ramseur, in Randolph County. In this community he boarded in the home of Kindred Craven.

During this year the young man was "licensed to exhort" and became a regular attendant of the community Sunday school which was held in his schoolhouse. Almost every Sunday he spoke there or at some similar gathering. In 1840 he was licensed to preach, and from that time he preached whenever the opportunity came to him.

At some time during this period he decided to continue his formal education. He had saved his money; now he wished to attend the Quaker school at New Garden. Dressed in "a broad-brimmed hat of sheep's wool, a coat and trousers of blue jean, and a pair of 'stitch down' shoes," he set forth carrying a bag containing all his possessions—a few books, shirts, and socks.[28] His friend Kindred Craven carried him part of the way in his buggy; the remainder of the journey he traveled on foot. New Garden had just been opened to students who were not members of the Society of Friends, and all such students were required to bring recommendations.[29] In compliance with this policy, Craven brought with him the following recommendations from his Quaker friends:

> We, the undersigned, do not hesitate to announce the character of Braxton Craven (the bearer) good. We have been personally acquainted

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[28] Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 57; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 37.

[29] Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 70; Dorothy L. Gilbert to W. P. Few, March 4, 1937 (Private Collection).

with him and find him to be a young man of good morals and reputation worthy to be accepted into any school establishment.

PHILIP HORNEY
BETHULL COFFIN[30]

We, the undersigned, do not hesitate to announce the character of Braxton Craven (the bearer) good though he is not a member of our society, yet we have been personally acquainted with him as a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and do not hesitate to announce him a young man of good morals and respectability worthy to be received into the New Garden Boarding School or any other literary establishment.

JOHN HADLEY
JOHN ALLEN
JONATHAN COX[31]

Craven studied at New Garden Boarding School for two terms of nine months each (1839-1841).[32] During the summer between sessions he returned to the home of Kindred Craven and worked for Lawrence Cox. At the same time he continued his studies on his own initiative and preached wherever he was invited. His friends noted a change in his appearance: ". . . he now wore a Quaker coat of black broadcloth and a fur hat." He had exchanged clothes with one of his Quaker roommates.

At New Garden he studied Latin, Greek, geography, chemistry, philosophy, astronomy, surveying, geometry, mensuration, algebra, and history.[33] His notebook in 1841 contained problems in quadratic equations and surveying. The following verse was found at the end of these exercises:

> Here, my good fellow, you see I am through
> A book I call a tough mensuration;
> And now if you listen, I will tell you quite true,
> Some parts are easy and some are vexation.[34]

Translations from a Greek reader were in other parts of the notebook, and a second book contained "a chronological history of

[30] Dorothy L. Gilbert to author, March 5, 1939. The original note is now in the library of Guilford College, N. C.

[31] Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 57.

[32] *Ibid.*; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 38.

[33] Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 56; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 38; Addison Coffin, *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin* (Cleveland, 1897), p. 47.

[34] Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 56.

Italy." Many years later Craven stated that at New Garden he had written out all his Latin translations and had memorized all Abercrombie's *Intellectual Philosophy*. The students were graded each week by a scheme in which ten signified perfection. The extant records of Craven's grades show a perfect score every week except one which was scored nine and one half. Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, historian of Guilford College, states that Craven was "the greatest student of the period."[35]

The record of his conduct at New Garden was comparable to his academic record. The following school regulation explains the current grading standard for deportment: "A student who has committed no breach of order during the week is entitled to number nine; if he receives number 9 two weeks in succession, he is entitled to number 10; if he receives number 10 two weeks in succession he is entitled to number 12 for good conduct."[36] Craven's record shows a perfect score of twelve.

His teacher at New Garden was Nereus Mendenhall, a graduate of Haverford College, Pennsylvania.[37] A man of talent and versatility, he eventually became a physician and engineer as well as a classical scholar.[38] It was probably Mendenhall whom a committee from Union Institute consulted in 1841 about an assistant teacher for their academy. Union Institute was a school for both Methodists and Quakers. The principal was a Methodist; the trustees felt that Craven as an assistant, also a Methodist but trained in a Quaker school, might be acceptable to the tolerant Friends.[39] No record has been found of an interview between Craven and the committee, and no one knows whether he was offered the position of assistant at this time. Records indicate that he received no definite offer, but that he was encouraged to enter Union Institute Academy and prove his ability as a student.[40]

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 38-39.

[36] Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert to W. P. Few, March 4, 1937.

[37] Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 47.

[38] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 37; Nereus Mendenhall to Jonathan Worth, March 31, 1866 (Jonathan Worth Papers).

[39] Peacock, "Dr. Dred Peacock on the Early Days of Trinity," p. 10; Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 57.

[40] Brantley York, "Let Truth Prevail."

Thomas English, who visited New Garden about this time, piloted Craven to the Academy by the method of "riding and tying"; one would "ride ahead, dismount, hitch the horse to a tree and walk on; while the other, coming behind, would mount the horse, pass ahead of the pedestrian, and so on." At this time Craven wore "a wool hat and a Quaker coat of brown color." His face, clean-shaven and youthful in appearance, indicated no more that his nineteen years.[41]

His first night in the community of Union Institute was spent at the home of his companion, Thomas English. The next day English took him to Union Institute, where he entered as a student. He boarded in the home of York as long as York remained principal of the Academy.[42]

[41] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 41.

[42] In 1883 Brantley York wrote of Craven's early connection in the community: "Messrs Editors: Soon after the death of the lamented Dr. Craven, an article appeared in one of the issues of the *Advocate* stating that Dr. Craven commenced his career as an educator in a log cabin in an obscure part of Randolph Co., and that this humble beginning grew into Trinity College. This statement was reiterated by some of the speakers at the recent commencement of Trinity, and bids soon to become stereotyped.

"Those who made the statement, must have done it from either personal knowledge, history, or tradition; the statement could not have been based on personal knowledge since those who made it, were not present at the time it should have occurred, and had it been based on personal knowledge, it would have been very different from what it is; for the statement is false in fact, nor could it have been based on the record of history; for it contradicts; for Dr. Craven says himself in the *Centennial of Methodism* page 180: 'In 1838, Rev. Brantley York, D.D., commenced an ordinary school. In 1839, the school was moved to the present site of the College, a good frame building of two rooms was erected, the school was chartered as Union Institute, and for a year or two prospered greatly. In 1842, Dr. York retired from the academy, and Rev. B. Craven, then 18 years old, was elected to take charge.'

"Now, the statement rests on tradition only as a basis which is too weak, too uncertain, and too contingent to challenge belief. Allow me now to make a few statements of the facts involved in this issue. The writer is the one who commenced the school in the log cabin perhaps referred to. In the year 1841, neither the month nor day recollected, Dr. Craven then a youth of about nineteen years of age, came from New Garden school to Union Institute, and entered school as a student, boarding with the writer. Soon after he entered school, he was employed as an assistant teacher and continued in the double capacity of student and teacher till the Spring of 1842.

"Early in the year of 1842, the writer was elected Principal of Clemmonsville High School, and at the close of the scholastic year, resigned his position as Principal of Union Institute recommending Dr. Craven as a suitable person to take charge. Consequently he was chosen Principal of Union Institute. Dr. Craven, therefore, commenced his career as a regular teacher in the good frame building already referred to.

At this time Irene Leach was serving as assistant teacher. Craven, the able new student, was not long in proving his ability; and sometime in 1841 he was elected assistant in place of Miss Leach.[43]

It was during this same year (1841-1842) that York was elected principal of another school, "Clemmonsville High School, male and female."[44] Although warmly urged by his friends to remain at Union Institute, he decided to resign. Later he wrote an explanation of his action:

> There were reasons sufficiently strong for my resignation to satisfy my own mind that the course pursued was proper. . . . But because I could not hold my position any longer was not, as some have intimated, any part of the reason why I left; for I was repeatedly and strongly urged to continue: nor was it a decline of patronage, for this was not the case. The work of the four years spent at Union Institute was truly onerous, my faculties, both mental and physical having been taxed to their utmost capacity. I not only had a large school to superintend, but, also as agent, had the funds to collect for carrying on the work, and then I was hearing recitations on four subjects which I had not studied, consequently I was necessitated to prepare at night for the recitations of the next day. It was there and then that my vision began to fail, and from that time till now I have had to contend with defective vision or total blindness.[45]

York's resignation[46] left Union Institute without either principal or assistant, since he had persuaded Craven to go to Clemmonsville

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"Now I do not wish to insinuate that the distinguished gentlemen who made this statement, had any intention to misrepresent the facts involved in the case, or to contradict the plain record of history nor would I detract ought from the well-earned fame of Dr. Craven, nor does Dr. Craven need anything that he did not do, to be super-added to his own illustrious deeds.

"For the truth of the statements made above, you are referred to Professor Johnson of Trinity College, Messrs. Ahi Robbins, Lewis Leach and Thomas English, of the same place, Mr. Zebulon English of Green Hill, Mr. Alphonso Ingold, Editor of the *Yorkville Enquirer*, and also to Hon. Wm. M. Robbins, and Hon. R. F. Armfield, Statesville" (Brantley York, "Let Truth Prevail," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 18, 1883). See also Journal of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1882-1885, p. 65 (Duke University Library).

[43] Interviews, 1936; Brantley York, "Let Truth Prevail"; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 40; Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College*, pp. 57-58; Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 48.

[44] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 48.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

[46] After leaving Union Institute, York devoted the remainder of his life to teaching, preaching, and writing. He became blind at the age of forty-eight; but

as his assistant. York, however, was unwilling to see Union Institute Academy close its doors, and he explained his solution of the problem in his autobiography:

> According to an arrangement between Mr. Craven and myself, he was to go with me to Clemmonsville and still officiate as assistant teacher, but as the time drew near for the election of another principal, and no candidate offered his services, some of the leading members of the Society inquired of me as to the fitness of Mr. Craven for the principalship. Though I was anxious for him to go with me, yet such was [*sic*] his studious habits and ability to learn, that I willingly recommended him as a suitable person for that position; consequently he was chosen principal at the ensuing election.[47]

The last entry in the minutes of the Union Institute Society is this statement: "February 14, 1842. B. Craven was elected teacher at Union Institute."[48] From that date until his death in 1882, the history of Union Institute Academy, Normal College, and Trinity College is largely the biography of Braxton Craven.

He spent his first years as principal in establishing himself in the community and in better preparing himself for his position as teacher and civic leader. For a time he boarded in the home of Joseph Mendenhall, who lived in a four-room log house. Craven rented a small room which had one small window and a few pieces of simple furniture. His bed was homemade, and Joseph Mendenhall built him a table and a shelf where he "kept his books, clothing, etc." On winter nights he studied by firelight; in summer, by tallow candles. The women of the household mended his clothes, and for all attentions, including room and board, he paid $3.50 a month.[49]

While Craven was living in the home of Joseph Mendenhall, an incident occurred which led to his permanent connection in the community. One of the students boarding in the home of Thomas English became ill. Since Craven "had learned something of medicine from his [former] instructor Nereus Mendenhall," he was ready

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with the help of his family and friends, he continued his activities until his death on October 7, 1891. See *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1893), III, 445, and R. Z. Linney, "Dr. Brantley York," *Trinity Archive*, VI (Nov., 1892), 39-45.

[47] Boyd (ed.), *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 48.

[48] Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853.

[49] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 42-43.

to offer his services in the sickroom. He was a constant attendant, and one night he appeared when "Miss Irene Leach was there by request, to relieve the household." She was about eighteen years old, and "spare in stature, having raven-black hair and soft gray eyes, which contrasted well with her delicate white complexion and rosy cheeks." At this time only a few words were spoken between the two young people, but they shared in the duties of the sickroom in such a manner as to make a deep impression upon each other.[50]

After this occasion they found many excuses to be together. One of the centers of social life in the community was Hopewell Church, some five or six miles from Union Institute. Craven frequently preached there, as he did at other churches in Randolph County. To some of these places the neighbors walked or rode,[51] and Craven and Irene Leach often went together. Attendance upon church services furnished the first excuse, and soon they were brave enough and sufficiently absorbed in each other not to care for a special excuse.[52] On September 26, 1844, they were married by the Reverend W. S. Chaffin in the home of the bride's parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Leach.[53] The wedding took place at "candle-light," and many friends of the couple were present.

For several months the newlyweds lived in the home of the bride's parents, and Craven concerned himself more intimately in community affairs. During this time his former landlord, Joseph Mendenhall, became ill; and Craven frequently assisted in the household, helping to care for his old friend during this, his last illness, and aiding the family in the work of the farm.[54]

Early the next year (1845) Craven and his wife moved into a home of their own, a two-room log house "within a stone's throw" of Union Institute Academy. One room was the bedroom; the other was kitchen, dining room, and living room combined. The cooking

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

[52] John S. Brown to Benjamin P. Elliott, Aug. 3, 1842 (Benjamin P. Elliott Papers).

[53] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 46-48; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 11, 1882; *Southern Citizen*, Oct. 17, 1844.

[54] Unless otherwise indicated, the discussion of Craven's early married life is based on the account in the Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, p. 65, and on Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 49-74.

was done in skillets, pans, ovens, and other utensils by the open fireplace. The dinner table was made of pine wood; the tableware consisted of "black-handled knives and forks, heavy crock plates and cups." The pantry was a little shed on the back of the house. A short distance below the house was a spring that furnished water for the household, and not far away was the barn.

The bedroom was simply furnished. There was no covering for the floor; "two small windows were without curtains or blinds." The pine bedstead was homemade and painted brown. In one corner was a neat bureau, a gift of the bride's mother. Behind the door was a small table which served as a washstand; on it was a bucket and tin pan. The one luxury of the house was a rocking chair that Craven, a few months after his marriage, had bought from an old Negro.

While the Cravens were living in this house they began a practice which they continued as long as they lived. They furnished board for a few students. Later when they lived in larger houses, they kept students in their home. At first Craven hired servants; later he bought a few slaves.[55]

His oldest child, Emma L., was born in his first home. He and his family lived there two years before he bought a farm just southeast of the Academy. There the Craven family lived in a log house until a two-story frame building was erected. On this farm Craven raised foodstuffs and stock to supplement his earnings at Union Institute.

"In 1853 Craven sold this farm and built a new home adjoining the campus, on some land given by Mr. James Leach." During the erection of the building he lived in a two-room house behind the new one. This large two-story house was his home until he died in 1882. In this home were born three other children: James L., William O., and Kate. Craven farmed the land adjacent to the house and never ceased "to raise a few staples, some stock, chickens, and vegetables."

During the first ten or twelve years of Craven's residence in the community he became identified with every phase of the life of the people. Their way of life was his. He tilled the soil, practiced

[55] U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule II.

the self-sustaining skills of the time, married into the influential and numerous family of the Leaches, began to rear a family of his own, and gradually moved up the scale from a state of poverty to a position of practical economic independence. If Craven had been satisfied to live this life to the exclusion of other interests, perhaps he would have become another substantial farmer of the community. It was his power to earn that gave him sufficient economic support to enable him to follow the primary interests of his life: preaching and teaching.

He studied continuously and read the current literature of the United States and Europe.[56] He believed that his lack of an academic degree from a recognized institution of higher learning was a handicap both to him and to his school. He did not have the means or the time to spend in college. Ultimately he hit upon a solution. By applying to Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, for permission to take the examinations on subjects required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was enabled to prove his academic proficiency.[57] In June, 1849, he received an honorary degree of Bachelor of Arts from that institution. Two years later (1851) the same college conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts;[58] in the same year a similar degree was conferred upon him by the University of North Carolina.[59] Later he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Andrew College, Tennessee; and in 1874 the University of Missouri conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.[60]

Beginning in his youth and continuing throughout his life, Craven developed a reputation as an able preacher and leader of Methodism in North Carolina. He became affiliated with the North Carolina

[56] *Greensborough Patriot*, Feb. 8, 1845; Braxton Craven, Lectures, 1845-1882 (Trinity College Papers).

[57] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 55; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, p. 65.

[58] W. K. Blackwell to W. K. Boyd, Feb. 19, 20, 1937; Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College* (Richmond [189?]), pp. 118, 121.

[59] J. M. Saunders to author, March 7, 1939; Georgia H. Faison to author, March 11, 1939; Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1907), I, 627; Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 104.

[60] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 50, 54-64; Bob Hill to author, March 6, 1939.

Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Ordained a deacon at Louisburg in 1852 and an elder at Greensboro in 1856, he joined the Conference at Goldsboro in 1857 and was received into full connection in 1859.[61] Throughout his life he held many positions and served the Conference in numerous capacities.[62]

Soon after Craven became principal of Union Institute he learned that some of the children in the neighborhood were unable to attend school because their labor was needed on the farms. Thereupon he opened a night school, which he taught free of charge.[63]

Union Institute, organized to meet the educational need of a rural community, grew as the interests of the locality expanded and as its principal led the way to further growth. Its students, in the days of York and in the first years after Craven became principal, were drawn from the immediate vicinity. When Craven became principal in 1842, there were thirteen students in the academy proper;[64] in 1849, ninety boys from Randolph, Guilford, Forsyth, Orange, Surry, Stokes, Green, Cumberland, Davidson, Rowan, Chatham, Carteret, and Craven counties, and one from the state of Missouri.[65] From 1843 to 1850 the number of students varied annually from 28 to 184, the general average being 105.[66] "During this time, the school became very popular, and though difficult of access, was patronized by nearly all parts of this state and largely from Virginia and South Carolina."[67] Since Union Institute was "difficult of access," adver-

[61] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 56; Brantley York, "Rev. B. Craven, D.D., LL.D.," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 11, 1882; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, p. 307 (Duke University Library); J. R. Bulla, "Dr. Braxton Craven," *Trinity Archive*, V (March, 1892), 215-216.

[62] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, record for 1859, no pagination, meetings held on Dec. 5, 1862, Dec. 7, 1863, Dec. 7, 1864, Dec. 11, 1865, Nov. 7, 12, 1866; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, record for Nov. 27, 1867, pp. 32, 68, 85, 102, 114, 117, 221, 249, 258, 263, 293; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1874-1881, pp. 1, 67, 113, 135, 169, 205, 255, 391, 492.

[63] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 43; E. C. Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (April, 1915), 7-8.

[64] Levi Branson to J. F. Heitman, March 26, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).

[65] *Catalogue of the Trustees, Teachers, and the Students of the Union Institute, 1849* (Greensboro, 1849), pp. 3-5.

[66] L. S. Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1876), p. 180; Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," p. 7; Braxton Craven, Sketch of Trinity College (Trinity College Papers).

[67] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 181-182.

tisements and catalogues of the Academy included specific details of its location: "The Union Institute is in Randolph County, twenty miles northwest of Ashboro, and eighteen southwest of Greensboro." Students who came by stage were advised to "stop at Jamestown, from which place to the Institute, private conveyance" could be obtained[68] at any time. The "healthfulness" and "morality" of its location were continuously stressed.[69] One advertisement in 1845 stated that "since its establishment in 1840, there have been but two or three cases of sickness among the students from all parts of the country." It was thought "to be a very favorable situation for students from the Southern and Eastern counties."[70] During the whole history of the Academy, Union Institute lost four students by death and twice that number by expulsion.[71]

The students were drawn from the middle and underprivileged ranks of society. J. R. Bulla, who later became a well-known lawyer in his native county of Randolph, wrote of his experiences at Union Institute. The son of a small farmer who died leaving a wife and small children, Bulla from youth faced the necessity of toil with little time for study. In old age he reminisced:

> In the latter part of the year 1841 I went to school a few months to Hesekiah Andrews . . . and he went home with me and told mother I had a clear head and would make a scholar if I could have a chance and that she ought to send me to a high school. She could see no way to send me for she hadn't a dollar to spare, but kept thinking about it, and in the mean time she sent me to good neighborhood schools, so that I got along far enough to teach a little school in 1842-'43 and in 1843-'44—of three months each. I gave what little money I made nearly all to my mother. . . . The 1842 school paid me very little and I had to take anything the people could pay. The 1843 [school] was better. I got eleven dollars a month and my board, all cash outside of board. It was at the end of this last school that mother got in the notion to let me go off to school on my "own hook" . . . . I tied up my clothes in a large yellow ten cents handkerchief. My clothes consisted of a calico coat, a calico vest, two or three shirts, and a pair of flax pants for Sunday pants, and a pair

[68] *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849*, p. 2; see also the *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, Raleigh, N. C., Oct. 28, 1845; *Randolph Herald*, Asheboro, N. C., March 30, 1847.

[69] *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849; Randolph Herald*, March 30, 1847.

[70] *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1845; see also *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849*, p. 2.

[71] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 181-182.

of coperar [*sic*] pants for every day, and a large checked silk handkerchief, and one pair of shoes (home made). My coperar [*sic*] breeches had buttons which I run [*sic*] myself from old pewter spoon handles. With this outfit I set out for Union Institute on the 12th of May, 1844, . . . about fifteen miles from home. I had no acquaintance there except Jabez Leach and my Cousin Daniel Bulla. I had seen Mr. Craven, the teacher, but had never spoken to him. . . . Braxton Craven told me to enter school. . . . I boarded with Jabez Leach on a credit and Mr. Craven . . . furnished me books and tuition on credit. I brought with me from home one dollar, all the money I had in the world. And mother had not a cent to give me. . . .

I took my place amongst the students and got along very well. I studied well and had a pretty good stand in school. I was there in 1844, 1845, and in 1846, only in the summer sessions. In the fall and winter I taught school to pay my debts I had contracted the summer before, and I paid every cent of my board, tuition, and books within a year after the debts were contracted. I studied hard when I was away from school—I got a large part of my education away from school.[72]

From the days of Brantley York, the Academy was a boarding school.[73] There were no dormitories; the students roomed and boarded in the homes of the people of the neighborhood, "one of the best rural communities in the State."[74] Almost every family within a radius of a mile of Union Institute kept one or more students.[75] As the reputation of the Academy grew, people began to move to the vicinity to educate their sons and to board students in their homes.[76] In this way a village began to grow up around the school.

The low cost of living in the community "recommended the Institution to the patronage of the public generally."[77] "Board and washing" cost from $4.50 to $5.00 a month; "contingencies," $1.00. The school term was usually divided into sessions of five months each, and the cost of tuition "including the Languages, Mathematics, Natural and Moral Sciences, and all subjects usually taught in High

[72] J. R. Bulla, My Early Life (MS in the possession of Mrs. Bruce Craven, Trinity, N. C.).

[73] Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853; Brantley York, "Let Truth Prevail"; Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 181-192.

[74] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 179.

[75] U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV; *Randolph Herald*, March 30, 1847.

[76] Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," p. 7.

[77] *Raleigh Register and the North Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1845.

School," was "$5 per session of five months each." In 1845 the Academy advertised: "Terms:—Tuition, Board, Washing, Candles, etc., altogether $30 per session."[78] In 1849 these rates had been increased. Tuition was as follows: "Primary Department—$5 per session. English through Rhetoric, also Arithmetic—$6 per session. Higher English and Mathematics also Natural Science—$8 per session. Languages—$10 per session." Students were permitted to enter at any time, and were "charged only from the time of entering till the end of the session; but after entering, no deduction" was made "except for protracted sickness."[79] Board and washing was the same in 1840—$5.00 a month, but "no extra charge for fuel, furniture, etc., except that the student finds his own candles."[80] Books were kept on hand to sell to students; and payment for tuition, board, books, and everything else was required at the end of the session. In 1849 the year was divided into two sessions of twenty-two weeks each—the "summer session" closed on the second Thursday of August, and the "winter session" began on October 1.[81]

The catalogue of Union Institute for 1849 stated that the Academy "was not entirely dependent upon the number of students, and may be considered a permanent school." In 1847 Craven had advertised in the county paper that the school was "permanently organized."[82] Since Union Institute was not endowed, perhaps Craven meant that the school could continue its work regardless of its income, that he was no longer dependent upon the earnings of the Academy for a livelihood because his farming operations yielded profit.

From 1843 to 1850 the gross income of the Academy varied from $300 to $1,800, averaging about $1,200. Out of this sum all expenses were paid, and the remainder served as Craven's salary. This salary was never set or guaranteed after his first year as principal. The amount of income lost from bad debts during these seven years was about $980, an average of $140 a year. "The

[78] *Ibid.; Randolph Herald,* March 30, April 6, 1847; *Greensborough Patriot,* Feb. 8, 1845.

[79] *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849,* p. 8.

[80] *Ibid.*

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *Ibid.; Randolph Herald,* April 6, 1847.

amount given to indigent young men was $1570, representing an annual average of $224."[83]

From 1843 to 1850 Craven carried the work of the school almost singlehanded. He was principal, administrator, teacher, and director of public relations. Perhaps the trustees had developed so much confidence in Craven that they permitted him to do as he pleased with the school. The fact that he was related by ties of marriage to five of the six trustees may have been a significant factor, especially since his father-in-law, James Leach, and his relatives by marriage, Joseph Johnson and Joseph Mendenhall, owned the land on which the Academy stood.[84] The amount of actual teaching assistance which Craven received while he was principal is uncertain. He did receive some help from his own students, however, two of whom were Lemuel Johnson and William M. Robbins. In 1849 he had one "Principal Assistant"—D. C. Johnson.[85]

Despite a limited teaching staff, the students were kept busy. Much of their time was spent in studying or in attending religious exercises. The catalogue of 1849 stated that the "students regularly attend Sabbath School exercises and Divine Worship on the Sabbath: their morals are cultivated as well as their minds."[86] Craven advertised that the Bible was "daily attended to, and on the Sabbath the students attend recitations and public preaching."[87] In 1876 he wrote that "the moral character of the academy was eminently good, and the young men when educated, have been marked for their usefulness and worth as citizens."[88] From 1843 to 1850 the number of "conversions" at the various religious services in the Academy was about three hundred.[89]

Extracurricular activities of a secular nature also occupied the students. In a day when practically every school had its literary

[83] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 180; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 445-446.

[84] Register Book, No. 29, pp. 309-311 (MS records, Office of the Register of Deeds, Randolph County, Asheboro, N. C.); Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853.

[85] *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849*, p. 3; Interviews, 1936; Durham *Daily Sun*, Durham, N. C., Sept. 13, 1893.

[86] *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849*, p. 8.

[87] *Raleigh Register and the North Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1845.

[88] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 181-182.

[89] *Ibid.*

society, Union Institute was no exception. In June, 1846, the Columbian Literary Society was organized. Records of the circumstances leading up to its organization are not available. One of its early constitutions, however, stated the purpose of the Society: "to promote the interest of literary training, especially elocution, poetry, and fine arts."[90] The name "Columbian" was given to the organization to indicate that, "while profound learning, elegance, and manly accomplishments were to be cherished, no one department of learning would be fostered to the exclusion of others, and no local or sectional prejudices would be tolerated."[91] Through "all seasons and difficulties" the Society "stood firm, sustained with unwavering fidelity the laws and usages of the institution, and aided very considerably in giving the high position attained by the academy."[92]

The officers of the Society were president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and librarian, and their terms of office were six weeks. During the meetings they were required to wear "suitable badges of office." These meetings were held at two o'clock in the afternoon, and the first part of each session "was devoted to a rather imposing ritualistic conversation entered into" by the officers of the Society. "The general trend of the conversation had to do with the value of literary society work" and the means of developing a well-rounded man. Each meeting closed in the following prescribed form:

> The President: "Are all in perfect harmony? All shall arise and if any are in perfect harmony shall fold arms on their breasts. But if any are offended, their arms will hang at their sides. If any are offended, the matter must be settled before adjournment, or the member who will not settle shall be suspended until he does."[93]

The program of the meetings consisted of one lecturer, three readers of compositions, and a question for discussion. Wisely perhaps, all speeches were limited to thirty minutes, unless special permission from the president allowed a longer period. The following questions were discussed and decided at various meetings:

[90] B. W. Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (Oct., 1915), 168.

[91] E. C. Brooks, "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education after the War," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV (April, 1918), 7-8.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," pp. 168-169.

Is it requisite to the accomplishing of an English Education that we study the dead Language? [Yes.]

Whether the strength and permanency of the government of the United States would be increased by an extension of territory or not? [No vote recorded.]

Would it be better for a man to marry before twenty-one or after he is thirty? [Before twenty-one.]

Which is the most injury to the United States, a miser or a spendthrift? [Spendthrift.][94]

The Columbian Literary Society began the practice of inviting distinguished speakers to deliver addresses at the close of the summer session. It also assembled a library. The school catalogue for 1849 stated that the organization was "a flourishing Society, has a small library, and is rapidly increasing."[95] The librarian kept a complete record of books lent to members. The type of book borrowed is indicated by the list of books owned on September 24, 1850. Among the thirty-two volumes were "*Burke's Works, Ecclesiastical History*, Dryden's *Virgil, Ancient Israelites, Josephus' Works, Phrenology*, and *Intellectual Philosophy*."[96]

The activities of the Society furnished training for students who were expected to display their literary accomplishments at examinations and commencement. Examinations were held at the end of each session, and weeks in advance Craven announced their scheduled dates in the Randolph County newspapers.[97] The following selection is an example of such advertising:

THE EXAMINATION

At the Union Institute, closing the Winter Session, will be on the 19th and 20th of February. All persons wishing to judge of the literary character of the school, are invited to attend.

B. CRAVEN, *Principal.*

January 1, 1847[98]

Craven's attitude toward examinations was definite:

1. Examinations ought to be, and can be reliable tests of scholarship.
2. They ought to be both oral and written upon the same subject.

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

[95] *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849*, p. 8.

[96] Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," p. 171.

[97] *Southern Citizen*, Aug. 7, 1844; *Randolph Herald*, July 7, 1846, Jan. 19, 1847.

[98] *Randolph Herald*, Jan. 19, 1847.

3. The questions ought to be clear, concise, unconnected with each other, and embrace what the student ought to know.
4. The questions ought to be prepared by persons having no other connection with the school.[99]

Although the public was invited and attended the examinations in varying numbers, the great occasions for public celebration were the commencements. As early as 1850 these occasions had become elaborate affairs, and the two-room frame building was no longer adequate to house the throngs that gathered for the exercises. Commencement in 1850 was held out of doors under the trees, about a hundred yards from the school building.[100] A copy of the program outlines the various events of that occasion, the last commencement before the Academy became Normal College:

Commencement at Union Institute
August 14, 1850.

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1 o'clock, P.M.
Gradeing [*sic*] Address to the Classes.
3 o'clock.
Meeting of the Alumni.
3 1-2 o'clock.
Address of the Alumni, By Joseph Masten, Esq.

Thursday, August 15.

Forenoon
9 o'clock—March, Honorary to Trustees.
9 1-2 —Prayer.

1. Oration—Salutatory, A. S. Hoover, Randolph.
2. Speech—Temporal Infidelity, W. N. Armfield, Guilford.
3. Oration—England, O. M. Shemwell, Davidson.
4. Oration—The Casket, G. C. Molloy, Rockingham.
5. Speech—Secret Societies, J. J. Crabb, Randolph.
6. Speech—"Dum Vivimus Vivamus," S. S. Wood, Forsythe.
7. Oration—Voltaire, R. H. Eaton, Stokes.
8. Oration—Napoleon's Victor, E. Raper, Davidson.
9. Speech—"Take the Ship's Reckoning," J. G. Gamble, Forsythe.
10. Annual Report of Scholarship.

[99] Fragment of MS by Braxton Craven (Trinity College Papers).
[100] Abram Weaver, "Progress," *Trinity Alumni Register*, II (July, 1916), 192.

Afternoon

1. Annual Address to the Columbian Society, R. H. Brown, Esq., Randolph.
2. The Symbol Banner, D. M. Thom, Guilford.
3. Reception for the Normal Class, R. F. Armfield, Guilford.
4. Honor to Scholarship, J. W. Thomas, Esq., Davidson.
5. Valedictory, L. Johnson, Randolph.

Dismission[101]

The speeches given by the students were sometimes written by Craven. This seems to have been an approved practice of the day,[102] though he probably did not write that of the class clown in 1850. The clown "came upon the rostrum loaded with huge volumes and an enormous manuscript ornamented with a blue ribbon." Craven introduced him

> as a "polished shaft," a great statesman, a splendid orator, and a distinguished philosopher. Thereupon the orator arose, carefully adjusted his books, unrolled his manuscript and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am a candidate; please vote for me," and sat down. The vociferous applause of the multitude shook the branches of the trees as "The Politician," finished his speech.[103]

The closing exercises of the school year were a culmination and light-hearted celebration of the more arduous activities of the year. Union Institute emphasized serious study, as a survey of its program of studies from 1843 to 1850 shows. In 1845 it was announced: "The students may pursue three courses. They may acquire a good academical education; they may prepare for any class at College; or they may acquire a classical education, inferior only to graduation at the University."[104]

In 1845 numerous aids in teaching were used, such as blackboards, maps, charts, globes, a geological cabinet, solids, and a numeral frame.[105] In 1847 "tolerably good apparatus," including an "air pump," had been added; and regular lectures on "Natural Sci-

[101] "Commencement at Union Institute, August 14, 15, 1850" (broadside, Trinity College Papers).

[102] *Randolph Herald*, April 6, 1847.

[103] Weaver, "Progress," p. 192.

[104] *Greensborough Patriot*, Feb. 8, 1845; *Raleigh Register and the North Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1845.

[105] *Greensborough Patriot*, Feb. 8, 1845.

ence, Political Economy, Mental and Moral Philosophy" were given by Craven.[106]

In 1849 the Academy, which had reached the peak of its development, issued a statement relative to its educational policies:

> Comparatively few persons can obtain a Collegiate education; in the mass, time and funds are wanting; their only source is the academic. If possible, every young man should graduate, but if one cannot, a full course at an Academy is evidently preferable to a partial course at College. It is not pretended that our academic course embraces everything that a man ought to study; but we believe our course is well selected, that it will properly develop and discipline the mind, and that if a young man has time and opportunity for a more extensive course, he should graduate at College. One or all departments may be pursued, and the time requisite to complete the course will depend on circumstances.[107]

In order that "academical" and college preparatory instruction might be offered, the course of study was organized into the departments of English, mathematics, natural science, Latin, and Greek. The following is a detailed outline of the work offered in each department in 1849:

Department of English

Fourth Class

Orthoepy } Only small works used at this school.
Orthography }
Geography—Mitchell's.
English Grammar—Bullions'.
Ancient and Modern History.

Third Class

English Grammar—Bullions'.
Bookkeeping—Preston's.
History.
English Poetry—Aikin's Collection.
Rhetoric—Blair's.

Second Class

Logic—Whately's.
Mental Philosophy—Wayland's.
Elocution—Vandenhoff's.

[106] *Randolph Herald*, March 30, 1847: "Those who study Natural Sciences will be accommodated with a good apparatus." Part of this "apparatus" is now at Duke University.

[107] *Catalogue of Union Institute*, 1849, pp. 6 ff.

First Class

Moral Philosophy—Wayland's.
Political Economy—Wayland's.
Reading and composition attended through the whole course.
English Dictionary, Worcester's or Webster's.

Mathematical Department

Fourth Class

Arithmetic—Emerson's 2nd and 3rd Parts.

Third Class

Algebra—Davies'.
Surveying—Gummere's.
Mechanics—Olmstead's.

First Class

Architecture—Benjamin's.
Optics—Olmstead's.
Mathematical Astronomy—Gummere's.

Department of Natural Science

Third Class

Natural Philosophy—Comstock's.
Chemistry—Draper's.
Astronomy—Olmstead's.

Second Class

Anatomy—Smith's.
Botany—Mrs. Lincoln's.

First Class

Natural History—Good's.
Philosophy—Olmstead's.
Geology—Mather's.
The experimental sciences illustrated by good apparatus.

Department of Latin

Fourth Class

Grammar—Bullion's.
Reader—Bullion's.
Caesar—Bullion's.
Ovid—Brooks'.

Third Class

Virgil.
Sallust.

Second Class

Livy.
Cicero.

First Class

Terence.
Horace.
For reference, Eschenburgs' Manual and Anthon's Classical Dictionary.

Department of Greek

Third Class

Grammar—Bullion's.
Reader—Bullion's.
Testament.

Second Class

Xenophon's Anabasis.
Herodotus.
Homer.

First Class

Homer.
Demosthenes on the Crown.
Various other authors and subjects are frequently studied under special circumstances.[108]

This last statement covered any other subject that Craven might wish to include in the course of study. There was one subject which did not appear in the catalogue but which was taught and enthusiastically sponsored by Craven, namely, a "Normal Class" in teacher-training.

Following years of agitation, the first public-school law in North Carolina had been ratified on January 8, 1839, about a month before the Union Institute Academy had been organized.[109] From that date until the days of the Civil War, the question of common schools became a subject of increasing interest and discussion.[110] This movement was not peculiar to North Carolina; it was universal in the United States. In the 1840's Horace Mann and other leaders were making contributions to the cause of public education in the New England states.[111] It was generally conceded that one of the essential

[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.
[109] Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina*, p. 140.
[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-190.
[111] E. I. F. Williams, *Horace Mann: Educational Statesman* (New York, 1937), pp. 136-166.

needs in America during the forties was teachers who were well educated and who possessed the ability to organize schools, classify pupils, and instruct them. Craven, the young principal of Union Institute, was "a tireless worker, omnivorous reader, and a careful student."[112] As early as 1844 he was delivering lectures on common schools: "Their Origin," "The Necessity for Common Schools in the United States," "The Object of Common Schools," and "The Object Further Considered."[113] He recognized the needs of schools in his own state and labored to meet those needs. In 1845, when Horace Mann was making his ninth report to the Board of Education in Massachusetts,[114] Craven advertised that "the Principal [of Union Institute] is weekly receiving the latest and best improvements in Literature, from the German and Northern Board of Education."[115] He collected information not only in the United States but also from Europe, and in 1848 was ready to initiate a plan of teacher-training at Union Institute.[116]

In developing his plan for normal training in the Academy, Craven was expressing his confidence in similar efforts which had been rapidly increasing in America since the opening of the nineteenth century. Teacher-training had been in a highly experimental stage as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, when Benjamin Franklin and others had established the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia. One avowed purpose of these pioneers was to see that "others of the lesser sort be trained as teachers." In 1785 Samuel McCorkle introduced the training of teachers at his academy, Zion Parnassus, near Salisbury, North Carolina, where it was continued until 1811.[117] A similar program appeared at the Moravian Academy of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, in 1807.

The most important development in the training of teachers in academies began in 1827, when the legislature of New York passed

[112] Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," p. 8.

[113] Braxton Craven, Lectures on the Common Schools (Trinity College Papers).

[114] Payson Smith, A. E. Winship, and William T. Harris, *Horace Mann and Our Schools* (New York, 1937), p. 87.

[115] *Greensborough Patriot*, Feb. 8, 1845.

[116] Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," p. 8; Braxton Craven, "Normal Department," *Southern Index*, I (July, 1850), 42-44. A few scattered issues of the *Southern Index* may be found in the libraries of the University of North Carolina and Duke University.

[117] Knight, *Education in the United States*, p. 315.

a law granting state aid for that purpose. It has been asserted that this was the first law enacted in the United States providing for teacher-training.[118] In 1834 New York passed another law which provided for state aid in one academy in each of the eight judicial districts of the state. The practice of teacher-training in academies persisted for many years, and Craven, imbued with this idea, decided to introduce the normal feature at Union Institute.[119]

In 1848 or 1849 he began his experiment at Union Institute. The idea was not new even at this academy, since Union Institute had been furnishing an occasional teacher for schools since 1839;[120] but a formal plan for the training of teachers was novel both at the Academy and in the state. Craven experimented boldly; and in 1850 he gave to the public some of the conclusions that he had reached in regard to the training of teachers and the organization of the common schools. He published these conclusions in two articles, "Common Schools" and "Normal Training at Union Institute." In view of their pioneering quality, both merit full quotation:

Common Schools

That our common schools are defective is admitted by all who have considered this subject but the remedy is not so easily discovered. Some have thought that they would correct themselves, but this is evidently a mistake; the error is not in the working of the machinery, but in its constitution. Our school system is organically defective. It is good as far as it goes, but stopping ere it reaches firm ground, the whole structure is weak. Experience, logic, and common sense point out the following changes:

1. The funds must be increased; the state pays little enough and the counties pay the merest fraction imaginable. Every remedy will be ineffectual until the districts are allowed by law to impose whatever tax they choose. Massachusetts has had common schools constantly ever since 1647 and no other means has ever been found sufficient.

[118] E. V. Wills, *The Growth of American Higher Education, Liberal, Professional, and Technical* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 115.

[119] For the origin and development of teacher-training in academies, see the following: Cubberley, *History of Education*, p. 751; J. F. Gordy, *The Rise of the Normal School Idea in the United States* (Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 8, Washington, 1891), pp. 9-42: Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 285-291; Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, I, 52, 115-116; Knight, *Education in the United States*, pp. 311-318; Knight, *Public Education in the South*, p. 108; Wills, *Growth of American Higher Education*, pp. 115-116.

[120] Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853.

2. There must be system. We have at present no system of mode or books, one teacher undoes what another does, every one works at random. We have no books because there is no regularity in demand. We must have a uniform mode, and uniformity of books.

3. We must have Normal Schools. We can never reach any eminence without them. All endowments and enactments will be vain, without skillful workmen to put them into operation. Our next number will contain an able article in support of these propositions, and a bill embodying these views will be strongly urged upon the next Legislature.[121]

Normal Training at Union Institute

The following outline of a theory and course of instruction has been adopted by a large Normal Class at Union Institute, it received the commendation of the Guilford Association and examining committee, and since then of some of the first men in the state. It will be published more in detail, and is sent forth at present in mere skeleton without comment, that it may fairly receive such criticism as it deserves. The friends of education are invited to express their opinions freely, as the matter will be brought before the Legislature and sustained by zeal and talent. We wish to reject what is improper and to add improvements if necessary. We have collected everything we can find in Europe and in the United States on Common Schools, and after long study and several years experience, we have formed this outline of mode, and we think if our leading men could see its details they would give it a hearty support. We shall shortly publish what we (and many others whom we have consulted) think to be a complete organization for Common Schools, with all its modes, laws, etc., and we hope that those who may be elected to the next Legislature will at least give it an examination. — Candidates and aspirants of every grade play the tune of school reform to the popular ear, but they never once hint at the remedy, we have no such false modesty, but speak our opinion freely.

Theory of Common Schools

While it is the duty of all men in every station of life to pay proper respect to the maxims and practices of the past, it is equally important that they should investigate and think for themselves. School teaching has hitherto received but little attention, as a science it has scarcely been studied at all; it is consequently encumbered with the crude notions of an infant people, who know more of anything else than mental cultivation. A proper view of general principles is thought to be conveyed in the following articles.

[121] Braxton Craven, "Normal Department," *Southern Index*, I (July, 1850), 42-44.

Union Institute Academy

I. Arrangements

1. Schoolhouses should be spacious, well-finished, capable of being kept warm in winter and cool in summer; the windows should be large with glass and shutters, the sills not being more than two feet from the floor; the seats should all have backs and fronts, and be made of different heights to suit different sizes; each seat should accommodate two and only two scholars. Children should not be compelled to sit around the fire in order to keep comfortable, but the whole room should be kept sufficiently warm. Some place should be prepared for hats, baskets, umbrellas, etc., that everything may be in order. Finally, the school house should be enclosed.

2. Every school should be furnished with axes, water-buckets, fire shovel, black-board, map of the United States, Halbrook's apparatus, an English Dictionary, and a hand bell, all of which would cost about $20.

3. Schools should open at 8 o'clock in the morning, have a recess of 15 minutes at 10, stop for dinner at 11 1-2, resume at 1, have recess at 2 1-2, and close at 4. This arrangement will allow 6 hours for study, which is simply sufficient for children, 3 for amusement, and 3 for labor—averaging the year. Such a course would be favorable to both mind and body.

4. Some time before and after school, and perhaps a portion of the noon time, should be devoted to drilling exercises, such as the sounds of letters, laws of Ortheopy [*sic*], etc., etc.

5. Commencement, recess, close, and recitation should always be at a specified time, and at a signal given by the hand bell or something equally appropriate.

6. Not more than one scholar should leave the house at the same time: some mark of absence should then be left, and a speedy return required.

7. No scholar should be permitted to stay out of the house in school time. Each scholar, large or small, should have a seat and be required to stay at it in time of school.

8. Teachers should not indulge in the play and sports of the scholars; for by such course moral influence is greatly weakened if not lost.

9. The practice of turning out teachers is full of mischief, and should be hooted from civilized society.

II. Manner of Teaching

1. Schools should be strictly silent, none being allowed to speak aloud but the teacher, and those who are speaking or reciting to him.

2. Books should be uniform, and scholars should be regularly and thoroughly classed.

3. Specified lessons should be given on all subjects, and recitations exacted. Allowing scholars their own time to learn lessons as well as

permitting them to pursue studies upon which they do not recite, are pernicious practices.

4. As soon as children have learned the letters of the alphabet or while learning them, they should be taught the sound which these letters represent.

5. Pronunciation should be learned by rule, because it would be more accurate and of easier acquisition; the present mode being uncertain, interminable, and without sytem.

6. In spelling polysyllables, the learner should pronounce from the first upon each syllable.

7. Orthoepy and Orthography (i.e. pronouncing and spelling) with and without the book, should be learned in connection and as nearly as possible at the same time.

8. In connection with spelling, the meaning and use of words would also be learned.

Spelling should never be discontinued in Common Schools, but the spelling book should be used only by those who study it; whatever book the learner is using will always afford proper spelling and defining exercises.

Great care should be taken that children learn to read correctly; if they were correctly taught in regard to stops, tones, etc., from the first, wrong habits would be avoided and proper ones easily formed.

Writing should be commenced at an early period, and assiduously practiced until a neat and accurate penmanship is acquired.

III. Course of Instruction

A regular system is of utmost consequence both to the accuracy and success; and no small amount of time is now lost in our Common Schools for want of a regular course. We believe the following subjects and classification adapted to the cultivation of the mind and the wants of the people.

1. Spelling and Reading. While the child is learning these, it may be allowed to write on the slate during a small portion of each day; it will also be profited by studying Halbrook's apparatus of solids, figures, minerals, maps, etc. The spelling book should not be relinquished until any combination of letters can be pronounced, and all the rules of Orthoepy can be accurately given.

2. Reading, writing on paper, the first principles of Oral Arithmetic, primary lessons in Geography; exercises on the rules of Orthography.

3. Reading, writing, short sentences. Oral and Written Arithmetic, primary lessons in Geography.—Scholars should write after a copy until they learn to shape their letters correctly.

4. Reading, Writing, Composition, Arithmetic, and Geography.

5. Composition, Arithmetic, Geography, and English Grammar.

6. Arithmetic, English Grammar, United States History, and Astronomy.

7. English Grammar, Bookkeeping, and Mensuration.

8. Algebra, Natural Philosophy, and English Poetry.

9. Geometry, Chemistry, and Physiology.

The old books may be retained where it is not practical to buy new ones, but uniformity should be at once secured, if possible.

IV. Punishment

1. All punishments that mortify, that is, such expedients as punish by the mortification they inflict should be totally abandoned; this will exclude dunce blocks, leather spectacles, carrying rules, standing up to be pointed at, and all such practices.

2. Privations, such as keeping the offender from play at recess, noon, etc., may be used advantageously; but the greater instrument of school order and obedience is moral influence, and where this properly used, fails to maintain the teacher's authority, nothing but the "rod" is sufficient. We believe the rod is, at present, used with but little discretion and by far too often.

3. Teachers might avoid the necessity of severe punishment, except in rare cases, by carefully cultivating nobler principles of the heart, and by avoiding occasions of offence.

V. Qualifications of Teachers

1. None who indulge in any of the grosser vices should be allowed to teach, such as swearers, drunkards, gamblers, etc. The present pretence of acquiring a "good moral character" is a mere form.

2. Certificates should be called in as much as once in 2 years, in order to guard against bad character, and raise the standard of scholarship.

3. Candidates after October 1st, 1850, should pass an approved examination on Orthoepy, Orthography, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, Geography, and English Grammar, and all certificates given out prior to that time should expire Jan. 1, 1850; thence onward the requirements should gradually increase.

4. Written questions should be given to candidates and written answers required, which questions and answers should be preserved.

5. Female teachers should be encouraged; their services are much needed.

VI. Miscellaneous

1. It is right and very appropriate that the teacher should read a portion of the Bible to the scholars each morning at the commencement of school.

2. Charting Geography is an exercise conductive to health, and in connection with the ordinary mode of studying is perhaps beneficial.

3. Public examinations, when thorough and well conducted, are useful and should be practiced.

This outline for educational practice in North Carolina was published in one of the literary ventures initiated by Craven. In May, 1850, he and Reuben H. Brown, a native of Randolph County and a highly respected local teacher, civic leader, and author, began the publication of the *Southern Index* at Asheboro, North Carolina.[122] This periodical, a bimonthly of sixteen pages devoted primarily to the promotion of public education, also included news items and articles on a variety of subjects.[123] The *Southern Index* did not long survive; in October, 1850, it was converted into the *Evergreen*.[124] The first issue of the new magazine explained the change and the purpose of the magazine:

The *Southern Index*, a plant that bloomed upon the wilderness plains of North Carolina and, being a new specimen in periodical Botany, was undetermined in character, has been found to be a very pretty "Evergreen," destined we hope to make many homes beautiful and happy. The *Index* enjoyed a pleasant spring and summer, it sprang up under the rainbow of promise, though the soil in which it grew was not very rich, yet, under the genial influence of shine and shower, it grew beyond expectation; a few scorching winds and rains came upon it, but for the most part Zephyrs and Favonian breezes played in its leaves, and seemed to woo it on to maturity and beauty. To kind friends who digged about its roots and watched over it for good, we tender our thanks; we promised to "enlarge and beautify" if they would aid us; they have done their duty and we in a measure have done ours. We have associated with us more talent than we possessed, we therefore have more than double the ability we had before; we henceforth issue twice as large and twice as often, so

[122] Reuben H. Brown to Calvin H. Wiley, April 27, 1851, Sept. 9, 20, Nov. 6, Dec. 4, 18, 1856 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.); W. C. Hammar to W. K. Boyd, Aug. 25, 1920 (Private Collection); Mrs. J. A. Brown to author, Sept. 17, 1936; U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule IV, p. 37; MS dated Nov. 23, 1850 (Office of the Clerk of the Court, Asheboro, N. C.); *Southern Index*, I (July, 1850); W. P. Few, "Twenty-five Years of Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (July, 1917), 152; Reuben H. Brown to Benjamin P. Elliott, Jan. 26, 1851 (Benjamin P. Elliott Collection).

[123] *Southern Index*, I (July, 1850); J. J. Farriss, "Braxton Craven—A Man of Letters," *Trinity Archive*, XXXVI (May, 1924), 350; Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," pp. 12-14; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 102-103.

[124] *Evergreen*, I (Oct., 1850). The press took approving notice of the new literary magazine. See Raleigh *Times*, Sept. 6, 1850, and Reuben H. Brown to Benjamin P. Elliott, Jan. 26, 1851 (Benjamin P. Elliott Collection).

that at two dollars per annum, it is only half as dear as at first. The work is as cheap now as it would have been in its former state at fifty cents; this we think, kind friends, is well enough for the first six months, and if you will help us, we hope to do much better ere long. We shall send to the subscribers of the *Index* three numbers of the *Evergreen* which will complete their year, and though the work is twice as large we shall charge them no more; we hope, however, that all our subscribers will continue; we shall continue to send unless informed that the work is not wanted. *The Evergreen* is the *Index* in new form and with a new name.[125]

Craven was connected with the *Evergreen* until March, 1851, when he relinquished his share of the magazine to Reuben H. Brown. The venture survived until November of the same year.[126] In the *Evergreen* Craven wrote on various subjects. He produced two novels, *Mary Baker* and *Naomi Wise,* which were later published in book form. Besides these, he wrote stories, essays, historical sketches, articles of local interest, and poetry. He seemed to be at his best in attacking the social problems of the day, especially those related to the subject of education. In a "Petition from the Laborers to the Merchants of North Carolina" he appealed for more books for the laboring man:

Sirs, your petitioners being citizens of the state, all of lawful age and good standing in society, and being greatly grieved and much harmed by the present conduct of merchants, beg leave to show our sad condition and respectfully ask redress at your hands. We are hard-working men as you very well know, we pay our debts as your books will show, we build all bridges, make all roads, pay all taxes and do all the labor of a great state; we feed and otherwise support as saucy and numerous a gang of merchants, lawyers, and doctors, as any state in the confederacy; all this we have done without murmuring. We have bought your calico, cambric, cloths, wares, groceries, etc., until we are well-clothed and well-fed. But we are, and you know it, an ignorant people; we have no book knowledge, we know nothing of the world, present or past, and whose fault is it? It is yours. You bring no books, how can we buy them? Dare you say that you have bought more than you can sell, we answered that, except in some of our larger towns, you have not bought so many as one book for every tenth man. Is this a supply? Shame says no! Now we ask you for books; bring us a good variety such that we can buy from respectable little libraries from your stores. We tell you now in good time, that unless

[125] *Evergreen*, I (Oct., 1850), 1.
[126] Farriss, "Braxton Craven—A Man of Letters," p. 352.

we see a good quantity of books in your stores, we shall not patronize you, but as we have always lived in harmony and you have dealt honorable with us, we have no doubt that you will consider our request with proper attention.[127]

In another article entitled "Rebellion" Craven decried the fact that public opinion had made North Carolina subject to the North:

Tyrant Public Opinion has made us tools of oppression. He has made our people believe that they were fit for nothing but to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; that they were to be servants forever; while other states have been moving in rapid strides to the perfection of every art we have been compelled to refrain from every improvement. We have not been allowed to spin and weave the cotton raised on our own borders; we have been prohibited to make our clothes, shoes, wares, mechanical, farming, and culinary implements. We have been compelled to bring from distant shores, our hats, shoes, brooms, axe handles, and scythe sheaths, whilst our forests abound in furs, our fields in sedge and our groves in timber. Where a shop has been opened in our midst, the workmen have always come from a distance, other states have sent us their refuse tailors and mechanics of every sort. *Public Opinion* has not allowed a native North Carolinian to teach a high school or college, to superintend a factory, to survey a public road, to make a pair of fine boots, or extract a decayed tooth. We asked for free schools and could only obtain a skeleton; we petitioned uniformity of books and systematic teaching, and have been spurned as insolent intruders. To write a book is a boon that has been denied us. The goose quills of Carolina are doomed:—

They hang inglorious on the wing,
Till dropped in puddles on the spring;
There they rot, a loathsome sight,
For want of those who dare to write.

We have neither been allowed to write for instruction nor pleasure. Our problems of arithmetic are about wine, tea, wall, and ditches, instead of corn, wheat and potatoes; our reading books are about towns, streets, ships, and such other matters as we rarely see. Public Opinion covers the land with Northern papers, whilst those of our own State languish or die; we hear of every street brawl, the arrival of every ship, the death of every drunkard; but who among us knows what takes place in Carolina. . . . We deem it a provocation beyond endurance, for *Public Opinion* to tell us that we have nothing to write about and nothing worth engraving. In these, therefore, and many other respects, we renounce all allegiance to the hateful tyrant. . . . We have hoisted our broad flag—the *Evergreen*—to its defense we pledge out talents, time, and eternal perseverance.[128]

[127] *Evergreen*, I (Oct., 1850), 14.
[128] *Evergreen*, I (Feb., 1851), 5.

Although many subjects engaged Craven's literary attention, nothing else appeared to interest him so much as the problem of the common schools. In an article on "Turning Out Teachers" he attacked the custom of students' demanding "treats" of teachers, and the vicious treatment of teachers by neighborhood bullies; turning out teachers, according to Craven, was a "Devilish practice."[129] In another article he criticized the method of examining common-school teachers and suggested improvements:

> Either our obstinacy or dullness prevents us from seeing any propriety in the mode of examinations used by most of our county committees; some have no standards of attainment but are allowed to exercise their own notions; others make it a matter of mere form and invariably pass any applicant that comes recommended by a district committee; and others again give their certificates without condition or limitation. Such proceedings we deem exceptional for many reasons.[130]

Craven then described current procedures of examination. Prospective teachers were herded together and asked a few questions, which they answered orally. He suggested, instead, written questions to be answered in writing during a three- or four-hour period and then read before the examining committee: "This will give ample specimens of his [the teacher's] writing, spelling, manner of expression, and his ability to teach." The subjects for examination were to be orthoëpy, orthography, arithmetic, "principles of teaching," and writing. Craven concluded by stating, "The above mode of examination is used in the New England States, and such is the only manner to be efficient."

So important did Craven consider the efforts of the *Evergreen* that he wrote Calvin H. Wiley, who in 1853 became the first State Superintendent of common schools for North Carolina, to solicit his advice and influence in keeping the magazine before the public:

> I send you a very poor number of the *Evergreen*, hoping as you have a very high literary name throughout the State, you will recommend the *Evergreen* to your acquaintances, and procure me some subscribers. You are aware how difficult it is to induce our people to subscribe for home publications; the present, however, is a favorable time, while non-intercourse is in agitation. I should be greatly obliged if you would commend

[129] *Ibid.*, I (Oct., 1850), 15-16.
[130] *Ibid.*, I (Oct., 1850), 28-29.

the *Evergreen* to the notice of your friends and persuade a goodly number of them to subscribe. If we can procure about 150 more subscribers, we shall send forth our work with a handsomely ornamented cover; and with about 300 more, we should be able to pay writers a respectable sum. Our intention is to call out the talent of the State, and make a North Carolina monthly inferior to none, either North or South.[131]

Because of Craven's efforts as writer, teacher, preacher, and lecturer, by 1850 Union Institute had become a well-known secondary school. Craven believed, however, that it had reached its maximum growth as an academy. He became convinced that North Carolina needed a state-supported institution for the training of teachers; and in the same letter in which he asked Calvin H. Wiley to support the *Evergreen*, he requested Wiley "to sustain . . . our Normal College." Craven had made plans for the organization of such a school.

[131] Dec. 24, 1850 (typewritten copy, Trinity College Papers); see also Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First Normal School," p. 14.

CHAPTER III

Normal College (1851-1856)

BY THE END of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the idea of normal training in academies was gradually giving way to active demands in America for the establishment of separate institutions for the training of teachers. Such schools, already established in Europe, were well known in the United States. The American people were specially interested in the Prussian seminaries for the training of elementary teachers, and a considerable body of literature relative to the normal-school idea rapidly developed.

In 1823 the Reverend Samuel Reed Hall established privately at Lexington, Vermont, the first American normal school. Seven years later it was moved to Andover, Massachusetts; and from 1837 to 1840, it was located at Plymouth, New Hampshire. From the founding of this school until 1860 the growth of the normal-school movement was rapid. In 1827 James G. Carter established a private normal school at Lancaster, Massachusetts; but when he applied to the state legislature for assistance, he was refused by a margin of one vote. In 1835 he was elected to the legislature of Massachusetts, and he and Horace Mann became largely responsible for the enactment of the measure creating the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1837). About the same time the Reverend Charles Brooks traveled throughout the state lecturing upon the Prussian system of elementary education and teacher training. Wherever he went he aroused sentiment for state support of normal schools.

As Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, Horace Mann became the most influential figure in the normal-

school movement. Largely because of his efforts, on July 3, 1839, the first American state normal school was opened at Lexington, Massachusetts. The course in teacher training covered one year and included, in addition to the usual academic subjects, the "science and art of teaching." There was also a model school for practice teaching. The second and third normal schools in the state were opened in 1839 and 1840.

Other states followed the lead of Massachusetts. In 1844 New York established a normal school at Albany, and Connecticut and Michigan founded normal schools in 1849. By the time of the Civil War there were twelve state normal schools in operation in the United States.[1]

By 1850 Braxton Craven was informed about the growth of normal schools. On the whole he approved of the trend in teacher training in Massachusetts and believed that the time had come for North Carolina to establish a state school for the training of teachers. His interest in the public schools was not that of an observer. In 1850 he was a member of the common-school committee for the examination of teachers and the selection of textbooks for Randolph County.[2]

His practical experience with the public schools revealed to him their shortcomings. They lacked public support; funds were hard to get and often misapplied; the "upper classes" refused to patronize schools for "the Poor"; "old field" schools and private academies fought the common schools; committees quarreled and neglected their duties; schoolhouses were either in ruins or in great need of repair; and the teachers themselves were often incompetent and poorly trained.[3] In his message to the General Assembly, Governor

[1] For accounts relative to the development of normal schools, see Cubberley, *History of Education*, pp. 745-759; Knight, *Education in the United States*, pp. 310-324; Wills, *Growth of American Higher Education*, pp. 116-118; Gordy, *Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea in the United States*, pp. 42-104; Highsmith, "American State Normal Curricula," pp. 127-231.

[2] *Greensborough Patriot*, Feb. 8, 1845; Craven, "Turning Out Teachers," *Evergreen*, I (Oct., 1850), pp. 15-16; Braxton Craven to Governor David L. Swain, Sept. 15, 1852 (Swain Papers, 1850-1867, Library of the University of North Carolina); Craven, "Normal Department," *Southern Index*, I (July, 1850), pp. 42-44; Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, Dec. 24, 1850 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers); MS records, no pagination (Office of the Clerk of the Court, Randolph County Courthouse, Asheboro, N. C.).

[3] *North Carolina Magazine*, I (1844), 179; Johnson, *Ante Bellum North Caro-*

Charles Manly described the condition of the schools in North Carolina in 1850:

> Our people do not take hold of the subject [schools] with that energy and spirit essential to success. A general listlessness prevails. Those who can afford it, send their children elsewhere to school, while the poorer classes keep theirs at home to work. Throughout the State, you see everywhere on the highways school houses deserted, the doors broken from their hinges, and the grass growing in the yard. Why is this? Besides those already alluded to, one prominent cause, doubtless, is the difficulty of procuring proper teachers, qualified by education and good morals to direct the young. Our men prefer, for the most part more active employment. Let female teachers then be patronized and employed. They would be satisfied with smaller compensation, while their soft and gentle manners, purer morals, greater tact in instructing young children, and taming the wild and stubborn, fit them in a peculiar degree for this office.[4]

Union Institute Changed to Normal College

It was to this General Assembly that Craven presented his scheme for a "Normal College." For months before the meeting of the legislature he had sought, by lectures, articles, pamphlets, and personal letters, to arouse sentiment for a teachers' college.[5] He finally wrote the provisions for a bill "to incorporate Union Institute . . . a Normal College" and intrusted it to Senator W. B. Lane, of Randolph County, to present to the General Assembly. Lane introduced the bill on December 4, 1850. It passed the first reading and was referred to the Committee on Education and Literary Fund. Eleven days later it was reported out of the committee and recommended for passage.[6] Meanwhile Craven was engaged in winning support in the Assembly. On December 24, 1850, eleven days after

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lina, pp. 259 ff.; Knight, *Public Schools in North Carolina*, pp. 139-149; Noble, *History of Public Schools in North Carolina*, pp. 83-96.

[4] *Journals of the Senate and the House of Commons of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at Its Session of 1850-1851* (Raleigh, 1851), pp. 479-480.

[5] Craven, "Normal Department," pp. 42-44; *Evergreen*, I (Oct., 1850, Feb., 1851); Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, Dec. 24, 1850 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers); Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," pp. 14-15.

[6] *Journals of the Senate and House, 1850-1851*, pp. 62, 99; Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," p. 14; *House and Senate Documents, Printed for the General Assembly of North Carolina at the Session of 1850-1851* (Raleigh, 1851), Senate Doc. No. 92.

the bill had been reported favorably by the committee, he wrote to Calvin H. Wiley, a representative from Guilford County, soliciting his support for Normal College:

> As to our Normal College, I am persuaded you will sustain it. I hope you will move it forward as fast as possible. I think the legislature ought to make us an appropriation of $1000, it is a small sum to the State, but it would be a great deal for us. If we obtain the charter, I want our friends to introduce a bill to give us $1000 from the Literary Fund, and I think with proper care the matter might be carried. That amount could certainly not be spent with more advantage to the State, and we greatly need it. We have a goodly Board of Trustees, but you know they will do nothing for the School, more than merely assist in carrying it on. They will not spend one cent of money for it. The expenses and support rest upon my own shoulders. With a $1000 I could put up the necessary buildings, and start the Normal College with substantial accommodations. To the mere politician these considerations are without weight, but to you who have a desire for the mental and moral improvement of the people, they will perhaps appear in a different light. I shall perhaps be able to assist you, as much as I ask for myself.[7]

There was little opposition in the Assembly to the establishment of "a Normal College," but there was considerable disagreement over some of the provisions of the bill. Much of this appeared to grow out of the proposal for a state appropriation as advocated by Craven in his letter to Wiley.[8] After making several amendments, the Senate sent the bill to the House for approval. There, on the second reading, opposition broke out anew to parts of the bill, in particular to those "which provided that the College might confer degrees of 'Master Teacher' and 'Master of Arts.'" The sections including these provisions were stricken out. Next, "Section 9," which authorized "the several county courts to send, not exceeding two scholars to said College, and pay for their tuition out of the School fund, etc.," was also stricken out. In the debate on these provisions, Wiley did not wholly support Craven's request; he objected to appropriation of money to the College. Amended by

[7] Dec. 24, 1850 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers); Connor (ed.), *Manual of North Carolina . . . 1913*, p. 634.

[8] *Journals of the Senate and the House, 1850-1851*, pp. 62, 99, 203-204, 830, 1077; Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," p. 15.

both House and Senate, the bill passed the second and third reading and became a law on January 28, 1851.[9]

The new charter included seven sections. The first stated "that the present Trustees of 'Union Institute' . . . and their successors be, and they are hereby declared, a body politic and corporate, to be known and distinguished by the name and style of the 'Normal College.'" The trustees were to "have perpetual succession and a common seal" and were given the right "of holding lands, tenements and chattels, sufficient for the uses and purposes of said college, and of suing and being sued, and of pleading and being impleaded." This first board of trustees of Normal College included the following men: M. W. Leach, Ahi Robbins, Joseph Johnson, James Leach, C. M. Lines, and Braxton Craven, all from the community of the College, together with A. H. Sheppard, of Salem; John A. Gilmer, of Greensboro; Colonel Samuel Hargrave, of Lexington; J. L. Blackmer, of Salisbury; the Reverend A. S. Andrews, of Greensboro; Dr. S. G. Coffin, of Jamestown; H. B. Elliott, of Randolph County; J. W. Thomas, of Davidson County; John B. Troy, of Randolph; J. P. H. Russ, of Randolph; Eli Russell, of Montgomery; and General J. M. Leach, of Lexington. Most of these men were well known in the professional, economic, and political life of the state.

The trustees were empowered to fix the time of their meetings and "to prescribe the manner in which vacancies in their body may be filled, five Trustees being a quorum to do business." They were further authorized to make rules, regulations, and bylaws, "for the good government of the College, and the management of the property and the friends of the same."

The management and government of the College were placed under the supervision of "a President and such other persons as said Trustees may appoint." The duties of the president were to make "all needful rules and regulations for the internal government" of the College and "to fix the number and compensation of teachers to be employed therein, to prescribe the preliminary examination and the terms and conditions on which pupils shall be received and

[9] Brooks, "Braxton Craven and the First State Normal School," p. 15; *Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at the Session* of *1850-1851* (Raleigh, 1851), p. 56; unless otherwise indicated, the discussion of this charter will be drawn from this source.

instructed, and the number of pupils to be received from the respective counties."

The last three sections of the charter preserved some of the features that Craven had planned for his normal school. After passing satisfactorily a course of studies "prescribed by the Faculty and Trustees," students would be "deemed qualified to teach common schools." Certificates, issued by the College and signed by the president and at least seven trustees, gave them the privilege of teaching without examination anywhere in the state. All students entering Normal were required to sign the following statement:

> We, the subscribers, hereby declare that it is our intention to devote ourselves to the business of teaching common schools in the State of North Carolina, and that our sole object in resorting to this Normal College is the better to prepare ourselves for that important duty.

Craven and the trustees had worked to secure a teacher-training school for North Carolina. The charter established such a school, but gave it no financial support and little power. Earnestly Craven sought a small loan from the Literary Fund; this, too, was denied him in 1851.[10] If he was discouraged, he did not show it. His first dealings with the General Assembly had given him valuable experience with the political forces of the state. He decided to capitalize on this experience and make another effort to secure the support necessary for Normal to grow into a state school of significance. Meanwhile a new plan for securing financial aid from the state came to his attention. The fact that during its first year Normal College made an unofficial connection with the Methodists of North Carolina brought the opportunity to the College.

This connection was made in November, 1851, at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Craven appeared before that body and proposed that Normal be permitted to educate "without charge" young men preparing for the ministry. The Conference accepted his proposal and endorsed the work of the College. This relationship meant friendly co-operation, which both College and Conference agreed

[10] Braxton Craven to Governor David S. Reid, Aug. 22, 1851 (Governors' Papers, 1851).

would be beneficial.[11] One responsibility Normal permitted and the Conference accepted: the appointment of a board of visitors and one professor. In 1851 the board was first appointed, and the Reverend A. S. Andrews was assigned to a professorship in Normal.[12] A year later the Committee on Education of the North Carolina Conference reported on the work of the College:

> Your Committee have likewise had under consideration Normal College. And although this is a State Institution, and not under our Control, yet we are gratified to learn that it is rapidly increasing in prosperity and usefulness. The department for the education and training of young men for the ministry is in a healthy and growing condition. Some ten or twelve candidates for the sacred office are diligently engaged in preparing themselves for the great work of preaching the Gospel.
>
> *Resolved, Therefore,* That we regard Normal College with increasing interest, and do recommend it most heartily to the confidence and support of our people, and the community in general.[13]

Perhaps the friendly connection between Normal and the Methodists influenced Wake Forest College to invite Normal to join in a plan to secure funds for the education of teachers in state-chartered denominational colleges. In June, 1852, Wake Forest suggested that at the ensuing meeting of the General Assembly, Davidson College and Normal join Wake Forest in sponsoring a bill for this purpose.[14] The University of North Carolina was already training prospective teachers free of charge.[15] The trustees of Normal College agreed to join the two denominational colleges in a plan to seek a grant from the Literary Fund and pointed out that "the States of Georgia, Pennsylvania, and New York have made similar liberal grants to all their incorporated colleges."[16]

[11] Journal of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1846-1866, pp. 83-88; E. C. Brooks, "The First State Normal School Becomes Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (July, 1915), 102; Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 182-183.

[12] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, Dec. 1, 1851; Luther L. Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776* (Durham, 1938), p. 38.

[13] *The Annual Register of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Held at Louisburg, November 3-10, 1852*, p. 185.

[14] *Biblical Recorder*, Raleigh, N. C., Nov. 2, 1852; Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776*, pp. 38-39; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, pp. 211-212, 372-374.

[15] Noble, *History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, pp. 139-142.

[16] Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, pp. 372-373.

When the general assembly met in 1852, the plan was embodied in "A Bill to provide for the education of common school teachers." It provided that one young man from each county (there were then eighty-one counties in North Carolina) be educated at either Davidson, Normal, or Wake Forest and that tuition be paid at regular rates out of funds appropriated from the Literary Fund. The students were to be chosen by the county superintendents of common schools, and they were to attend the college of their choice, provided that no more than twenty-seven students chose any one of the institutions. Preference was to be given to poor boys who would otherwise be denied an education. In return for their training, the students were to agree to teach in the common schools of the state for twelve months.[17] Much to the disappointment of the Baptists, the bill failed to pass the General Assembly. Some of its opponents stated that Wake Forest and Davidson were sectarian and Normal was not, and controversy over state relationship to sectarian colleges seems to have aided in defeating the bill. The *Biblical Recorder*, a periodical of the Baptist denomination, denounced the opposition and suggested that it inform itself on the true status of Normal College. The *Recorder* declared further that Normal was as much a sectarian school as any and supported this statement by citing an item which had appeared recently in the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, a periodical serving the Methodists of North Carolina. This item had strongly recommended Normal College to the patronage of the Methodists.[18] G. W. Paschal, historian of Wake Forest College, doubts that the

[17] *Ibid.*; Noble, *History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, pp. 139-142; Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776*, p. 39.

[18] Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, p. 373. On January 14, 1853, the editor of the *Biblical Recorder* wrote: "In just the same sense that Davidson and Wake Forest are sectarian, is Normal College sectarian. It is under the control and direction of Methodists, as Davidson is under the control of the Presbyterians, and Wake Forest under the control of the Baptists. We also venture the assertion that at Normal and Randolph-Macon more effort is made to induce young men to become Methodists and with greater success, than is made at Davidson and Wake Forest, to lead them to become Presbyterians and Baptists. Whatever may be the fault of the Methodists, want of zeal is not one of their peculiarities." In support of his statements, the editor quoted from the *Richmond Christian Advocate:* "The friends of religious education will gladly learn that the legislature of North Carolina has placed Normal College in a position to equal the best institutions in the country. . . . Let Methodism rally its forces, and sustain its own schools with untiring zeal, and the battle is won."

bill ever had the support of Normal in the General Assembly.[19]

During this year (1851-1852), when the denominational colleges were asking help from North Carolina, Craven was seeking special state aid for Normal. Hoping to win support for his scheme, on September 25, 1852, he wrote a letter to Governor David L. Swain,[20] who at that time was the president of the University of North Carolina but who had served as governor of the state from 1832 to 1836:

As you stand at the head of the Literature as well as State affairs in North Carolina, I hope you will take some interest in a matter I shall propose, and advise me as you think best.

It is obvious that we need one or more institutions for the education of teachers. Such institutions should be separate from the University and yet of a high Collegiate order. Normal College has commenced its career on that plan, and is doing as well as any college in the South has ever done for the length of time it has been in operation; but it would do a great deal better as a real State institution.

Can Normal College be made a state institution, standing in the same relation to teaching and general education that Chapel Hill occupies in relation to polite literature and statesmanship? Or can North Carolina be induced to establish a Normal College for the thorough education and training of teachers?

The patronage of Normal College is now sufficient to pay three professors; and all the State would have to do, would be to expend some $12,000 or $15,000 for additional buildings. This sum might be taken from the Literary Fund. If once started with proper buildings, etc., the College could easily sustain itself, meanwhile the property would all belong to the State, managed by Trustees.

Massachusetts has three such institutions, New York has one on a magnificent scale, Pennsylvania has two or three, and Georgia has one nearly completed.

I have thought of presenting a Bill or having it done, to the above effect, and have collected materials and prepared a memorial to accompany it. But if you approve the plan, I would prefer submitting the whole to your revision.

If you would let the Bill go into the Legislature under your auspices, it would certainly do better than under any other man's in the State.

Thousands of dollars are expended every year in this State upon Common schools, without much effect, simply for want of teachers. We must do something. I appeal to you in this matter, knowing that

[19] Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, p. 373.

[20] Connor (ed.), *Manual of North Carolina . . . 1913*, pp. 129, 418; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 526 ff.

you are always in the van of every improvement. I propose Normal College because it is already in successful operation, and will cost the State much less than to commence a new one—it is favorably located—very healthy—very cheap, etc. We sent forth ten teachers last commencement, and had applications for at least two hundred. We could have any number of young men preparing to teach if we had room for them.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.[21]

No record has been found showing that Swain lent his influence to the proposals in Craven's letter.

When the Assembly convened, a bill containing proposed changes to the first charter of Normal was introduced in the Senate. It was accompanied by a supporting memorial signed by twenty trustees of the College.[22] After stating that Normal was "above party, confined to no section, and essentially important to North Carolina," the memorialists declared that when, in 1850-1851, "Moved by the importance of common schools, and the acknowledged want of teachers, twenty of your fellow citizens solicited the last Legislature for a charter to establish a Normal College, said charter in a very meagre form was granted." Regardless of discouragement, the experiment at Normal had already attained a degree of success:

To the astonishment of every person, the first session numbered one hundred and twenty-nine students, and [at the end of] the collegiate year ending on 29th July last, numbered one hundred and fifty-two. Property to the amount of two thousand dollars has been secured, good boarding houses and hotels have been erected, the trustees have prescribed a thorough course of study, and Normal instruction is given on the most approved plan, a model school being attached for practical application. Your memorialists have accomplished what they designed; they have demonstrated the practicability of a Normal College; they were aware from the first, that the experience of other states only confirmed the deductions of reason, by showing that a Normal College must be connected directly with the State government, in order to produce the proper results; but they were willing to make sacrifices rather than propose public experiments. That a Normal College is adapted to the wants of the country,

[21] Sept. 25, 1852 (Swain MSS, 1845-1855).

[22] This memorial is probably the one to which Craven referred in his letter to Governor Swain. The trustees who signed the memorial were as follows: H. B. Elliott, A. H. Sheppard, L. M. Leach, Jabez Leach, J. L. Blackmer, James Leach, A. S. Andrews, J. P. H. Russ, S. G. Coffin, J. B. Troy, J. A. Gilmer, M. W. Leach, Samuel Hargrave, Ahi Robbins, Joseph Johnson, John W. Thomas, C. M. Lines, B. Craven, J. M. Leach, and Eli Russell. For this memorial, see *Senate and House Documents, North Carolina, 1852*, Senate Doc. No. 10, pp. 70-74.

is a matter beyond dispute; that the one already commenced, is favorably located and organized, is proved by fair experiment, and that the State would appreciate its services, may be inferred from the fact that, during the month of last July, the president of the faculty had two hundred fifty applications for teachers. Historical testimony proves, beyond cavil, that no government has ever succeeded in establishing efficient public schools, without provision for properly training and instructing teachers; and statistical facts declare that where good teachers abound, schools will be good, independent of every other circumstance.

After studying the schools in North Carolina, the memorialists had been firmly convinced of the need of better-trained teachers. They had learned that available money had remained unused in county treasuries because of the lack of teachers. Making use of written statements gathered from teachers throughout the state, the petitioners had listed the deficiencies of three thousand teachers employed in North Carolina during the preceding eighteen months:

Of these, 2000 cannot teach English grammar, 1800 are deficient in geography, 1200 cannot teach the whole of ordinary arithmetic, 1000 can scarcely make out a readable return. By far the greater number have no idea of any government except force, and have no conceptions whatever of rational discipline. Seven hundred gentlemen in the counties of Chatham, Randolph, Guilford, Davidson, Forsyth, and Rowan, are sending children under fourteen years of age to boarding schools, solely because their common schools have not efficient teachers.

Favorable action toward normal instruction in other places was called to the attention of the legislators:

The published reports of the German States, Scotland, Massachusetts, New York, and others unite in declaring that Normal instruction is the only means of rendering efficient any system of general instruction. The Emperor of Russia built three large Normal schools several years before commencing this system of general education; Prussia spends one-eighth of its school fund on her teachers, and the New England States have expended for the same purpose more than $1,000,000.

The memorialists declared that academies and "ordinary colleges will never educate common school teachers": they were "not patronized by the proper class of society," they created "a different spirit in their pupils," they imparted "no instruction as to mode and application, and, according to statistics of other states," they had never "increased the number of efficient teachers." The petitioners pointed

out that North Carolina had "a respectable school law, a reasonable literary fund, a citizenship eager for knowledge," and yet from $20,000 to $50,000 of necessity remained unexpended each year for want of teachers. The trustees closed their memorial with a reiteration of their personal disinterestedness in Normal College, but of their faith in the sincerity of its purpose. They were willing to make almost any practical concession to win state support and a more liberal charter:

> Your memorialists recommend Normal College, with no design but the public good. They have nothing to gain personally, by its success, nor have they anything to lose by its failure, except so far as they are influenced by patriotic motives, to elevate the great middle classes of society; but they are convinced of its importance to State interest; they feel assured of its success, if once made a real State institution; they hope, therefore, you will amend the charter and give the college full liberty to work out its proper results. If it be thought best, we will freely surrender to the State all our property, claims, and rights as a corporation, without remuneration, claim or reserve; we ardently desire North Carolina to take Normal College, and make it an efficient agent in procuring good teachers, and we are convinced that this can be done, not only without expense, but with absolute advantage to the Literary Fund. An expenditure of $10,000 in addition to what has already been expended, will make ample provision for from two hundred to three hundred students. The patronage already includes twenty-five senatorial districts in this State, with 15 students from South Carolina, 5 from Virginia, 1 from Tennessee, and 1 from Mississippi. So favored is the location of Normal College, that tuition, board, and other accommodation, not inferior to that of Colleges generally, can be afforded at $45 per session.

With this strong memorial to the General Assembly a bill entitled "An Act to Incorporate Union Institute in Randolph County A Normal College" was intrusted to Senator G. W. Caldwell, of Mecklenburg County. It was presented to the Senate on October 29, 1852, and passed that body with "sundry amendments" in November; it was then presented to the House of Commons and enacted into law during the same month.[23]

Apparently this charter did not receive so much adverse criticism and revision in the General Assembly as did the one of 1851. Because of Craven's persistent efforts, the idea of a normal college was no

[23] *Journals of the Senate and the House of Commons of the General Assembly of North Carolina for 1852* (Raleigh, 1853), pp. 79, 151, 175, 290.

longer novel to the legislators. The memorial, signed by men of well-known ability, was practical, convincing, and not too radical in its requests.[24] Moreover, the public press was favorable, as revealed in the following quotation from the *Weekly North Carolina Standard*:

> A Bill is now before the Legislature to increase the resources of the above institution. Normal College belongs to no sect or section, but is designated to promote the interest of the great middle class of society. Its ample instruction, healthy and moral location, and its cheapness, commend it to the careful consideration of our law-makers, and to the unqualified approbation of all who delight in substance as well as finish. The proposed Board of Trustees is one of distinguished ability, and will doubtless build up an institution of no mean ability, one that will tell well upon the interests of North Carolina.[25]

All the members of the old board of trustees except C. M. Lines, J. L. Blackmer, and Eli Russell were continued on the new board, and several new members were added: J. G. Dobbin, W. H. Washington, Joseph B. Cherry, N. W. Woodfin, Calvin Graves, Robert Strange, W. L. Steele, R. M. Saunders, W. B. Lane, G. W. Caldwell, Calvin H. Wiley, Jabez Leach, John A. Lillington, J. T. Morehead, Thales McDonald, R. C. Puryear, S. P. Hill, Alexander Gray, James M. Garrett, and Edward Ogburn.[26] Representing every section of the state, these men were prominent in politics, education, industry, agriculture, medicine, literature, and theology.[27]

The rights and privileges of the old and new boards of trustees were practically the same in both charters; however, there were a few important differences. In the revised charter the governor of the state became ex officio president of the board, and "the common school superintendent, should such an office exist,"[28] became ex

[24] Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, Dec. 4, 1852 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers).

[25] Raleigh, N. C., Dec. 1, 1852.

[26] *Laws of the State of North Carolina, 1852*, p. 161.

[27] W. E. Pell to Braxton Craven, Sept. 16, 1854 (Trinity College Papers).

[28] Such an officer did not exist at that time: in 1853 Calvin H. Wiley became the first superintendent of common schools. In view of the fact that Wiley supported the bill for the creation of such an office, the following letter is significant:

"Mr. Wiley

"Dear Sir

"Why the Bill for N. College has not appeared in Commons, I cannot divine. Have you all forgotten us? Surely I labored for your Bill like a man, certainly I gained 10 votes in the House, and several in the Senate. Surely your

officio secretary of the trustees. Vacancies were to be filled by a majority vote of the trustees. The board was given the authority "of appointing a President, and Professors of said college" and also an executive committee of seven members, "which committee shall control the internal regulations of said college, and fix all salaries and emoluments" and do "all other things necessary for an institution of learning not inconsistent with the laws of this State and of the United States."

Besides the certification of common-school teachers, Normal was now empowered to "grant such degrees and marks of honors as are given by Colleges and Universities generally." The secretary of the board was required "within ten days after the meeting" of each General Assembly "to make a full report of the condition and operation" of Normal together with similar reports of "normal schools generally." No money was appropriated to the College, but the President and Director of the Literary Fund were directed to lend Normal $10,000 at 6 per cent interest when the trustees of the College gave "bond and good security for the same."

Much that Craven had sought in the charter of 1851 he received in 1852. He wanted the opportunity to build a state teacher-training institution which could win the support of every section of North Carolina. The widely scattered homes and the varied occupations of the members of the new board of trustees attest to that fact; furthermore, the authorization of a loan of $10,000 from the Literary Fund showed the confidence of the General Assembly in the institution as one of more than local importance. The fact that the governor of the state was ex officio president of the board of trustees and the superintendent of common schools was to be ex officio secretary added further significance to the College, especially since the board through its secretary was required to report directly to the General

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interest says pass the N. College Bill. The whole College with more than 100 young men is now in suspense, and in the most intense anxiety. Will you help us? Will you at once form a kind of coalessence [*sic*], and pass the Bill? Do not forget us! I rely upon you to do much in this matter and certainly my reliance will not be in vain. The School Superintendent Bill is very popular in all this county, and your fame has gone up one hundred per cent. Work for us—work quickly—and you shall receive a proper reward. Write to me immediately.

"Very respectfully,
"B. CRAVEN."

(C. H. Wiley Papers, 1852-1854, II, 212).

Assembly. Moreover, the power of the trustees to grant certificates and degrees to prospective teachers enhanced the prestige of the College.

The new charter was accepted by the board of trustees in February, 1853, and definite educational policies were formulated.[29] The trustees had advertised in the second college catalogue (1851-1852) that "Normal College, as the name indicates, is an institution in which men are educated to be useful";[30] they stated general principles to guide their efforts in attaining this ideal:

1. The College, in relation both of trustees and faculty, shall do its own work, and do it well, without opposition or disparagement to other institutions; aggressions and misrepresentations shall be permitted to defeat themselves by their own folly and wrong; and obsolete traditions shall be met by living facts, where reality may be its own logic.

2. The College shall be theoretically and practically religious; religious in creed and in heart; religious doctrinally and by conversion. To that end the College must be denominational, without being sectarian. Different creeds may meet for fraternity, social interests, and secular work; but, when souls are to be won, each denomination must be in its own Temple. A nonreligious college is, and ought to be, a failure in human interest, if not in number of students. The student must be a Christian, or the man will, probably, be practically an infidel. The intellect must mature in the light and warmth of a pure heart. The whole tone of the College must be one of fervent piety, and revivals and conversions a part of its ordinary life.

3. Students must be governed. They have been abruptly released from family and social restraints; they form a public opinion of their own, sometimes just and generous, but often capricious and evil; the passions are strong; the will impulsive and weak; judgment is immature; experience of temptation limited; habits of good not formed; and tendencies to evil often fearfully strong. They must have attention, oversight, and control; they must not form tastes, habits, and character by their own inclinations. They must not mold the life of the College, and stamp their crude opinions on destiny; but the College must develop and discipline them to the best manhood.

4. Students cannot be governed by mere statute law. Rules and regulations cannot control them; and if they could, the desired results would not be attained by such means. The government must be moral, the word of God must be the operative law, and conscience the court of appeal. Religious life and Christian observances and forms are the best

[29] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Feb., 1853 (Trinity College Papers).
[30] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1851-1852*, p. 24.

habitat for all the virtues; under their influence, obedience, self-restraint, love of truth, sobriety, and diligence grow best. More than any other place on earth, a college needs the whole force of practical, fervent piety.[31]

Financial Affairs

Having stated the general principles for the development of the College, the board of trustees turned to the practical task of providing for the material needs of Normal. Money was badly needed, and Craven began plans to secure a loan of $10,000 from the Literary Fund. He knew from past experience that most of the trustees would assume no financial responsibility in the matter. He had learned that he himself must assume the financial burden of the College and find securities for the proposed loan from the Literary Fund.[32]

At the meeting of the board in February, 1853, when the revised charter was accepted, the trustees decided to borrow the $10,000 authorized by the General Assembly. They provided, however,

> that the bond shall not be presented 'til forty signers be procured, and when procured is hereby authorized to affix the College seal and draw the money. That the trustees will not be responsible for any interest and that it will be the duty of the president of the College to defray this as a part of the current expenses.[33]

Thus the board placed the responsibility squarely upon Craven. For more than a year he gave his efforts to securing the loan, apparently unsuccessfully. Governor David S. Reid, ex officio chairman of the board of trustees, refused to sign the necessary bonds without the signatures of the other members of the board. It was impossible to obtain all these signatures, and in desperation Craven appealed to John A. Gilmer to intercede with the Governor. Responding to the appeal, Gilmer discussed the matter with Reid, who, while still refusing to sign bond, agreed to such provisions as would guarantee the loan.[34] To support Craven, the trustees passed the following resolution:

[31] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 190-191.

[32] Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, Dec. 24, 1850 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers); Will E. Pell to Braxton Craven, Sept. 16, 1854 (Trinity College Papers).

[33] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Feb., 1853 (Trinity College Papers).

[34] Braxton Craven to Governor David S. Reid, Jan. 22, Feb. 10, March 17, Oct. 14, Dec. 18, 1853 (Governors' Papers); John A. Gilmer to Governor David S. Reid, Jan. 29, 1852 (Governors' Papers).

That Braxton Craven is hereby appointed President of the Board of Trustees with full power to act in all cases in which the Governor may refuse, or in which it may be inconvenient for his Excellency to act,—that said B. Craven shall make whatever acceptable arrangements he can to obtain the Loan from the Literary Board, that he sign in behalf of the Trustees, affix their seal, draw the money and deposit it in the Savings Bank or elsewhere as he may think proper, that he may pay it out for completing the new arrangements and carrying on the College.[35]

Craven convinced the trustees not only of his ability to secure the loan, but also of his ability to secure funds from other sources; and the board further authorized him "to get up bonds as loans from private individuals to the full amount of $10,000, if he can, and in that case refuse to receive the $10,000 [from the Literary Fund] altogether."[36] Nevertheless, Craven decided to continue his efforts to win securities for a loan from the Literary Fund. In April, 1853, he wrote Charles Force Deems to ask him to become one of forty securities required by the board in their first resolutions of February, 1853. At this time Deems was one of the most influential Methodist ministers and college presidents in North Carolina. A native of Baltimore, he had been educated at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania. He had been a teacher in New York and a circuit rider in New Jersey before 1840, when he came to North Carolina as an agent of the American Bible Society. Although youthful, he was a preacher of great force. He attracted the attention of President David L. Swain, who offered him a professorship in the University of North Carolina. Deems accepted and remained at the University from 1842 to 1848. At the end of that time he accepted a professorship in Randolph-Macon, Virginia, but remained there only one year. He returned to the active ministry in the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1849, and the next year accepted the presidency of Greensboro Female College, Greensboro, North Carolina.[37] It was while he was president (1850-1854)

[35] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, July, 1853 (Trinity College Papers).

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Charles Force Deems, *Autobiography* (New York, 1897), pp. 17-121; E. C. Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," *Trinity Alumni Register*, II (Jan., 1917), 309-311; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 492, 516-549, 620, 696, 697, 738; Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, pp. 116-133; New York *Times*, Nov. 19, 1893; *D.A.B.*, V, 192-193; A. D. H. Smith, *Commodore Vanderbilt* (New York, 1927), pp. 311-312; *Appleton's Annual Encyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1893* (New York, 1894), XVIII, 547.

of this college that he became a friend of Craven—a friendship which several years later ended in bitter enmity. In 1853 mutual confidence and admiration existed between the two men; and Craven turned to Deems for help in securing the proposed loan from the Literary Fund. In answer to Craven's letter, Deems asked if there were not forty trustees who might sign as securities to the bond. He then stated that no one else should be asked to sign until these officials had been canvassed. "If they have all refused," he wrote, "I am willing to be one of the requisite number to complete the amount; otherwise I cannot consent." He stated further that the trustees should be willing to accept responsibility for the success of the school, at least to the extent of signing a note for $250 each. If they were not, they should not be members of the board.[38]

Fortunately, by the resolution of the trustees in July, 1853, forty securities were no longer required; and Craven, supported strongly by John A. Gilmer, was able to persuade six men to join him and Gilmer in placing their names on the bond.[39] After months of activity, Craven presented the following bond of security to the Directory of the Literary Fund:

$10,000

The Trustees of Normal College and the other undersigned, their securities, promise to pay "the President and Directory of the Literary Fund of North Carolina" or order the sum of ten thousand dollars ($10,000) at this office in the city of Raleigh for value received.

In witness whereof, the said parties have hereto set their hands and seals. This first day of February, A.D., 1854.

B. Craven, President Trustees of
Normal College

B. Craven (Seal)
Joseph Johnson (Seal)
John A. Gilmer (Seal)
Kelley Johnson (Seal)
J. H. Robbins (Seal)
J. W. Thomas (Seal)
S. G. Coffin (Seal)[40]

[38] Charles F. Deems to Braxton Craven, April 26, 1853 (Trinity College Papers).

[39] *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Sept. 1, 1883.

[40] Normal College Bond to the Literary Fund, $10,000 (Duke University Library); see also Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 183.

The loan was made on March 4, 1854, and interest at 6 per cent started from that date. The money was to be used for the expansion of the college plant.

The regular college income was derived from fees from students; nevertheless, expenses of students were kept as low as possible. The cheapness of living in the community was often mentioned in official reports, catalogues, news items, and advertisements. The students boarded at "a large Hotel, subject to college regulations; or at private boarding houses in the immediate vicinity of the institution." By 1855 there were accommodations in the village and at the College for about three hundred students. Efforts were made to keep the cost of board uniform, but it was not always possible. Between 1851 and 1856 the cost of meals, room, washing, fuel, and everything except candles ranged from $5.00 to $8.50 a month or from $23.00 to $35.00 a term.[41] For those who found these rates too high for their limited funds or who wanted more liberty in furnishing their rooms, the College in 1854-1855 provided other living arrangements:

> Fifty students can be furnished with rooms on the college grounds at the following rates per term: the rooms will be furnished with ordinary furniture, the student will furnish his own fuel, which during the winter term will cost him about $2.00; room rent will be $5 per term. The student may find the furniture for this room; in which case, the rent will be only $3.[42]

In 1853 a student, recently entered at Normal, wrote a letter to his brother complaining of conditions at the College:

> Now the fare here is extremely common and our bedding almost worse than nothing. Board is $6.50 this session and will be $7.00 next. The young men here have to "rough it" any way they can. We are among the Dutch and Quakers, and a more rude and ignorant set of

[41] *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, Sept. 1, 1852, March 30, 1853; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1854, p. 174; *Greensborough Patriot*, Aug. 17, 1855; *Weekly Message*, Greensboro, N. C., Oct. 13, 1853, June 1, 1854; catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856; Diary of Enoch Faw, 1851-1856 (in possession of Miss Elizabeth C. Faw, Marietta, Ga.); Report from the Faculty of Normal College to the Board of Trustees, July 10, 1855 (Trinity College Papers); letter to Enoch Faw from Braxton Craven, Oct. 15, 1856 (Private Collection); Report to the Board of Trustees for the Fall Term, 1855, p. 13 (Trinity College Papers); Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, July 5, 1856 (Trinity College Papers); Mrs. J. S. Welborn to author, Aug. 22, 1936.

[42] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1854-1855*, pp. 16-17.

people can not be found anywhere. We have to find everything except board and lodging, and we have to wait on ourselves from the "word go." I do not grumble at waiting on myself, but I am merely telling you how things are.[43]

From 1850 to 1855 the school year was divided into two terms. The first began on Wednesday, six weeks after the last Thursday in July, the date of the annual commencement. From 1855 to 1861 the sessions were divided into three terms of fourteen weeks each. The first began the last of August or the first of September and ended with a vacation of two weeks for Christmas. The second term began on the second Monday in January and closed with a week's vacation before the third term began. The end of these terms usually determined the time for paying college bills.[44]

Tuition was charged according to the course taken—preparatory, classical collegiate, English, or "Partial"— or according to certain specific subjects. From 1851 to 1856 tuition ranged from $7.00 to $15.00 a term. At first there was no janitor's fee "to defray the expenses of sweeping, fire-making, bell-ringing, etc.," but by 1854 such a fee was set at $1.00 a term. Literary society expenses, including a commencement fee of $2.50, were $5.00. Normal required that "all damage to the College or premises" be repaired at the expense of "the damager" and that each class leave its room "in as good condition as when received."[45] In 1856 the trustees passed a resolution that "any person who shall violate any regulation or restriction pertaining to the college buildings or grounds, after having been duly admonished . . . shall be fined not less than $5 nor more than $25."[46]

The items mentioned in the foregoing pages included all expenses except those for books and clothing, both of which could be secured at the College or in the village. In regard to clothing, however, the College advised that it would be "better furnished from home—plain and cheap."[47] Between 1851 and 1856 the entire cost, covering all items of expense, for one year at Normal ranged from $76 to

[43] J. E. Short, Normal College, to "Brother," Feb. 5, 1853 (Trinity College Papers).

[44] Catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Resolution of the Board of Trustees, 1856 (Trinity College Papers).

[47] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1854-1855*, pp. 16-17; Resolution of the Board of Trustees, Feb., 1853, p. 8 (Trinity College Papers).

$125.[48] A student wrote home in 1853, however, that with the extras, such as literary society fees, "I do not think that a young man can go to school here, with the strictest sort of economy, for less than $150 or $200 a year, exclusive of clothes, books, etc."[49]

In 1854 the College advertised that "one hundred scholarships at $150 each will be ready for sale by the first of March."[50] This is the only reference that has been found to this educational practice of the day, and it is doubtful that it was used by the College to any considerable extent, if at all.

With the income secured from students Craven paid all bills; met the interest on debts; paid the salaries of the faculty; and financed the upkeep of the college property, advertising, and other expenses incidental to the running of the College. In 1854 the Committee on Education of the North Carolina Conference declared that "the financial state of the institution is satisfactory, the income being sufficient to meet all necessary expenditures."[51]

In July, 1853, the board of trustees authorized that all debts and dues for old buildings be paid out of the $10,000.[52] A more urgent matter facing the board was that the land on which the school buildings stood was not owned by the College. James Leach and Joseph Johnson, who had been trustees since 1839, had permitted Union Institute Academy to erect buildings on their lands and to use the property in any way necessary for the welfare of the school.[53]

In April, 1853, the trustees authorized Craven and A. S. Andrews, "one or both, to procure a deed for so much land as may be necessary for a campus, and to transact the business in such a manner as may seem proper."[54] On March 1, 1854, the deed was drawn up. Joseph Johnson and James Leach "in consideration of one hundred dollars . . . in hand paid," conveyed in fee simple to the trustees of Normal College a tract of land containing "four acres more or less, together

[48] Catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856; *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, Raleigh, N. C., March 30, 1853.

[49] J. E. Short, Normal College, to "Brother," Feb. 5, 1853 (Trinity College Papers).

[50] *Greensborough Patriot*, Dec. 23, 1854.

[51] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1854, p. 174.

[52] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, July, 1853 (Trinity College Papers).

[53] Union Institute Constitution and Minutes, 1839-1853.

[54] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, April, 1853, p. 9 (Trinity College Papers).

with all improvements and appurtenances thereunto belonging or any wise pertaining so far as the improvements and property belong to us."[55] To this statement, however, there were definite conditions. The land was to be held as surety for the $10,000 borrowed from the Literary Fund and for buildings already erected or to be erected on the land. Craven was to be President of the College "with full authority as such till released from all obligations as to said ten thousand dollars and all other obligations for and in behalf of said trustees." If Craven "should pay or cause to be paid any part or all the principal," he was "to hold and have full possession of said land, improvements, and chattels" until the trustees should "pay or cause to be paid" to Craven or his heirs "all such sums" as he had paid on the loan "with legal interest thereon." Furthermore, the same conditions were "to apply to any other sums" Craven might "expend according to the directions of the Trustees." If the president and directors of the Literary Fund should so request, and if any of the securities of the bond should be called to pay the loan or a part of it, or if the interest should remain unpaid for one whole year and ninety days, the trustees were empowered to sell the land for cash at public auction. The proceeds from the sale were to be used in payment of debts. This deed with its conditions was proved and executed by M. W. Leach on April 11, 1854; and a little over a year later, on July 10, 1855, it was accepted by the trustees.[56] Now for the first time the College actually possessed legal claim to the real and personal property used by the institution. It was eighteen years later, however, before all the conditions to the deed were legally removed.[57]

A New Building Program

Crowded conditions in the two-room frame building demanded better teaching facilities. In 1851 a two-story frame ell extending south from the east end was added to the building;[58] and when the General Assembly permitted the loan from the Literary Fund, the

[55] Register Book No. 29, pp. 309-311 (Office of the Register of Deeds, Randolph County Courthouse, Asheboro, N. C.).

[56] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, July 10, 1855, p. 13 (Trinity College Papers).

[57] Register Book No. 29, pp. 309-311.

[58] Levi Branson to J. F. Heitman, March 26, 1884 (Trinity College Papers);

trustees authorized further expansion. In February, 1853, a building commitee was appointed with power to act: "B. Craven, A. S. Andrews, and Ahi Robbins are hereby authorized to determine the building to be erected, and let out the same as they may deem proper, in the name and in behalf of the trustees."[59] By April the contract had been made and approved for a new building "to be placed south of the old buildings, not more than twenty feet distant."[60]

The work on the new building began immediately and was finished in June, 1855. On July 17, during commencement week, it was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, and the merits of the "young institution" were highly eulogized.[61] The dedicatory ceremony was conducted by the Reverend Charles F. Deems and the Reverend W. S. Chaffin of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In his sermon of dedication Chaffin observed:

> The Time and the Occasion deserve a remark. The *Time*: young men, whose mental powers have been active on the busy theater of time, are about to leave this grove, sacred to learning, and go out into society to act their part in the great affairs of life. The *Occasion:* we have not assembled to throw on these walls the bead roll of fame! Rather, to dedicate them to learning, and to consecrate them to religion, that this college may be auxiliary to the Church in her triumphs over the powers of darkness.

The minister declared that a Christian college was one of the great institutions of mankind, but that a college without religion was a pernicious influence. Founded upon Christian principles, Normal should be honored in all its work:

> Hence it is that we delight to do honor to the College that takes for its grand moral guide the word of God; because Normal College has its foundation deeply laid in the religion of the Bible, . . . we love to honor her, and have come to give her fresh impetus on her highway to usefulness. We would rather that she should be successful in developing

J. R. Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (April, 1915), 20.

[59] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Feb., 1853, p. 9 (Trinity College Papers).

[60] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, April, 1853, p. 9 (Trinity College Papers).

[61] Charles F. Deems (ed.), *Annals of Southern Methodism for 1855* (New York, 1856), p. 180; Diary of W. S. Chaffin, July, 1857 (Duke University Library).

the sublime power of mind, and in flinging the mild beams of redeeming grace over the ransomed powers of the soul, and send out young intellect highly polished with literature and baptised with the sanctifying spirit of God . . . than that she should stand upon the highest height of fame's proud eminence without the radiant spirit of the living God rolling his floods of hallowed light upon her consecrated walls.

At the close of his sermon, the minister proceeded to the ceremony of dedication:

Almighty God, Supreme Governor of Heaven and Earth, in the name of the Trustees and Faculty of Normal College, I offer unto thee this College Building, that it may be sacred to the purposes of education and the Christian Religion. Let it and its interests be sacred in Thy sight. Let thy presence be felt by those who from time to time may preach thy word from this desk, and also by those who shall have the direct oversight of the educational development—that this College may be an efficient auxiliary to thy church in the glorious triumphs of the cross.

I make this offering to [Thee], and ask these blessings in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.[62]

The new edifice was a substantial brick building, one hundred feet long, fifty feet wide, and three stories high; and friends claimed that it afforded as fine accommodations as could be found at any school in the South. The entire building was "devoted to recitation rooms, society halls, laboratory, museum," and libraries. It could accommodate three hundred students. Some rooms were used as living quarters for students; the old school buildings "were moved on skids to the South Campus and transferred into dormitories."[63]

By the early 1850's a lively village had grown up about Normal, and "no people or houses of doubtful reputation were allowed within miles of the College." Moreover, Normal advertised that "no public collections distract the attention of the students, and no facilities entice them to vice; but the morals and habits are secure here." Parents who feared to send their sons to a "distant school" or who feared "college dissipation" were urged "to try Normal." When

[62] Normal College Dedication—A Sermon Delivered by W. S. Chaffin, July, 1855, pp. 18 ff. (Duke University Library).

[63] "General Remarks" on back of cover, *Catalogue of Normal College, 1854-1855*; *Greensborough Patriot*, Dec. 23, 1854; Deems (ed.), *Annals of Southern Methodism for 1855*, p. 180; *Resolutions of the Board of Trustees*, July, 1853, p. 13 (Trinity College Papers); *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (July, 1915), 126; Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," p. 21.

the new brick building was completed, the College Chapel became the place of Sunday worship for the people of the village as well as for the students.[64]

Until 1850 there was no United States post office in the village; all mail came to "the Institute, N. C." or to Hunt's Store (owned by Nathan Hunt, Jr.), about three miles north, or to some other place in Randolph, Guilford, or Davidson counties. In 1850 a post office was established at the College, and "four mails weekly" were delivered to the village. In 1851 the little town included one store, a hotel, several boardinghouses, and private homes.[65]

The College frequently advertised that the "location is of easy access of rail and plank roads, within two days' drive of the finest mountain scenery in the South."[66] Between 1830 and 1860 the hitherto poor transportation facilities in North Carolina improved,[67] and this improvement, together with similar efforts in other states, made Normal more accessible both to the state and to the South. Even with improved facilities, however, it was no small feat to travel long distances. In 1851 a student who attended Normal and his sister who was attending Salem Female College, Salem, North Carolina, journeyed from their home in Mississippi to the colleges of their choice. The young man, J. K. Hamblen, wrote later of their journey:

> There being no railroads in our part of Mississippi, sister and I enroute to college, took passage in a stage at Camden, passing through Columbus, Mississippi, on to Tuscumbia, Alabama; from there to Decatur, we were carried on a railroad drawn by a diminutive mule; here we boarded a steamboat to Knoxville, Tennessee; thence to Abington and Wytheville, Virginia, by stage, crossing the Blue Ridge to Salem, North Carolina.[68]

Normal was about one mile from "the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road and three miles from the Central Railroad." A tri-

[64] *Weekly Message*, Oct. 13, 1853; catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856; Johnson, "Old Days at Trinity," pp. 229-230.

[65] Outside cover of the *Catalogue of Normal College, 1850-1851*; J. K. Hamblen, "An Old Alumnus," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (Jan., 1918), 283.

[66] *Greensborough Patriot*, Aug. 17, 1855.

[67] R. B. Starling, "The Plank Road Movement in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (Jan., April, 1939), 1-22, 147-173; Boyd, *History of North Carolina, 1783-1860*, pp. 345-353.

[68] Hamblen, "An Old Alumnus," p. 283.

weekly stage from Warsaw, North Carolina, "via Fayetteville to Salem," passed within two miles of the College, stopped at Hunt's Store, where it changed horses and granted passengers opportunity for refreshment and accommodation at Hunt's Inn. Greensboro, Jamestown, Thomasville, and High Point were regular stage stops where private conveyance could be secured for the College. Because of the healthfulness of the location, parents were urged to permit students to remain at the College for vacation.[69]

Students and College Life

Although the College was established "to promote the interest of the great middle class of people," ambitious young men without any means of support were encouraged to enter Normal.[70] At the dedication of the College in 1854, the minister declared:

> Although penury may cramp the rising aspiration of the young heart, despair may breathe its burning threats, and haughty wealth may laugh to scorn some poor boy in his sublime efforts, yet here he may defy the galling chains of poverty, may break off the manacles of despair, and bid the wealthy scorner be still and know that these chains and fetters can never bind an intellect struggling to disenthrall itself from the oppressive tyranny of ignorance in the midst of such beneficence as is here manifested. Here the son of the poor man may take his stand beside the sons of the wealthy and make them feel that the aristocracy of education is gone to the four winds of heaven; and that it is not the bulk of the purse, but the well-cultivated mind and heart that makes the man. Here he may be prepared to take the heavy waves of opposing elements by the mane and dash them aside and march on his triumphant way to "Fame's proud eminence shining from afar."[71]

In encouraging "poor boys," Craven was continuing a policy inaugurated at Union Institute. In the Normal College catalogue for 1855-1856, he included this item: "Indigent young men who can bring good recommendations as to character and ability, will either receive tuition gratis, or be indulged till they can earn the money after completing their education."[72]

[69] Catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856.

[70] *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, Dec. 1, 1852; Braxton Craven to Governor David S. Reid, May, 14, 1853 (Governors' Papers).

[71] Normal College Dedication—A Sermon Delivered by W. S. Chaffin in July, 1855, pp. 20-23.

[72] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1855-1856*, p. 22.

In 1854 Calvin H. Wiley, Superintendent of Common Schools, referred to this practice in his first annual report to the General Assembly. The only time that Wiley reported specifically on Normal College, he wrote that "the institution . . . educates many poor young men on their promise to pay the tuition when they go into business; as the readiest way to raise the means, these young men devote themselves for a while, at least, to teaching the Common Schools."[73]

By following this policy toward indigent young men, the College gave away substantial sums of money over a period of years.[74] Normal received financial aid from the North Carolina Education Society, an organization of the North Carolina Conference. This Society, organized in 1850 "to assist young men pursuing their studies preparatory to entering the itinerancy," was financed by membership fees of $1.00 a year, or $10.00 for life membership.[75] In 1854 Craven was made agent of the Society for one year, and his duties were "to present its claims and take up collection in its behalf."[76] In that year several young men at Normal were securing aid from the Society, and the problem of their education was raised by the Reverend W. E. Pell in a letter to Craven:

> You have several young men at Normal who are beneficiaries of our Education Society. It is my duty as Chairman of the Executive Committee to report to the Society the extent of their progress and their behavior at school. I must rely upon you for such a report of the young men at your institution. As I understand it, all the young men, who receive aid from our Education Society, are first to profess to be called to preach and to give evidence of it by their deportment; secondly, that they place themselves under the direction of the Society, which directs their studies, determines the length of time they are to remain at school, and the amount of qualification they are to have; and thirdly, that whenever the Society demands it, they are obliged to enter the traveling ministry. Now, the executive committee has the control of this to the interval of Confer-

[73] *Senate and House Documents, Series for 1854-1855*, Ac. Doc. No. 12, pp. 16-18.

[74] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 181 ff.

[75] *The Annual Register of the North Carolina Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Containing the Minutes, Reports, etc., Held in Louisburg, North Carolina, November 3-10*, 1852 (Raleigh, 1853), *passim*.

[76] *Journal of the Seventeenth Annual Session of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Held in Pittsboro, N. C., November 1-14, 1854* (Raleigh, 1855), p. 43.

ence. But so far as I know, the Executive Committee are not consulted in these matters. We directed where they shall go to school and that is all we know about it. And yet I learn some of the young men are uneasy lest they will be compelled to go to work in order to obtain means to "prosecute their studies." Some must teach school for the same purpose. Now, I don't expect to understand this. What is meant by "prosecuting their studies"? Do they mean they must go to college until they graduate? It looks like it. Who says so? Does the Society so direct? I think not. Now the Society says, its object is to "aid in preparing young men to enter the traveling ministry in the North Carolina Conference." Now, *many* who are qualified to teach school, even a common school, if they are called of God to preach, are in my judgment prepared to *enter* the traveling ministry. Now, either the instructors or the young men are fixing a standard of qualification which the Society has refused to adopt, if the idea of graduation is the one entertained by them. Now I am not opposed to a full college course, if circumstances demand it; but, my brother, the Society never dreamed itself to be pledged to give aid until they graduate. There may be special cases where it ought to be done, but the Society must control. Now, I have observed in some cases, where our young men have been taken up by the Society, at 21 years of age or nearly, without any knowledge of the English, our instructors have at once put them into Latin and Greek and fixed in their minds the idea of a full college course. Now is that judicious? Is it right? I think not. Look at Bro. Cuthrell's case, the young man who went to Normal last winter. He has been a beneficiary of the Society for one or two years and has been sent to Brother Brent. He was about 20 or 21. He was entirely ignorant, I suppose, of geography, English Grammar, and Arithmetic, and yet in a short time Brother Brent plunged him into Latin and Greek and Mathematics. Last winter when he stopped here I found he was hardly out of the hornbooks of the English, and yet was talking of Latin and Greek and Mathematics. Now it would take him eight years to graduate. But will that do? I want your thoughts on this matter.[77]

Although the College was interested in the education of "poor boys," the majority of its students came from the middle classes.[78] In 1854 Superintendent Wiley emphasized this fact in his first annual report. He called Normal a "People's College" and described the people whom he saw there at commencement: "I attended the last commencement, the exercises of which were witnessed by an immense concourse of people from the middle ranks of society, thus indicating

[77] Sept. 16, 1854 (Trinity College Papers).
[78] *Senate and House Documents, Series of 1852*, Senate Doc. No. 10, pp. 70-74.

the field of labors in which the Institution promises to be useful."[79]

During this period Normal drew students from seven Southern states. Ranking first in number was North Carolina, with South Carolina and Virginia second and third. The enrollment steadily increased between 1850 and 1854 and reached the highest figure during the academic year 1853-1854. The next two years saw a steady decline.[80]

The number of students taking preparatory or special work about equaled the number taking the regular collegiate course. The first college class, composed of two brothers, was graduated in 1853; and the total number of graduates from 1850 to 1856 was twenty-four. The vocations of these graduates in 1857 reveal how closely the College was adhering to two of its main purposes: to prepare teachers and preachers. There were eight teachers, six preachers (all Methodist), three lawyers, one lawyer and editor combined, two doctors, two students, one editor, and one farmer. Of these, all but three were living in North Carolina in 1856.[81]

In 1855-1856 the College published a description of the kind of student Normal welcomed and the kind that would not be accepted:

> We endeavor to combine careful oversight, attention and sympathy of home-instruction, with the strictness and inciting influence of a public Institution. Those, however, who have boys that are idle and ungovernable at home must not suppose that any Institution is a proper place to remedy such a neglect of parental discipline; it is a waste of time and money, and productive of much evil otherwise, to send boys to any public School or College for the purpose of moral reformation; from long and varied experience, we strongly advise against such a course. Youths addicted to profanity, gambling, intoxication, and other such immoralities, should never be sent to a College; for wherever such students abound, the contagion will spread in spite of all laws and regulations, and very few will have the moral firmness sufficient to withstand the influence. Whatever wild and vicious youth goes to college, enters a broad road to ruin, and where many such are congregated, parents may justly tremble for the fate of the very best. Parents should not be deceived in this mat-

[79] *Senate and House Documents, Series for 1854-1855*, Ac. Doc. No. 12, pp. 16-18.

[80] See Appendix, Tables 1 and 2.

[81] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1855-1856*, p. 6; *1856-1857*, p. 6; see also Appendix, Table 1.

ter. . . . For these reasons we shall absolutely refuse to receive any but those of good moral character. We respectfully solicit the patronage of those who have moral sons or wards.[82]

Students of any age were permitted to enter at any time and to pay their expenses from the time of entering. As "conditions of matriculation," in 1853, each student was required to pledge himself "to drink no spirituous liquors, use no profane language, avoid gambling of every species; and acting contrary to said pledge, shall on proof of the same be immediate ground for expulsion."[83]

School life was a serious experience. "College duties" began at eight o'clock in the morning and continued until noon, when there was a recess of an hour and a half. Resumed at one-thirty, duties continued until five o'clock, but in winter the school day closed an hour earlier. During these hours all students remained in the college buildings or in rooms on the grounds. Each class occupied a separate room where every student was assigned a "good chair and desk." The students were required "to be perfectly silent and attentive to their studies." The college authorities thought that this plan was "much better than allowing students to remain in their private rooms, at a distance from the College during school hours."[84]

With the ringing of the bell "at candle-lighting," the students again reported for study, but this time in their own rooms, either in the college buildings or at their boardinghouses. "By this arrangement" the students attended "promptly to their duties" and avoided "disorderly conduct."[85]

School was opened each morning with Scripture reading and a prayer. The roll was called, and all were "strictly required to be present." Each student was asked to recite at least three times daily and might recite as often as six times if he chose.[86]

Regardless of their severely regulated hours, the students found time for recreation of their own choice. They hunted, fished, attended logrollings and corn shuckings, tramped for miles in the surrounding country, courted the girls of the community, spent week

[82] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1855-1856*, p. 12.
[83] Record of Normal College, Sept. 14, 1853 (Trinity College Papers).
[84] Catalogues of Normal College, 1852-1856, *passim*.
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*, *1854-1855*, pp. 15-16; *1855-1856*, p. 18.

ends away from College, played in ice and snow, indulged in pranks of various sorts, visited girls at Salem and Greensboro Female colleges, wrote letters, albums, poems, and diaries, and sat around the open fires in their rooms and discussed the affairs of the world and their own problems and ambitions.[87]

Enoch Faw, who was a student at Normal from 1851 to 1856 and who later became a well-known lawyer in Marietta, Georgia, kept a diary while he was in college. In 1854, when Faw was a junior, he wrote of his ambitions:

October 29, 1854.

I have no fears in regard to my worldly success. I may succeed or I may not; I cannot tell. But whether I do, or not, is a matter in one sense very important, and in another, more sensible view, of small consequence. My great object is, and should be, to be a good man.

Questions

1. Shall anybody be more polite than I?
2. Shall any one be better?
3. Shall any classmate excell me?
4. Shall I be anything but "*first and foremost*" in the Columbian Literary Society?
5. Shall I, eventually, be an *ordinary* man?

   Let Time and Labor answer loudly and emphatically, "No! No!" "The victory is not to the strong, but to the vigilant." "Labor omnia vincit." "Be in earnest."

In 1856 Faw passed his twenty-first birthday and mused on its meaning:

Feb. 3. Awake from lethargy and sleep. Behold the bright snow sifting down from the upper elements. The earth is again covered by the sixth snow for this winter. Today is a great day for me. I complete my 21st year! A man! A free Man! and what am I not? Vanity might answer, "nothing"; but judgment would say, "All." But certain things I am, and certain rights I grow into by reason of age. (1) I can, by law, buy, sell, hold, and enjoy property, and manage and own business. (2) I can vote, pay tax, be a citizen, and, if desired, can be a representative. (3) Can contract, negotiate, perform, and legally enjoy marriage. (4) I'm now beyond the personal control of any one individual, only, so far as I of my own free will and accord, commit myself. (5) Am at liberty to legally prosper my country.

[87] Diary of Enoch Faw, 1851-1856; letter to Enoch Faw from W. W. Flood, Nov. 28, 1856 (Private Collection); "Alumni Notes," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (July, 1915), 126.

As a senior Faw recounted some of his activities, plans, and faults:

Feb. 6. Getting a little warmer; snow melting off in spots. The winter is much harder than I ever saw. Wood is the great item. By the by, I will note down that I have cut my own wood ever since I came to Normal, except my Junior year and the latter part of my Senior. I am now not too dignified, but it is inconvenient to cut and bring in wet, dirty wood. I rather pay a little, and have it attended to, without my supervision or labor. (1) In regard to language. The major part of my time in College, I have been careless as to words and pronunciation. This neglect has resulted in paucity of words and numerous inaccuracies in speaking. I can not pass a debate without having the Critic particularly notice me. To remedy this defect at this late period of College training, I determine to read much, speak considerably, be careful in conversation and use Webster on all occasions when I am in doubt as to meaning, spelling, or pronunciation. (2) I wish to become elegant in my direction, accomplished in my manners, and clear and accurate in thought. A perfect gentleman I intend to be. In my nature I, as perhaps, everybody else, have some tendency to overrate myself and consider that, when other folks do not act according to my notion, they are in the wrong. Every man, a living chance, and free opinions about everything—a good motto. (3) Sometimes I feel inclined to woo the Muses for a livelihood after quitting college. If I attempt it, the *genius* is all yet to be acquired. But the genius, which I believe in, is acquired, and that by the most assiduous application. I have never been very smart, neither mentally nor habitually, yet I do not fear a failure in my life, or in any business in which I may engage. I am, as some men I know, always mending my manners and forming new plans. Improvement in both is of the utmost importance, for the accomplishment of my desire I look up to the mountain with anxious eye and panting heart, but when shall I reach my hopes? Oh! when shall I? I think I am sometimes moved to noble impulses, but so frequently by selfish, narrow-minded motives. For instance in my course of training, I have used a policy which is absurd. In preparing lessons, I got them for *recitation*. This is a prevailing evil; cannot be helped; for youth, generally, is not philosophical enough to study and understand its best interests. The proper policy is to seek for profundity, not be afraid of betraying ignorance by asking for information.

Faw occasionally referred to one of his pastimes—writing poetry. On February 9 he recorded in his diary: "Did nothing of importance except write a little poem."[88] Infrequently he recorded minor illnesses among the students—colds, chicken pox, etc., and injuries.

[88] See his diary for examples of his poetry.

During his years at Normal he described two tragedies: one, a case of insanity; the other, a death:

May 1. Sad news and sad heart! My fellow schoolmate died today about 11 o'clock. Jacob Gaskill from Hyde County; had been here near two years; had been a faithful Columbian, and a respectable student. A week ago he was taken sick, with a soreness of one leg, supposed to have originated from playing hopscotch, but there must have been something more serious, which in the end was pronounced to be typhoid pneumonia. No school.

May 2. The corpse was brought to the College, had a prayer and singing,

> "Beneath our feet and o'er our head,
> Is equal warning given" etc.

The students—the Sons of Temperance first, the Columbians next, the Hesperians, and other students next in solemn procession accompanied the corpse to High Point, on its way to its home and grave. Our hearts throbbed deeply at the unexpected blow; over half the boys were in tears; we felt that he was Normal's dead! That Mother's heart will break when she learns the sad news. No letter had been sent. Oh, what a letter will be the body of her son! Such warning! The last time he passed through college was this morning, borne by the Sons of Temperance, up the East steps, through the Chapel, and down the West steps. Such was emblematical of his existence. The star of his earthly career had set forever in the west. It rose with fair prospects of a long and brilliant course, but at noon its blaze went out, and it sunk. Messrs. W. P. Midgett, D. I. Selby and T. R. Murry accompanied by Pres. Craven to Goldsboro, carried the body of the departed home. This is the first death that has occurred since I have been in college. . . .

June 3. J. W. Cheshire, who from time to time since Christmas, has been exhibiting signs of insanity, last night left Harris's room, and wandered off under the hallucination that God with a great light was leading him and dictating what he must do. He roved on, going about 3 miles the other side of Thomasville, where about 10 A.M. he was found in a pond. He was caught and brought back to College in the evening, perfectly insane. . . .

June 4. I was all day and night with Cheshire. I could control him better than any else. The first crazy man I ever saw.

June 5. With Cheshire all day. I pray to keep the use of my mind forever. I don't know what would be more afflicting than to have the chain of my thoughts broken and lost, having no correct ideas of anything, but raving, tremulous, ignorant of common things and deceived in all things, led by false light.

June 6. Smoot and Neely carried Cheshire to Raleigh.

The emphasis upon religion to be found in these excerpts was perhaps typical of the times and the place. Everyone was required to attend religious services, and students were encouragd to participate. Some, who were licensed, preached; others taught Sunday-school class or conducted meetings of various kinds. "Sunday School, preaching, class, and prayer meetings" were held on Sunday morning, afternoon, and evening. Enoch Faw usually commented upon the sermons as "good," "admirable," "logical and original." Once he wrote: "I frequently think about preaching the gospel to sinners and Christians sometimes; they both need it. The tenor of my mind is not fixed. The ministry has much attraction for me; also has politics, law, literature, poetry, and even farming and mechanical arts. What should I do when I would like to know and do everything?"

Even though Faw admired the ministry, it did not keep him from becoming weary during a lengthy sermon: "At 4 P.M. Dr. [Peter] Doub preached a sermon, 2 hours and 10 minutes long. The first was good but I got tired."[89]

Literary society activity continued at Normal. Shortly after Union Institute became Normal College, Craven suggested that another literary society be organized. He pointed out that the Columbian had become so large that it was unwieldy; besides, "all first-class colleges" had two societies. His suggestion was not popular, as students did not wish to withdraw from the Columbian Literary

[89] Diary of Enoch Faw, 1851-1856. Part of this diary has been published; see Nora C. Chaffin, "Student Life at Normal College," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXIV (Nov. 1938), 295-299.

Faw was a native of Davie County, N. C. In 1851 he entered the preparatory department of Normal College, and in 1856 he was graduated with highest honors. After a few months of "visiting, hunting, etc." in his native county, he decided to seek his "fortune in the South." Previously he had selected teaching as his profession; and with plans for teaching in mind, he visited his uncle in Marietta, Georgia, during the summer of 1856. There his uncle persuaded him to prepare himself to read law with General A. H. Hansell. Later he decided to continue the study of law at the University of Virginia. After his graduation from that institution he settled in Marietta, where he began the practice of his profession. He became a prominent citizen of his town and lived an honored life there until his death in 1902 (letter to Registrar from Elizabeth C. Faw, March 28, 1932; Diary of Enoch Faw, 1851-1856).

Society. Finally Craven won the support of influential students, and a new society was organized on June 26, 1851.[90]

Craven acted as the chairman of the first meeting and later wrote a constitution for the new society. According to tradition, the name *Hesperian* was chosen for the new organization because it was intended that the boys from the western part of the state join the new society. The original plan was never rigidly enforced, however; even the first roll of the Society included a few names from eastern North Carolina.[91]

The purpose of the Society was "the moral and intellectual improvement of its members." In order to attain this standard, members were told that "it is necessary for each one to be strict in morals, and prompt in the discharge of every duty imposed on him." Any student in good standing was eligible for membership, and provision was made for withdrawal or transfer of students from one society to the other. The initiation ceremony was a solemn affair. An oath which was administered by the president was required of each candidate.

The original roll contained forty-seven names, and during the first two and a half years the total reached one hundred. Every student at Normal was included in one of the societies. Craven wished to keep them equal in membership, and his encouragement of the new Hesperians sometimes brought from the Columbians the accusation of partiality. For the first few years the Hesperians drew their membership principally from the freshmen and preparatory students.

Hesperians were fined or expelled for indulging "in anything contrary to good morals and genteel deportment," or for acting "by word or deed" contrary to the "requisition of good society." In keeping with their standards, they chose for their motto: "*Dieu et Nos Droits*," which they later converted into the Greek, "*Theos Kai Themis*," and translated "God and Our Rights."

The first officers of the Hesperian Literary Society were A. Weaver, president; J. N. Andrews, secretary; S. D. Peeler, librarian;

[90] Weaver, "Progress," p. 193; Holland Holton, "The Beginnings of the Hesperian Literary Society," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV (Jan., 1919) 229-230; Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1851-1853 (Duke University Library).

[91] Holton, "The Beginnings of the Hesperian Literary Society," pp. 230-231 ff.; Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1851-1856. Unless otherwise indicated, this discussion of the Hesperian Literary Society will be based on these sources.

J. W. Alspaugh, marshal; and O. M. Shemwell, monitor. Officers were elected at the first meetings in September, November, January, March, May, and July of each year. A fine of twenty-five cents was imposed upon any officer for failure to perform any duty required by the Society. The duties of the marshal were "to arrange and guard the room, keep the lights in order, attend to whatever the comfort of the society" demanded, and also be "master of ceremonies." The monitor was a kind of vice-president and critic. Another officer was the "steward," whose duties were to care for all funds, property, and orders of the Society.

The President of the College was authorized to veto any action of the societies that he deemed detrimental to the good of the College. "Nothing of a political or sectarian principle [could] be introduced either by debate or otherwise." Perhaps this provision was designed to enable the presiding officer to keep a heated discussion within moderate bounds.

The initiation fee was one dollar, and a fine of ten cents was imposed for each unexcused absence. A fine of two dollars was imposed for divulging any secrets of the Society. This provision referred to the elaborate degree, or "sectional," planned after the pattern of secret fraternal orders. Originally there were ten "sections," but only about three were actually carried out. The bylaws provided for punishment for failure to observe "sectional" requirements.

Provision was made for the election of honorary members and for holding public debates if two thirds of the Society so voted. No public debates other than those held jointly with the Columbians are recorded for the first two years, but honorary members were elected in great numbers. During 1851-1853 more honorary members were elected than there were active members of the Society. Perhaps Craven encouraged their election as a courtesy to friends of the College and as a method of winning support for Normal.[92] Moreover, the students indulged in friendly rivalry in winning recognition for their favorites. Nearly fifty names, including prominent politicians, practically all of the living ex-governors of the state, college

[92] In 1852 Calvin H. Wiley was notified of his election to honorary membership (M. L. Stafford to Calvin H. Wiley, Jan. 23, 1852, Calvin H. Wiley Papers).

presidents, and ministers appear in the first list of honorary members, compiled July 26, 1851. A list of editors appeared in the records of November 15, 1851, and a third list of more than forty preachers appeared on January 25, 1852.

An incident occurred in 1852 which seemed to check for a time the tendency to indulge in numerous honorary elections. "A Mr. W.— of Randolph County, evidently a wag, appears to have written or received a crude invitation to honorary membership and displayed it to his friends as an invitation from the Hesperian Society." The Society was indignant. At a meeting on May 5, 1852, the secretary presented "a crushing letter" to Mr. W., and it was unanimously approved by the Society and entered in its minutes.

The programs for the meetings of the Hesperians were somewhat similar to those of the Columbians. At first the meetings of both societies were held simultaneously in separate rooms on Saturday afternoons at two o'clock. The time was later changed to Friday, "three-fourths of an hour after sunset." Neither society was supposed to disturb the other "by cheering, approaching the doors, windows, or otherwise."

Programs of the Hesperian Literary Society were outlined two weeks in advance. Besides routine business, each consisted of an oration, debate, and reports of different kinds. The debate consumed most of the program, and in the early days the member who proposed the query opened the discussion. Each debater was limited to thirty minutes, and decision was rendered by majority vote of the Society. The following questions indicate thought and opinion among the Hesperians:

1852

Would the South be justifiable in seceding from the Union if Congress should repeal the Fugitive Slave Law? [Yes.]

Have the Americans a right to assist the Hungarians? [No.]

Would it be best for North Carolina to build the Central Railroad or to apply the funds . . . to some other purpose? [For railroad.]

Should capital punishment be abolished? [Yes.]

Is it best for young men to associate with young ladies during their collegiate course or not? [After a "spirited debate," the decision was in favor of associating with the ladies.]

Which is the greater curse, indolence or intemperance? [Intemperance.]

Is every man morally bound to join the Sons of Temperance? [No.]

Which is endowed with greater mental power males or females? [Males.]

Which has greater influence on society, males or females? [Males.]

Which has received greater abuse from the whites, African Negroes or the American Indian? [The American Indian.]

1853

Which does the most to make a man great, poverty or wealth? [Poverty.]

1854

May any state lawfully withdraw from the American Union? [No. The same question was debated the next year, and the same decision was given.]

Is slavery profitable to the Nation? [No.]

Should an infidel be allowed the liberty of the press? [No.]

Are common schools beneficial to a nation? [Yes.]

Does the reading of novels have a good or bad effect upon the community? [Good.]

Should men, while intoxicated be allowed to vote in elections relating to state government? [No.]

1855

Is it right that young men from North Carolina should emigrate to the West? [No.]

Which has been the greater curse to the world, unbounded ambition or dissolute effeminacy? ["Dissolute effeminacy."]

Should the Southern people patronize Northern newspapers? [No.]

Have the United States a right to take Cuba by force under any circumstances? [Yes.]

What can the liberally educated young men in the South engage in to benefit their country? [Politics.]

Was the Mexican War just on the part of the United States? [Yes.]

Both literary societies designed and wore badges and regalia, and at commencement both gave medals in recognition of the work of outstanding graduates. In 1854 the Hesperians authorized the presentation of a medal to cost "not more than $10.00 nor less than $2.50"; in form it was the "outline of an apple taken from the golden apple of the ancient fable of the Hesperides."

Perhaps the most important project of the two literary societies was the collection of books and other materials for the libraries of each society. The Hesperian Society provided that when its library totaled five hundred books the librarian should receive his tuition

free. By the end of three years the required number of books was secured through contributions from students and donations from honorary members and other friends. During vacations students were active in soliciting books, and the Society sometimes rewarded their efforts: "A premium of $5.00" was voted "to Reverend S. H. Helsabeck for his zeal in begging books for the society." A group of young ladies gave their assistance to the Hesperians by presenting $5.25 for the purchase of books.

The Hesperians were also able to increase their library by yearly appropriations matched by an equal amount from the College. This sum was usually $25 or $50 each from the Society and the College. Occasionally some student complained at the "considerable sum of money" that the societies had to raise each session "to buy books for the Libraries."[93]

In the early days the librarian kept the library open before and after the regular society meetings; later it was opened on Wednesday afternoons. Members of the Society and faculty were permitted to take books out; honorary members might use them in the room. Each library contained books on "biography, history, philosophy, poetry, and ancient and modern literature in general."[94] Some of the books were ordered from the North, but many of them were bought through book dealers in Salisbury, Greensboro, and Raleigh.[95]

Perhaps the Columbian Literary Society felt superior to the youthful Hesperians. "We are emphatically some pumpkins," wrote a Columbian in 1857.[96] Regardless of this feeling of superiority, the Society carried on somewhat the same activities as its rival. It may have been more skilful and experienced in the mechanics of organization and debate as it tried to live up to its motto, *"Perge! Perge!"*[97]

In 1851 the College evaluated the work of the societies in the following description of their activities:

There are two societies, Columbian and Hesperian, with well-furnished halls, valuable libraries, and all the usual facilities for improvement of this

[93] J. E. Short, Normal College, to "Brother," Feb. 5, 1853 (Trinity College Papers).

[94] Catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856.

[95] Diary of Enoch Faw, 1851-1856.

[96] W. W. Flood to Enoch Faw, Jan. 31, 1857 (Private Collection).

[97] Diary of Enoch Faw, 1851-1856.

kind. These Societies have been distinguished from their origin, for their strict adherence to parliamentary rule, their support of College law, their high tone of character, and their eminent literary merit. They are zealously collecting chronicles, traditions, and relics of Revolutionary and Indian character, and deserve the cooperation of all who desire to see such mementos of the past preserved and transmitted.[98]

Although each society preferred to act independently of the other, there were a few projects in which they enjoyed joint interest. Together they supported public debates, and each society took turn in selecting and inviting a speaker for commencement. The addresses on these occasions were sometimes published at the expense of the societies.[99]

The two organizations, however, did not always agree on joint projects. In 1854 the Columbians suggested that the Hesperians join them in the publication of a periodical or in assuming control of the already existing *College Magnolia.* After lengthy consideration the Hesperians refused to join in the undertaking.[100] At this time (1854) either the College or the senior class may have been publishing the *College Magnolia.* No copy of this periodical has been found, but in October, 1854, reference was made to its "prospectus" in the *North Carolina University Magazine.*[101]

The two literary societies were local in character, but branches of a nationally known organization were established at Normal. The general movement for humanitarian reform throughout the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century brought with it many temperance societies. In 1843 the Sons of Temperance, a secret fraternal order which had been founded in New York the year before, organized a branch in Raleigh. It required its members to pledge themselves to total abstinence from strong drink, and it

[98] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1856-1857*, p. 21.

[99] Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1851-1856; *The Bible—The Young Man's Guide: A Discourse Addressed to the Graduating Class of Normal College, July 26, 1854, by the Reverend S. Milton Frost, A.B., of the North Carolina Conference* (Columbian Literary Society, 1854); *Greensborough Patriot*, July 8, 15, 1854.

[100] Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1851-1854.

[101] "We have noticed the 'Prospectus of the *College Magnolia*' to be edited by a committee of the Senior Class of Normal College. The Editors have our sincere wishes for all possible success in their noble enterprise" (*North Carolina University Magazine*, III, Oct., 1854, 384).

also combined certain sick-benefit and burial-insurance features with its temperance requirements. Because of its encouragement of wholesome recreational and social activities, the organization appealed to young men. Popular in North Carolina in the early 1850's, the Sons of Temperance and the Cadets of Temperance, a branch of the same order, established branches at Normal. They maintained headquarters in the college building where they held secret meetings.[102] So popular had these organizations become by 1854 that two students began the publication of a periodical which had for one of its purposes the promotion of the work of the Cadets of Temperance. In its "prospectus" the periodical was known as the *Teetotaler*, but before the first issue appeared the name was changed to the *Guardian*.[103] Originally the publication was edited and owned jointly by C. C. Cole and J. H. Robbins; but later Cole assumed full responsibility for the publication.[104] Craven and Charles F. Deems were two of the "prominent Editorial Correspondents." No copy

[102] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 168-172, 458; Diary of Enoch Faw, 1851-1856.

[103] *Greensborough Patriot*, Aug. 12, 26, 1854.

[104] The forthcoming *Guardian* was announced as follows in the *Greensborough Patriot*, Sept. 30, 1854:

"*A Weekly Newspaper, devoted to News, Literature, Agriculture, Temperance, —all the Social, Educational, and Civil Interests of North Carolina, and especially the Interests of the Young.*

"The Subscribers propose to issue the *Guardian* monthly until first of January, when they expect to bring it out weekly. They are determined to make it a first rate paper. The best talent shall be employed in preparing articles for its pages,—news from all sections of North Carolina will be sought,—a summary of general Intelligence will be presented,—the progress of Education, Internal Improvements, Agriculture, etc, etc, will be duly chronicled in its pages. We propose *to Daguerreotype* North Carolina.

"Farmers, Merchants, Mechanics, Students, Professional men, Sons of Temperance, Masons, Odd Fellows, Know-Nothings, and Know-Everythings may expect to find something in their line, in our columns. We intend to try to promote all good Enterprises by whomsoever conducted. Our Motto is *Honor in Everything—Neutral in Nothing*. We expect to take ground on every subject, where we know anything, and where we know nothing we shall respectfully imitate others and *guess*.

"We ask one year trial. If we do not render our subscribers an equivalent, no one will be injured extensively, as we shall publish the paper the size of ordinary $2 newspapers at the exceedingly cheap rates below.

Terms

"Single Subscribers $1.50 per annum
"To clubs of 5 & upwards $1.00
"Invariably in Advance.

of the *Guardian* has been found, but reprints from the columns of its first issue appeared in the *Greensborough Patriot*.[105] How long the *Guardian* survived is unknown. C. C. Cole later moved to Greensboro, where he converted the *Guardian* into the *Times*, a "literary paper" and news magazine.[106]

Cole as a loyal alumnus of Normal frequently reported the activities of the College. The commencements, which had grown to be important occasions at Union Institute, were even more elaborate at Normal. Craven sometimes prepared for more than three thousand guests, and he did not hesitate to report to office-holders the number of potential voters present on such occasions.[107] The *Guardian* carried a detailed description of commencement in 1854:

On Monday evening the College bell rang out a merry peal that Commencement would begin that night with Fresh declamations from the Freshman class. This class did well. . . . Tuesday evening the audience was assembled to hear the Sophomores declaim; from this class were many good speakers and intelligent men. . . . On Wednesday morning, at 10 o'clock, a large crowd collected at the arbor to hear the Graduating Sermon, by Rev. S. M. Frost. He based his remarks on the ninth verse, of the 119th Psalm: "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?" He said every young man should have some sure guide; and in preference of all things, he recommended the Bible as their best and safest guide. This was a great sermon! Science gave it beauty and heaven gave it something like inspiration. . . . At three o'clock, the audience was greatly interested with the speech before the Literary Societies, by R. P. Dick, Esq., of Greensboro. This speech was well received, as a happy effort, creditable to the speaker, instructive to the audience, filled with rare gems

"Our paper will be sent only so long as paid for and no paper sent unless Cash accompany the order.

"Robbins & Cole.
"Normal College,
"Randolph Co., N. C."

[105] Aug. 26, 1854.

[106] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 801. Cole's object was "to build up a Southern literary journal of a superior class." During the years 1855-1860 he traveled in the United States in order to collect fresh material for his newspaper-magazine; he secured the services of some of the best writers both North and South, "authors of talent and celebrity"; among them were "such writers as Wm. Gilmore Simms, John Esten Cooke, Robert G. Staple and Mrs. Segnourney [*sic*]" (J. R. Cole, *Miscellany*, Dallas, Tex., 1897, p. 172).

[107] Braxton Craven to Governor David S. Reid, May 14, 1853 (Governors' Papers); Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, June 28, 1852 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers).

of mature thoughts, slightly tinged with fancy, and clothed with eloquence's beauty. Wednesday night we expected to hear something rich and new from the Junior Class; but the heavens grew dark and lowering; soon cool, fresh showers were falling on the parched earth; that night was dark and the rain fell heavy, so we were unable to get out to see with what glorious garments they had clothed the noble creations of their genius. Thursday was a gala day for Normal Commencement. The exercises commenced by singing and with prayer by the Rev. P. Doub. Below is the order of addresses by the Senior Class:

1. Salutatory—Latin
   By J. W. Pearson, of Arkansas.
2. "The True Man"
   By J. A. Edwards, of Greene County, N. C.
3. "The Rubicon of Life"
   By J. W. Payne, of Davidson.
4. "The Basis of Government"
   By S. D. Peeler, of Rowan.
5. "Geography of the Mind"
   By C. C. Cole, of Greensboro.
6. "Live and Labor"
   By L. H. Carter, of Greensboro.
7. "State Favor a Positive Injury"
   By T. S. Whittington, of Guilford.
8. Valedictory Address
   By I. L. Wright, of Darlington, S. C.

These young men had fine speeches and delivered them well; reflecting honor on their *Alma Mater*, which will ever look after them with an anxious eye, rejoice at their success, or drop the tear of regret if adversity should overtake them. . . .

Thursday night the party came off. It was a pleasant time with the young folks, and some of the *old ones got young*, and it was pleasant then to them too. . . . A great deal of *soft talk*, about the *moon*, *stars*, and the *weather*, and no doubt some tested that article which Bailey says is the art of hearts and the heart of arts. One swain whispered into the ear of his Jularkie a cripple creation of his brain in this kind of strain:

Could I dwell for aye beside thee,
And thy heart be all my own,
All things else of earth denied me,
I'd be rich with that alone.

Where the wild wood flowers are springing
In their native beauty bright;
Where the birds by day are singing,
And the fairies dance by night;

There I'd choose our humble dwelling,
Calm, sequestered and unknown;
And all other care repelling,
Live to love but thee alone.[108]

The presenting of each member of the graduating class with a Bible, which, in Normal College had perhaps originated with the first graduates in 1853, was an established custom at Normal. Upon presenting Bibles on one occasion, Craven gave the following advice to the graduates:

As a part of the testimonials of your collegiate training and scholarship, I present each of you a Bible, with your name in letters of gold thereon, and the occasion and reason of the gift inscribed therein. This book is elegant and durable, as becomes a present intended to go with you all the way through life, and be a testimonial to all that on the threshold of man's work you had high position for usefulness. You have studied many books, but this surpasses them all; the knowledge of others will be useful, but a practical knowledge of the Word herein is essential. What men have written you must comprehend, if you will be in honor among the elders in the gates of the people; but transcendentally above all, you must know the word of the Lord in head and heart, that you may be good citizens in this world, and among the redeemed in the great beyond. This Bible I give you as the last best gift of Trinity. Keep it, read it, and obey it, and may Heaven's richest blessings be with you.[109]

The Administration

According to law Normal was controlled directly by the board of trustees, which delegated power to the executive committee, the board of visitors, examining committees, and faculty.[110] Actually Craven ran the College. Although the governor of the state was the chairman of the board of trustees, Craven was frequently elected president pro tempore "for the management and execution of all official business in absence of the Governor of the State."[111] Moreover he was given absolute control over the financial affairs of the

[108] "Normal College Commencement" (quoted from the *Guardian*), *Greensborough Patriot*, Aug. 24, 1854. For further accounts of commencements at Normal College, see the same paper for April 8, July 8, 1854, July 27, 1855, March 7, Aug. 1, 1856; and Nora C. Chaffin, "Press Accounts of Normal College," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXIV (Dec., 1938), 322-323.

[109] Braxton Craven, Address to the Graduating Class (Trinity College Papers).

[110] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, 1851-1859 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University); catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856.

[111] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees of Normal College, 1851-1859.

College: ". . . [he] shall be responsible for all current expenses of the College and enjoy all its emoluments."[112] Ahi Robbins, treasurer of the College in 1852, reported to the board that he had examined and found Craven's management of "pecuniary affairs" prudent and honest and that "he has paid out of his funds more than $250."[113]

Craven's authority as President of Normal was stated specifically by the trustees:

> 1. This Faculty shall be organized on the plan of the Cabinet of the United States. The President shall nominate all professors and appoint all tutors.
> 2. The President shall be responsible to the Trustees for the whole College in all its departments, and every professor and tutor and any other person about the College shall be responsible to the President.
> 3. Every rule and regulation of the President shall be law until revoked by the Trustees.[114]

In published statements to the patrons of the school the responsibility of the president was further emphasized: "The whole College in all its divisions is directly under his supervision; whilst the different departments of instruction are committed to appropriate Professors, the students are amenable to the President for their progress, and are subjected to weekly examinations before him and the rest of the Faculty."[115] Craven accepted the executive authority given him and acted accordingly.

Craven's efforts for Normal were acknowledged in the following letter of advice written by a friend:

> I rejoice at the growing prosperity of Normal but I confess, my brother, I am disposed to attribute this more to *your own* indomitable energy, and the reputation you have established as an instructor and governor of such an institution, than to any other cause. Should you be induced to leave it or should God remove you from it, I should fear the result. The healthfulness of its location and its *cheapness*, have operated powerfully in its favor. The construction of the Central Rail Road, I fear, while it will make your College more accessible, will so increase the price of provisions, etc., that unless your people who board, will look more

[112] *Ibid.*, Feb., 1853.
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1850-1851*, p. 15; *1851-1852*, pp. 29-30.

to the number of boarders for remuneration than to the *price*, will seriously affect the prosperity of Normal. I trust you have an eye to this matter.[116]

When Union Institute became Normal College, Craven was both principal and faculty. The instructors of the first session of Normal consisted of its president, "a host in himself," and A. C. Speer, "an advanced student who found time to interest some of the primary classes."[117] The rapidly increasing enrollment as well as the new status of the institution required a larger faculty; and Craven did not lack advice:

Let me make another suggestion, which I do in confidence. It would be a good idea, if you could fill your professorships with lay men, except yourself and Bro. [Peter] Doub. You and he could get along well always, but my observation satisfies me that it is a bad plan to congregate too many Methodist preachers together. Indeed too many of the same profession do not do well together. I believe there is not a purer body of men in the world than the Methodist preachers. But they are *men*, brother, and the devil is always busy.[118]

Since Craven had offered the facilities of Normal for the education of Methodist ministers, he believed that a department for their training should be established. He favored the appointment of the Reverend Peter Doub, one of the most influential members of the North Carolina Conference, to a position of professor of "Theology" or "Divinity" in the College. The Reverend W. E. Pell of the North Carolina Conference warned Craven of the difficulties he was likely to encounter and suggested a diplomatic move:

I am in favor of giving Brother Doub a position there, but as to some of the features of your plan I object. Let Bro. Doub be appointed by your Board, "Professor of Mental and Moral Science." That is enough. I object to placing "Theology" or "Divinity" in the title for these reasons: First, your charter does not authorize you to establish a "Theological Professorship." No college in the State has, I think. In former days our Legislature was very hostile to it, and many of its members would be so now. Secondly, it would prejudice the interests of Normal College vastly before the community—Indeed, many Methodists would point their finger at it as a "theological School," which would kill it beyond resurrection. Again, I object to placing the professorship in any way under the control of the Conference.

[116] W. E. Pell to Braxton Craven, Sept. 16, 1854 (Trinity College Papers).
[117] Weaver, "Progress," p. 193.
[118] Letter to Braxton Craven from W. E. Pell, Sept. 16, 1854.

You, as the Foster-Father of the institution, should avoid as much as possible, tying your hands by the intermeddling of State or Conference, and indeed of Trustees further than you are obliged. The history of literary institutions, I think, clearly shows that in order to succeed, there must be *one governing master-mind,* who must suggest and in a great measure execute. Let then your Board elect Brother Doub professor of "Mental and Moral Science" with the understanding that he is to lecture on theology to the class of young men who are studying for the ministry. Then let the Board request the appointment of Brother Doub by the Conference and Bishop, and the thing will take. I apprehend the extensive acquaintance of Brother Doub would help the institution much.[119]

Apparently Craven was impressed by this advice; for no professorship of "Theology" or "Divinity" was established between 1852 and 1856. Doub was not appointed, but in 1854 Craven himself assumed the first professorship of "Mental and Moral Science" and retained that title for the next two years. Previous to this time Craven had held titles to other teaching positions in the College. Besides being President of the College, he was the first "Professor of Ancient Languages," first "Instructor and Lecturer in Normal Training," and first "Professor of [the] Normal Department."[120]

Side-stepping the theological difficulty, Craven proceeded to assemble a faculty. In 1851 on his own responsibility he employed two professors and "taxed" the students a dollar each for tuition.[121] Gradually, professorships were established and tutors selected to assist in the teaching of "experimental science," ancient and modern languages, the normal department, mathematics, English literature, natural science, mental and moral science, civil engineering, modern history, and natural philosophy.

Every member of the faculty had studied at Union Institute and Normal, or later received degrees from Trinity College.[122] The first appointments were professorships "pro tempore" given

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] Catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856.

[121] Resolutions of the Trustees of Normal College, July, 1851.

[122] The sketches of the faculty are based on the following: *Catalogue of Union Institute, 1849;* catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856; Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina,* I, 430-435; J. H. Brown (ed.), *The Cyclopaedia of American Biographies* (Boston, 1897-1903), I, 97; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1840-1860; Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Normal College, 1850-1859; J. R. Bulla, My Early Life (in the possession of Mrs. Bruce Craven, Trinity, N. C.); W. H. Pegram, "Address in Behalf of the Faculty

to two advanced students. For the year 1850-1851 A. C. Speer, a former student and assistant at Union Institute, became "Professor, pro tempore, of English Literature and Natural Science." In the same year D. C. Johnson, also a former student and helper at Union Institute, was made "Professor, pro tempore, of Mathematics."

The next year William McKendre Robbins became the first permanent appointee to the professorship of mathematics, and remained at Normal for three years. He and his brother J. H. Robbins, who became "Tutor in Language" in 1855-1856, were sons of Ahi Robbins, a charter trustee of Union Institute, Normal, and Trinity. J. H. Robbins later served as professor pro tempore of mathematics and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Trinity in 1859. He finally joined the North Carolina Conference, and served many years as a minister.

After attending Union Institute, William McKendre Robbins went to Randolph-Macon College, where he was graduated in 1851. He resigned from Normal in 1854 and later studied law. In 1855 he moved to Alabama to practice his profession. At the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Confederate Army, and by the end of the war he had attained the rank of major. He returned to North Carolina in 1865 and opened a law office in Salisbury. In 1868 and again in 1870 he was elected to the Senate of the General Assembly. An influential Democrat during the period of Reconstruction, he was elected to Congress in 1872, 1874, and 1876. He resumed the practice of law in 1879 and lived an honored life in his native state until his death in 1905.

Lemuel Johnson, a brother of D. C. Johnson, was made "Tutor" for the term 1853-1854, and the next year he was appointed professor of mathematics, a position he held for many years. A persistent student under discouraging circumstances, Johnson attended night school under Craven before entering Union Institute and finally graduated from Normal. The two Johnson brothers composed the first class to receive degrees from the College (1853).

The Reverend Allen S. Andrews, a native of Randolph County and a member of the North Carolina Conference, was a professor of

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of Trinity College," *Trinity Archive*, VIII (Oct., 1894), 28-32; O. W. Carr, Private Journal, 1855-1865 (copy in the Duke Library).

English literature in Greensboro Female College before he was appointed in 1851 to a professorship at Normal. While he was at the College he "completed his education." He was the first member of the faculty to hold the positions of "Professor of English Literature and Natural Science" and "Professor of English Literature and Moral Science." In 1854 he resigned and joined the Alabama Methodist Conference. During the years that followed he became a distinguished minister and educator.

Upon the resignation of Andrews, I. L. Wright, a student from Darlington, South Carolina, was chosen "Professor of English Literature and Natural Science"; and the next year, "Professor of Ancient Languages." In 1859 he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Trinity.

Another student, O. W. Carr, originally from Kenansville, North Carolina, was chosen "Tutor" in 1854 and the next year, "Tutor in Languages." He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Trinity in 1859 and later taught for many years in the College.

The faculty was also responsible for the discipline of students. Craven, gentle or stern as the occasion demanded, set the standard. A student wrote that between 1851 and 1854 "there was not a case of expulsion or of public discipline." In 1855 the faculty reported to the trustees that no student had been "arraigned" for misconduct. Craven governed without seeming to govern. He had but one rule: " . . . every student must be a gentleman, and he was placed on his honor." Some of his students said that they believed Craven to be the greatest man in the world and that he convinced them that they stood next in line with him.[123] Under "Discipline" in the college catalogue, Craven published his ideas and methods of dealing with students:

> We have laws and regulations to which all are required to yield obedience, but we do not think that students should be left to themselves and the *Letter of the Law*. We endeavor by all proper means, personal, public, religious and social, to make everyone a useful man. No parent need suppose that his son is deprived of those warnings, admonitions, and

[123] Report from Faculty of Normal College to the Board of Trustees, July 10, 1855 (Trinity College Papers); Weaver, "Progress," p. 193; Holton, "The Beginnings of the Hesperian Literary Society," p. 230; Brooks, "The First State Normal School Becomes Trinity College," p. 91.

affectionate advice, which parental love so carefully administers; we continually use the whole power of kindness and sympathy, and by this means win many youths to excellence. But so soon as we are convinced that a student *will not* do respectable service, or *will be deteriorated* by remaining, we cause him to be taken home.[124]

The laws and regulations were carefully outlined and specifically written out. Students were told what was expected of them and what would not be countenanced in their conduct:

1. All improper conduct shall rank as High Offenses, Misdemeanors and Demerits.

2. High Offences shall subject the offender to Expulsion or Dismission.

3. Misdemeanors shall cause Censure, or Suspension, and repetition shall be subject to Dismission.

4. Demerits shall be marked according to the established grade, and affect the student according to the amount.

5. High Offences are using intoxicating liquors in any way, unless prescribed by a physician; habitually using profane language; gambling in any way; keeping or using any fire-arms or other unlawful weapons; riotous or noisy behavior whereby the peace of the College or community is disturbed; mischief whereby the premises of the College or community are unlawfully invaded; gross or indecent conduct; challenging, assaulting, or endeavoring to injure any person; or, aiding, abetting or encouraging similar conduct in others—all combinations or actions whereby the College is insulted, or the authority of the President set at defiance.

6. Misdemeanors are: irreverent or unseemly conduct at church—insolence or want of respect due to any and all persons—; habitual extravagance; associating with any person, whatever of notoriously low character; forming any societies or clubs, or attending any parties or assemblages contrary to College law; making accounts or otherwise incurring debt without express permission from the President, except for College and boarding bills; refusing to attend when summoned by the President, or disrespectful conduct toward any Professor; resisting or neglecting any College regulations whatever.

7. Subjects of Demerit: not keeping College hours, leaving the College farther than the circle of boarding houses without permission; leaving the College during school hours without permission; missing the roll; absence from recitation or other exercises; neglect to prepare for recitation; speaking or other communication during study hours at College except to a Professor; leaving the seat during study hours except to a Professor; failing to attend preaching at the College at 11:00 o'clock on Sunday.

[124] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1856-1857*, pp. 19-20.

8. Any subject of demerit may be excused provided the impossibility of tomplying be shown to the President before the marks are entered.

9. Scale of Demerit:

1.	Leaving room or making any disturbance from College bell in the evening till the bell in the morning	8
2.	Leaving beyond the circle of boarding [houses]	16
3.	Leaving College during school hours	8
4.	Absence from recitation	8
5.	Missing the roll	8
6.	Failing to prepare recitations	8
7.	Entering the recitation room after roll is called	8
8.	Communication in School hours	8
9.	Leaving Seat in School hours	4
10.	Absence from preaching	8
11.	Any improprieties to be marked by the President from	1 to 40
12.	Any Demerit may be redeemed by such means as the President shall prescribe in the presence of the whole class.	

10. Scale of Merit:

1.	Recitation, from	1 to 8
2.	Translation to English	1 to 24
3.	Translation to Classics	1 to 64
4.	Declamation	1 to 64
5.	Thesis	1 to 72
6.	Absence from 2, 3, 4, and 5 will be marked with the lowest value attached to those subjects.	
7.	Avoiding all Demerits for two weeks in succession, shall entitle any student to a merit of 16.	

11. When the sum of the Demerits of any student amounts to 200 in any one session, he shall be reported to his parent or guardian. If it amounts to 300, he shall be suspended in reserve; and if to 500, he shall be dismissed.

12. The final examination in each Session shall be marked five times higher than ordinary recitations or exercises.

13. In adjusting honors, the sum of all demerits shall be subtracted from the sum of merits.

14. After the subtraction, those who have 80 per cent and upward, of the highest possible number in each class shall be entitled to First Distinction; from 60 to 80 per cent shall obtain Second Distinction; from 40 to 60 per cent, Third Distinction; from 20 to 40 per cent sustained without honor; under 20 per cent not sustained and must appear in the Catalogue at least one class below.[125]

[125] Laws and Regulations of Normal College, 1853 [?] (Trinity College Papers).

Swearing, gambling, and "drinking any intoxicating liquors" were rated worst in order of offenses, and the penalty for each was expulsion on the first offense.[126]

Students were not permitted to remain in college unless they pursued "a reasonable number of studies" and attended "promptly to college regulations"; nor were they permitted "to indulge in habits contrary to morality, good order, and genteel deportment." Parents were invited "to visit their sons in their rooms, recitations, and studies, and inspect their progress, manners, and accommodations." They were urged to "have no fears for their sons or wards"; if they observed "the regulations, they must do well, and all who do not, are promptly and rigidly reported." Regular reports were sent to the parents or guardians every six weeks.[127]

The Curriculum, Degrees, and Certificates

More than half of the students at Normal were either preparing for college or taking an "irregular" course. The college catalogue described the desirability and efficiency of the preparatory department:

> This department possesses superior advantage for those preparing for this or any other College. Such as desire a partial course, will enjoy all the privileges of Apparatus, Museum, Lectures, and College Associations that any institution can afford, without being confined to a course of instruction opposed to their purposes or opportunities. Those preparing for this institution will find this as cheap, as perhaps any school where appropriate instruction can be obtained; and therefore, it will be advanta-

[126] Catalogues of Normal College, 1854-1856.

[127] *Ibid.*, 1850-1856. An example of letters to parents may be found in the following:

"Normal College
"March 29, 1856.

"Mr. Watson
"Dear Sir:

"In reply to your letter I am happy to say that your son is doing very well. He attends to his duties very promptly, recites his lessons well, is very correct in all respects. I think he is doing as well as you could desire; he is not forming any bad habits, and instead of returning to you worse, I hope you will find him a polished Christian young man.

"We have a very fine Christian Spirit pervading the College.

"I shall be glad to hear from you at any time.

"Very respectfully
"B. Craven"

(Watson Papers, Duke University Library).

geous to prepare here. Such as design entering the University or any other distant College, can prepare here as cheap, and certainly with more advantages, than at a common school. We therefore invite all who are preparing for College, to enter this Institution; assuring them that our advantages are not surpassed by any school. Young men from our preparatory have entered the Junior Class at the best Colleges in the South, and over competitors well-trained and talented, have been victorious. We mention these things because we know our Preparatory is of a superior character.[128]

The preparatory department was "directly under the supervision of the college faculty," and Craven himself managed the expenses, manners, and morals of its students and used "every proper means to execute the will of parents and guardians." Recitations were held in the college buildings, and students in the preparatory department attended religious exercises along with the other departments. Craven assured parents that their sons, "large or small," received careful attention. He declared that the preparatory department had advantages "for citizens of the low country wishing to send their small sons to school." The following subjects were offered in this department: spelling, oral and written arithmetic, English, Latin, and Greek grammar, reading in Latin and Greek, algebra, and geography.[129]

Although many boys studied in this department at Normal, the College emphasized its main features—normal and collegiate instruction. The first college catalogue explained that the school was "styled Normal College" because it had a "special organization for the instruction of teachers and was endowed with the privilege of giving teachers certificates valid in any part of North Carolina."[130] Nevertheless, the school was not given wholly to the preparation of teachers. In the first published explanation of its philosophy and policy, Normal outlined the general features of its course of instruction:

In arranging this Course of Instruction much attention has been given to the wants of the Country; for though excellent Colleges are flourishing at no great distance, they by no means supply the literary demand of the day. It is clearly evident, that Institutions, organized

[128] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1850-1851*, pp. 14-15; *1851-1852*, p. 29; *1852-1853*, p. 26.

[129] Catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856.

[130] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1850-1851*, p. 13.

by the models of a past generation, cannot in all respects be applicable to this; that the progression of mind will require new adaptations in its onward course; and that votaries of ancient forms must either remain behind the tide of time, or meet the advances of intellect by reconstruction. Whilst our course of study is not essentially different from the oldest and best Colleges, it is adapted to the phases of society around us. The usage that would subject all manner of intention and talent to the same routine, and that instead of developing, strives to make all minds alike, has been discarded. Our course of instruction has been formed after mature deliberation; a thorough *understanding* of it, will be rigorously exacted before honors are conferred; mere sojourn for a specified time will not be sufficient. The course is divided into Classical and English; the former, similar to College courses generally, requires four years; the latter, embracing all that is necessary to make an accomplished English scholar, requires, ordinarily, three years. Students will be placed in that department that may be selected by themselves, their Parents, Guardians, or Faculty; and will be regularly graduated when their studies are completed. We desire to remove from our countrymen the delusion which teaches that a finished education is necessary for none but professional men; that the Merchant, the Mechanic, and the Farmer would in no way be benefited by the treasures of Science. Here is a College established for the *people*, sustained and encouraged by a *Board of Trustees* who feel the importance of their work, and who are determined that no pains or expense shall be spared to make it equal to any in accommodation and profound scholarship. Though a smaller amount of study is required for admission into this than most Colleges, our course is not less extensive; by assigning more studies to the advanced classes, we avoid the useless custom of allowing Juniors and Seniors to be comparatively idle, and prevent the common complaint that the *last* year of college life is more show than substance.[131]

The next year (1851-1852) Normal was even more bold in the statement of its policies and more critical of the older and more conservative colleges of the day:

The day has arrived when "graduation for the name" has lost its charm; empty titles will no longer bear a man to fame and fortune. Colleges should not only thoroughly instruct, but form good habits, arouse to noble exertions and enlarged views, inspire a high order of intellectual and moral excellence, and develop all powers in due proportion. Education has seldom been effective except where it was very common, or very rare; when rare, it is an engine of tyranny, when common, the palladium of liberty. No State needs it more, or has been benefited less in the mass of

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

her citizens by collegiate education, than North Carolina. The noble and cultivated talent, that has come forth from the University, has to a large extent either pined and died through want of appreciation, or has gone to bless and adorn other States. This country affords no asylum for a learned aristocracy, and the people know far too little of profound learning, either to enjoy its advantages or reward its services. Utilitarians, falsely so-called, united with shortsighted avarice, have cursed the land by calling money Fortune, and the "Single Rule of Three," Education. Every American is a nobleman by birth, and may be a statesman by effort; and he needs the ennobling, inspiring influence of a genuine, public Institution to develop his powers and form his taste. Our Colleges, almost exact copies of Institutions suited to the spirit of a different ground, have perhaps exerted rather an unpropitious influence upon the *general* spread of *thorough* education; for the College that profoundly educates a man, but sends him forth with manners, habits and sentiments unsuited to the civil and social requisition of his Country, does both the man and the State great harm rather than good.

The organization of Normal College is an attempt to unite necessity for exertion with profound study; to correctly develop, chasten, and adorn republican intellect by a thorough course of study, vigorously applied. In Europe none but the nobles and professional men, need a finished education, because the remainder is not blessed with either freedom of thought or action; but in this Union, where every man thinks for himself and is the architect of his own fortune, a complete classical education is absolutely essential.

The sentiment generally prevails, that the sons of our most distinguished citizens, are destined to be insignificant, and almost every family affords some evidence of its truth; but if such a deplorable necessity is in existence, it is undoubtedly of a man's own making, and might be remedied. The sons of wealth, power and fame, are educated in our most approved Institutions; and, since such persons must by nature be equal, if not superior to all others, if, as a general rule they fail to be honorable and useful, there must be a radical fault in our education. If it be said, that "circumstances thwart the educational influences thrown around them," it must be answered that "education forms the man"; and if the organizations now in use fail to prevent the degradation of so large and valuable a portion of humanity, such organizations are either impotent, or want adaptation. Perhaps, they form habits, principles and associations inconsistent with the requisitions, pursuits and pleasures of a government, such as ours; or whilst ease, luxury and desire for gain, are sapping the foundation of personal worth, our educational systems may be using none, or the wrong corrective influence. The subject is worthy of close thought and honest investigation. We have seen and felt that the evils and circumstances of the day are playing havoc with our most important inter-

ests, and if preventive is not found in religious education, we know not where to look. The Legislature having given us a charter we have with much solicitude, organized Normal College *as it is;* so far it has fully met public expectation; we invite the learned, the experienced, the man of the world and Christian, all to examine it minutely. The Statesman cannot be indifferent, for it is shaping the destiny of many citizens; the Minister is interested, it is doing much either for, or against the interest of his Master's vineyard; and the father has some concern, since Normal College might be an agency in bringing peace and happiness upon his declining years.[132]

Two years later Normal continued its attack upon the "American Collegiate system":

The American collegiate system is too faithful a copy of the European, where the students are sons of the aristocracy, attended by Tutors, and dependent upon the College for nothing but instruction in form of lectures. Such is not our condition of society; and a change in collegiate theory, sentiment, and practice, would evidently be beneficial. For those who are blessed with well-educated parents, good tutors and every other requisite, such collegiate influence may be sufficient; but the great mass of our young men require other and different training.

The thousands of young men who leave American Colleges, ruined in fortune, body, mind and soul, *ought* to teach us, that ample endowments and learned professors, are not the only collegiate requisites.[133]

With these frank criticisms of older colleges and with its own ambitious program slowly taking form, the College gradually evolved its course of study. In the normal department it was building a new highway for educational transit in North Carolina, and it felt compelled to explain the reason for its direction:

The Normal Department is needed more than any other; every county in this State needs from forty to one hundred teachers and upon an average *four thousand* teachers are employed every year. These teachers are doing more for the weal and woe of North Carolina than any other class of men. Is one half of them sufficiently educated? No. If they have knowledge enough, do they know how to teach? Are Law, Medicine, and Divinity, more easily learned than the proper manner of instructing and training the immortal mind? Does even a *finished* education make men safe lawyers, physicians, et cetera, without anything further? Are years of experience, profound learning, full courses of lectures, and the accumulated wisdom of ages, necessary in administering medicine

[132] *Ibid., 1851-1852*, pp. 16-18.
[133] *Ibid., 1853-1854*, p. 15.

to the body? Shall the immortal part be given up to unlearned and unskillful instruction? *Teaching is a great profession,* it is now a profitable business; a splendid theatre of usefulness is open, and good actors are in great demand. . . .

The great mass of people must depend upon Common Schools for their education; if these schools be taught by well-informed and skillful instructors, the people will be profited; otherwise, they must certainly be injured. Normal College is the teacher's home, the place at which all his wants can be satisfied, and the institution will give him honor in proportion to his talent and industry. We have long been importing teachers from Northern schools; that practice ought to cease; we have talent and ambition and now we have a school superior in its organization to those, that have so long supplied the South with every grade of instructors. If the young men will enter our halls, we will make them equal to the teachers of any age or nation; they shall be an honor to the cause of education, and the pride of Carolina. This is the first institution of the kind, ever established in the South; its brilliant career thus far, shows the favor in which it is held by the people, and when the young men we are now preparing, shall have gone forth and tested our principles by practical application, we ask no other eulogium.[134]

As outlined by the College, the "full course of study" for students in the normal department required three years for completion; but students who proved themselves capable of teaching in less time might receive "a limited State Certificate" at the end of the first or second year.[135] The College was definite in the statement of its activities in teacher-training:

Those who enter this department [Normal] may belong to either the Classical or English Course; such as have completed the studies of the Freshman Class in either course, and are deemed suitable for teachers, may receive a certificate to last one year; completing the studies of the next class will entitle them to a certificate to last two years; and an English Senior or Classical Junior, will receive a certificate without limitation. The members of this class are not only taught *what,* but *how* to teach; they are instructed in the proper principles of school government, and everything that tends to make them efficient and useful teachers. Attached to the College, is a Model School of small children; in this school the Normal candidates practice; here, under the inspection of the President, they are drilled in all the minutiae of governing and teaching; here, also, talent for teaching is exemplified, and those who are found un-

[134] *Ibid., 1851-1852,* pp. 26-28.
[135] *Ibid.,* p. 23.

suitable for that profession, are not passed, and are persuaded to engage in some other pursuit. To young men who wish to prepare for the honorable and useful profession of teaching, this department offers every possible advantage; and it is hoped that all who have the general cause of education at heart, will exert their influence to induce young men to enter, and prepare themselves for teaching our Common Schools.[136]

The following outline of the "Course of Instruction in the Normal Department" appeared in only one catalogue (1853-1854):

First Year

Ortheopy [*sic*], Orthography, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, English Grammar, Natural Philosophy, Book Keeping, and History of the United States.

Lectures—Mode of conducting and teaching school, with practice every week in the Model School.

Second Year

English Literature, Arithmetic, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Astronomy, Geometry, Botany, History, Elocution, Physiology.

Lectures as above, with composition every week.

Third Year

Geometry, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Chemistry, Uranography, Rhetoric, Trigonometry, Surveying, Mensuration, Political Economy, Moral Science, and Geology.

With regular Normal Lectures, and a general view of the whole course.

Indigent young men, who can bring a certificate of good natural capacity and moral character, will be prepared for Teachers upon credit.[137]

A reason that this specific outline appeared in only one catalogue may be found in the fact that Craven did not believe in the absolute separation of the teacher-training course from the regular college course, but that the two courses should be taken together.[138] Because of this belief and because no separation in courses was made after 1853-1854, it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain just what courses were required of teachers after that date. Prospective teachers were probably allowed to enter all courses offered.

[136] *Ibid.*, *1850-1851*, pp. 13-14; *1851-1852*, pp. 26-27; *1852-1853*, pp. 24-25; *1853-1854*, pp. 22-23.

[137] *Ibid.*, *1853-1854*, pp. 21-24.

[138] Braxton Craven, A Lecture on Normal Schools, April 22, 1857 (Trinity College Papers).

Although constantly working toward a specific course for teachers between 1850 and 1855, the College did not succeed in fully organizing the normal department until 1854-1855. In that year Craven published the following explanation and guarantee of the work of this department:

> Attached to the College is a department for the instruction of teachers. The Trustees conceived, that whilst very many Colleges had departments of Law and Medicine for such as desired that kind of instruction, a provision for the education of teachers was greatly needed in this State. Such a department has been established on a liberal scale, though for want of proper accommodations it has not been fully carried into effect. The exercises of the department, with complete arrangements, will commence next session. . . .
>
> Such students as desire to prepare for teaching, will be fully instructed in all matters pertaining to teaching and conducting schools; they will be more thoroughly prepared for the studies usually taught, and will be practically exercised in a Model School opened for that purpose. We beg leave to assure the public, that implicit reliance may be placed upon any young man having a Normal Certificate, dated after this year. As teachers are greatly needed, and as we are establishing a Normal Department on the most approved plan, we hope the country will do us the favor to give us a trial. Any young man desirous to prepare for teaching, though unable to pay his expenses, would do well to address the President of the College.[139]

Although the College continued to train teachers each year until 1859, this statement is the last mention of the normal department. There is a reasonable explanation for this. In 1856, the year after the publication of the last statement concerning the normal department, the College became officially affiliated with Methodism in North Carolina and gradually developed into a liberal arts college controlled by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Failure to receive adequate support from the state and scornful criticism of its normal features, together with public dissatisfaction with some of the teachers trained at Normal, caused the College to relax its emphasis on teacher-training. Instead, it built up its regular collegiate department.

In order to enter the freshman class each student was required to pass an examination. In 1851-1852 entrance examinations were given on "Orthoepy, Orthography, Oral and Written Arithmetic,

[139] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1854-1855*, p. 14.

Geography, English and Latin Grammar, Latin Reader and Caesar."[140] These requirements continued until 1852-1853, when they were again revised. From that year until 1856-1857 "applicants for admission into the freshman class" were required to stand "an approved examination upon Oral and Written Arithmetic, the Grammars of the English, Latin, and Greek Languages, Latin Reader, Caesar, Greek Fables, and Geography."[141] The College complained that many students seeking admission were defective in these subjects. Parents were advised to supervise carefully the earlier teaching of their children:

> They [parents] should be careful in selecting their primary teachers, as in determining the College at which they shall finish their studies. No college can perform its own duties and at the same time supply the deficiencies [and] eradicate the errors of incompetent or careless preparatory teachers. Right teaching does not simply mean correct answers. It implies reasoning, modes of thought, adaptation, development, and habit; and many are further from scholarship when they suppose themselves ready to enter College, than when they commenced the preparation.
>
> In Language, we find great deficiency in *Construction;* and in Arithmetic, a general reliance on keys. Such instruction is of no value in itself, and is definitely worse than no basis for further instruction. From some sections our students come well-prepared.[142]

Regular times for entrance examinations were set: "Monday and Tuesday preceding Commencement Day, and Monday and Tuesday preceding the beginning of the Fall term." Candidates were accepted for any class up to the third term of the senior year, and preferred admission times were commencement or beginnings of the terms.[143]

By 1856 the regular college course of instruction had evolved into the following requirement:

Freshman Class.

First term

Ovid	Arithmetic
Greek reader	English Literature

During this term, the Class is drilled closely on general construction in the Languages, and on Latin Prosody: applications of Arithmetic are

[140] *Ibid., 1851-1852*, p. 9.
[141] *Ibid.*, 1852-1856.
[142] *Ibid., 1852-1853*, pp. 14-15.
[143] *Ibid., 1855-1856*, p. 121.

studied minutely, also the construction and prosody of the English Language: daily practice is demanded in Penmanship; and a lecture is given every Saturday A.M. on Natural Philosophy. Composition every Monday.

Second term

Virgil's Bucolics 2 books Anabasis 2 books	Algebra, to Quadriatics [*sic*] Mythology

Particular attention is paid to special constructions in the Languages, and to Mythological History in connection with Ancient Geography; Lectures, Saturday morning on Book keeping. Composition on Monday.

Third term

Virgil's Aeneid 4 books	Algebra
Anabasis 2 books	Geometry 6 books

Exercises in Writing, Latin, and Greek. Recitation every Saturday morning on the History of the United States. Composition as above.

Sophomore Class

First term

Sallust Herodotus Greek and Roman Antiquities	Geometry Algebra

Latin and Greek Idioms are closely studied and applied, and the connections of Algebra and Geometry. Lecture every Saturday on Natural History. Composition every Tuesday.

Second term

Cicero's Orations and De Officiis Homer, 3 books	Plane Trigonometry Surveying, and Mensuration

Astronomy

Attention is paid to elegant translation in Latin, to Prosody in Greek, and to Mathematical applications. Saturdays, Lectures on the actual Forces of Chemistry. Composition as above.

Third term

Livy Homer, 3 books	Navigation and Spherical Trigonometry

English Literature

Regular translations in the languages, with critical reference to their structures and special attention paid to English. Exercise every Saturday on Elocution. Composition as above.

Junior Class

First term

Horace Odes and Terrence [*sic*]	Analytical Geometry
Thucydides	Rhetoric

Latin metre is now studied, the English composition of every kind receives the utmost attention. Lecture every Saturday on Chemistry. Composition every Wednesday.

Second term

Horace and Juvenal	Uranography
Demosthenes on the Crown	Logic
Differential Calculus	French

Elegance in Greek translation; general history of emblems as connected with Uranography; Lecture every Saturday on Geology and Mineralogy; Composition as above.

Third term

Cicero De Oratore	Integral Calculus
Greek Testament and Reviews	Botany
	French

Close attention is paid to critical readings in the Languages, and to the connections and relations of Mathematics. Saturday, Lecture on Agricultural Chemistry. Composition as above.

Senior Class

First term

Tacitus and Horaces's Art of Poetry	Mathematical Astronomy
	Mental Philosophy
Sophocles	French

The class critically reviews the construction of the languages. The course of lectures on Mental Philosophy requires extensive reading and writing by the class. Thesis every two weeks.

Second term

Political Economy	Languages and Mathematics
Mechanics and Civil Engineering	French

Five lectures are delivered every week on Political Economy, em-

bracing National and Constitutional Law, Treaties, etc. Regular reviews on the whole course of languages and mathematics are had daily.

Third term

Moral Philosophy Evidences of Christianity

Philosophy of History

The Lectures during this term are extensive, and require the class to read largely. Thesis or translation every week.

All the classes declaim once in four weeks; each will attend a Bible recitation every Sabbath morning, and the lower classes have regular reading exercises. Hebrew, Italian, and Spanish are studied by those who desire it without extra charge.[144]

This collegiate course of instruction followed rather closely the study of the classics, the predominating studies in higher education during this period. Nevertheless, newer studies in the sciences and languages were coming into vogue,[145] and these were represented among the subjects required or elected at Normal. The following "lectures" were given in connection with the course of study:

4	Lectures	on Mythology and Ancient Geography.
10	"	on Natural Philosophy with apparatus.
10	"	on Natural History.
6	"	on Latin Literature.
10	"	on Rhetoric.
5	"	on Formation of Mathematical Tables.
5	"	on Uranography and Globes.
10	"	on Laws of motion and Mechanics.
30	"	on Chemistry with apparatus.
20	"	on History of Natural Science and Pure Mathematics.
36	"	on Mental Philosophy.
18	"	on Geology and Mineralogy.
12	"	on History of Physical Astronomy embracing sections of the Principia.
30	"	on Political Economy, Law of Nations, etc.
10	"	on Modern Literature.
30	"	on Moral Science and evidences of Christianity.
15	"	on various scientific subjects.[146]

[144] *Ibid., 1854-1855*, pp. 111-114.

[145] T. C. Johnson, Jr., *Scientific Interests in the Old South* (New York, 1936), pp. 197-199.

[146] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1855-1856*, p. 16; Braxton Craven, Class Lectures (Trinity College Papers).

Besides the collegiate, normal, and preparatory departments, the College included two other courses: an "English Course" and a "Partial Course." The English course embraced all the studies of the regular course except Latin and Greek. Students in this course enjoyed regular college privileges and recited in the same classes with the college students. The catalogue declared:

> For such as desire a complete English education without the classics; we have every reasonable facility; we think it very desirable to take the full course; but when this cannot be done, or is not preferred, we give such instruction and honors as other Institutions, that have adopted the English course of study.[147]

The "Partial Course" was very elastic. It was organized for young men who wished "to spend one or more sessions at some institution of high grade." Such young men were "cordially received, and all reasonable efforts" were made "to render their stay both pleasant and profitable."[148]

Although ministers were trained at Normal, the catalogues carried no description of theological studies. Constant mention was made of "Bible Studies," however, and the catalogue declared that "while sectarianism is rigorously excluded, the Bible is a constant textbook. . . ." Provision was made for the study of Hebrew as well as Latin and Greek; and, under the English and partial courses, students were permitted much freedom in the choice of subjects. In this way the training of preachers was provided without specially designated departments of theology.[149]

For aid in teaching, a "museum" was begun and apparatus assembled:

> Natural Philosophy and Chemistry are illustrated and explained by regular lectures with splendid Apparatus; the student is not only made to understand these beautiful and useful sciences, but has them so impressed upon his mind, that he cannot easily forget them. Astronomy is illustrated by suitable instruments, and Geology, by an ample collection of specimens. A museum is in progress of formation that will be sufficient for the general purposes of Geology, Natural History, Botany, Anatomy, Physiology, etc.[150]

[147] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1855-1856*, p. 18.
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] *Ibid.*, 1850-1856.
[150] *Ibid.*, *1851-1852*.

In 1854 the College bought a "very fine and extensive apparatus, made by Chamberlain and Ritchie of Boston." This apparatus was added to "an ample collection of minerals and Geological specimens," and Normal advertised that it would "thank any person to collect specimens for us," and would "pay him a reasonable price."[151] A supply of textbooks was kept at the College, and a partial list was sometimes published in the catalogue.[152]

Although Normal began to confer degrees in 1853, the specific requirements for such degrees did not appear in the college catalogue until 1855-1856, when the following statement was published:

> Before any student can graduate, he must complete the whole course of study, and must, during the last term of his Senior year, stand approved examinations upon every study in the Collegiate course; none will receive Diplomas but those who are really good scholars, and possess a good moral character. The Degree of A.M. may be conferred upon all regular graduates of three years standing, but will not follow as a matter of course; this degree will be conferred upon none but such as sustain a fair Literary character, and exhibit moral and useful lives. The usual Honorary Degrees are conferred upon such persons as the Trustees may deem worthy.[153]

Before a student was permitted to receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was subject to an examination by an "Examining Board," made up of a group of men not members of the college faculty but qualified to judge academic attainment. In 1856 the board of examiners examined the seniors on the following "program of studies":

Latin: Authors read, Caesar, Ovid, Virgil, Sallust, Cicero De Officiis, Horace, Cicero de Oratore, and Tacitus with abundant exercises in Latin Grammar, Construction, Writing, and the Laws of Interpretation.

[151] *Ibid.*, *1854-1855*, p. 14; *Greensborough Patriot*, April 8, 1854.

[152] The following were among the books studied between 1850 and 1856: "Bullion's English, Latin, and Greek Grammars; also his Latin and Greek Readers, and Caesar; Emerson's series of Arithmetics; Mitchell's Geography; Frost's United States History; Loomis' entire course in Mathematics; Comstock's Philosophy; Draper's Chemistry; Mattison's Astronomy; Olmstead's Mechanics; Blair's Rhetoric; Kendall's Uranography; Mrs. Lincoln Phelp's Botany; Whately's Logic; Upham's Mental Philosophy; Mather's Geology; Wayland's Political Economy" (*Catalogue of Normal College*, *1851-1852*, p. 22; *1852-1853*, p. 22; *1853-1854*, p. 26; *1854-1855*, p. 18).

[153] *Catalogue of Normal College*, *1855-1856*, p. 21.

Greek: Reader, Anabasis, Herodotus, Homer, Testament, Thucydides, and Demosthenes; with exercises in Latin.

Mathematics: Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical, Mensuration, Surveying, Navigation, Analytical Geometry, Differential Calculus, Integral Calculus, Mechanics, Mathematical Astronomy and Civil Engineering; with 12 lectures on Pure Mathematics; 15 on the Laws of Motion including portions of the Principle; and 10 on the origin, progress, and development of Physical Astronomy.

Natural Science: Natural Philosophy, Descriptive Astronomy, Chemistry, Botany, Geology and Natural History; with 8 lectures on Geological Theories and Surveys, and 10 on Natural History.[154]

An "English Diploma with the Degree specified" was provided for those finishing the "English Course," and state certificates were issued to students "trained in the theory and art of teaching."[155] No record has been found of the total number of such certificates issued by Normal during its affiliation with the state.

Criticism

Craven's organization of Normal had been done in the face of discouragement. From the beginning his idea for a teacher-training college prompted ridicule.[156] Everywhere he found criticism based primarily on ignorance, misunderstanding, jealousy, or rivalry. A teachers' college was new in the South; and as such, it met the accusation of being new-fangled and a fad of the moment.

In 1854 Craven's good friend W. E. Pell wrote his criticism "confidentially" to Craven:

> There are *two* facts connected with the history of your institution which have rather dampened my own interest in it, and affected my confidence in its future prosperity; which, while I am writing to you, I will mention confidentially. The *first* is, the apppointment of Professors who are *not fully qualified*, prompted by kindness etc. . . . Now, I do not say that you have appointed anyone who could not serve your purposes and fill some profitable place. That is not the point. I look at the moral, and economical propriety of emblazoning it abroad, that ——— ——— is Prof. etc., who is known not to have the literary qualifications for the post, but fills truly a lower position. Now, however worthy the object

[154] B. Craven, Report on Normal College, 1856 (Trinity College Papers).

[155] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, 1850-1856; catalogues of Normal College, 1850-1856; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, p. 6, *1874-1875*, p. 25; *Greensborough Patriot*, July 27, 1855.

[156] *Senate and House Documents, North Carolina, 1852*, Senate Doc. No. 10, pp. 70 ff.

may be, and however necessary for the accommodation of some men, it may be, to place them in such position—it is a deception—a cheat upon our community, and I object wholly to it. It affects seriously the scholarship of the institution in the estimation of the public, and operates prejudicially upon the integrity and high moral bearing of all concerned in the estimation of literary co-laborers and sound, sober-thinking men. . . . Now understand me, I do not believe that Normal is more liable to the impeachment than many other institutions, etc.

Again, I objected to your placing Normal in the "leading Strings" of the State. I could see no good to be obtained which could not have been secured in a better way, and I was afraid it would trammel you. How the thing works practically, I don't know—I hope it does well.[157]

Having placed Normal in the "leading strings of the State," Craven had to cope with subsequent attacks. The University of North Carolina was a school of power and literary distinction. It was the only state-affiliated educational institution in North Carolina until Normal claimed the attention of the General Assembly. It was not surprising that a certain amount of rivalry and criticism should arise between the two schools, somewhat different in their outlook. Chapel Hill had become the educator of the aristocracy of blood, wealth, and intellect of the state; Normal claimed the right to help educate the "masses of the common people."[158] Both sought the blessing of the state. Normal was youthful, enthusiastic, aggressively ambitious, and with less than twenty-five alumni in 1856. Chapel Hill was adult, cautious, proud of its well-earned scholarship, conscious of its power, and secure in the support of more than one thousand alumni.[159] It was mildly annoyed at the extravagant claims and criticisms of Normal, which noisily sought to share state interest with the University.[160]

[157] Sept. 16, 1854 (Trinity College Papers). See also Brooks, "The First State Normal School Becomes Trinity College," pp. 95 ff.

[158] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 295-296; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, pp. 14-15; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 787-808, 821-825; Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1780-1840*, pp. 641-690; catalogues of the University of North Carolina, 1838-1856, *passim*; Boyd, *History of North Carolina, 1783-1860*, p. 363; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 6, 1875; Henry Horace Williams, *The Education of Horace Williams* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 101; Linney, "Dr. Brantley York," p. 44.

[159] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 821-825; *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina, 1867-1868*, p. 14.

[160] Braxton Craven to Governor David L. Swain, May 27, 1854 (Swain Papers, 1850-1867); *Greensborough Patriot*, Dec. 10, 1858.

In 1853 Normal published its claim to be "co-extensive" with the University:

> It might be supposed, since our preparatory is not so large as in some institutions, that our collegiate course is less extensive than that of other colleges; a view of the Course of Study, however, and of our Charter, will show that we rank with the very first State Institutions. Normal College is a regular State Institution, co-extensive with the University in all privileges and State dignities.[161]

On the back of the title-page of the same catalogue in which the foregoing claim appeared, the following statement was printed in large italics: "This institution confers the same degrees as the University, and the Governor signs all our diplomas, thus conferring upon our graduates the approval of the State."[162]

In the same year that these statements appeared, Craven wrote to President David L. Swain of the University complaining of discrimination against Normal:

> I have the honor to send three young men to the University—Messrs. Barrett, Robbins, and Brown.
>
> None of them were prepared for the University, but have concluded to go there, and I must be pardoned for saying that I in every case recommend Chapel Hill instead of Randolph Macon College and others that I might be supposed to favor.
>
> Allow me also to say, that the *University as a whole treats us ungenteely*, and with but little of that courtesy due an honorable *inferior*. The records show that we are vastly superior to what the University was after it had even been in existence ten or twelve years. The University can certainly claim no superiority, except in *age* and *experience* of its *Professors*, and yet I am informed that it is a disadvantage for a student to come from *Normal*, and that you by no means treat us with the same respect you do Wake Forest, Davidson, etc. Now, it ought to be recollected that we are a State Institution equal in every respect to Chapel Hill as to privilege (the Governor is our chairman, signs our Diplomas, etc. etc.) and in every respect we are superior to any other College in the State, University excepted, with which we never think of comparing ourselves. If Chapel Hill has wealth in its interest, we have the mass of the people in our favor. We can certainly succeed much better with your favor, but we can as certainly live in some way without it. Speak of us respectfully, treat our recommendations honorably and try them as others

[161] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1853-1854*, p. 14.
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

do; and if we visit you, treat us as gentlemen; and you will have no more important ally than Normal.

I hope, Sir, the reports of the very undignified conduct of which the faculty are accused, is [*sic*] false. I do not wish to believe it, and I hope to hear from you on that subject—such as saying Normal is *trash, small potatoes, a humbug*, etc.

I hope you will receive Barrett and Robbins in the class they ask. Whatsoever they tell you they have read, you may rely upon it they did it understandingly.[163]

No record of an answer from Swain has been found, but the ill feeling between the two institutions continued and increased in bitterness.[164]

Craven had hoped to secure the support of the leaders of the common schools for Normal. In this he was only partly successful. In 1851 Calvin H. Wiley had supported the revised bill providing for the conversion of Union Institute into Normal College, and after 1852 he had acted as secretary of the board of trustees. In this position he kept some of the records and signed his name to some of the advertisements of the college.[165] As Superintendent of Common Schools, Wiley in his first annual report to the General Assembly commended Normal as an example to be followed by "those starting academies and colleges in all parts of the State." He was gratified that so many institutions of this kind were "springing up in every section. I know of nothing like it in the history of any country. . . . I suggest that every new academy make itself a normal school."[166] Apparently this was the first and last time that Wiley by written statement commended the example of Normal College. After that, he decided that normal schools were too costly for state support and recommended in their place county institutes or district normal schools.[167] The press of the state took up the issue, and Normal was caught in a web of controversy and criticism.[168] As time passed,

[163] Braxton Craven to David L. Swain, May 27, 1854.

[164] *Greensborough Patriot*, Dec. 10, 1858; *Patriot and Flag*, Greensboro, N. C., April 16, 1858.

[165] Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, June 28, 1852 (Wiley Papers); *Weekly Message*, June 1, 1854; *Greensborough Patriot*, Dec. 23, 1854.

[166] *Documents: North Carolina Executive and Legislative, Session 1854-1855*, Ac. Doc. No. 12, pp. 16 ff.

[167] *Ibid.*, Session, 1854-1855, and 1856-1857; Edwin McKay Highsmith, *The Normal School Idea in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1923, pamphlet), pp. 17-18.

[168] *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, March 30, 1853; *Greensborough Patriot*, April 8, 1854, March 2, 1855, Dec. 19, 1856.

it became less likely that Normal would receive financial aid or more than lukewarm moral support from the state. The controversy reacted unfavorably upon the enrollment of the College. In 1853-1854 the enrollment had reached the peak of one hundred and ninety-five, but two years later it had dropped to one hundred and seventy.[169]

The fact that Wiley refused to support Normal as a state school for teachers did not deter Craven from lending his influence to Wiley's general policies for the improvement of the public schools. In 1856 Wiley organized the first state educational convention at which a "permanent association" was formed. Twenty-nine counties were represented, and Craven was among the representatives from Randolph County. He took a leading part in the organization of the convention, and at his own request Wiley invited him to read a paper on the "Best Method of Communicating Knowledge."[170] He wrote in answer to Wiley's invitation that his great interest in the subject would not permit him "to refuse the invitation, though the particular subject named deserves greater ability than I possess."[171]

Many years later Craven readily admitted the defects of Normal and the justice of some of the criticism directed at it:

> The good sought was to some extent realized, but the influence [of the Normal feature] upon the institution was exceedingly injurious, and continued long after to affect its fortunes adversely.
>
> Young men with a mere elementary education, with little mental development or discipline and often without those social influences that are the best foundation for elegant culture, went forth bearing a Normal certificate, authorized to teach in any common school in the State.
>
> Coming from an institution, having the name of college, they were unjustly but generally compared with the regularly educated students of other colleges, frequently with damaging and sometimes with distructive [*sic*] effect.
>
> These crude young teachers having generally no higher ambition than to teach a few terms of a county primary school, and sometimes not qualified for that, could not pretend adequately to represent either the

[169] Appendix, Table 1.

[170] *Greensborough Patriot*, Nov. 7, 1856; Braxton Craven to Enoch Faw, Oct. 5, 1856 (Private Collection); Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, May 28, June, 1856 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers).

[171] Braxton Craven to Calvin H. Wiley, Aug. 22, 1856 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers).

scholarship or culture of the institution. An equitable criticism could not have pretended that they were exponents of Normal. Yet such affirmations were unsparingly made and emphasized, both by those who knew and those who did not.[172]

Another criticism was that of sectarianism. Normal, a state college, was accused of favoring Methodism, but all such accusations were denied by Craven.[173] His denials, however, were unconvincing, since the North Carolina Conference reported officially on the College and wrote into its minutes in 1854 that "this young and flourishing institution though not under our immediate control is nevertheless to all practical purposes Methodistical."[174]

Another serious criticism adversely affected Normal. By 1855 it had become rumored that teachers' certificates conferred by the College were no good; that Normal's right to issue certificates carrying the privilege of teaching without further examination in North Carolina had been nullified by the public-school law of 1852 forbidding money to be paid to teachers not examined by county committees.[175] Finally Jonathan Worth, a friend of Normal, discussed the matter with Governor Thomas Bragg, who requested the attorney-general to give a ruling in the matter.[176] The attorney-general decided that since the act of incorporation of Normal College was a private act, it was exempted from the repeal of the general act; and that Normal's right of issuing certificates had not been nullified.[177] Nevertheless, the rumor was afloat that Normal's certificates were questioned, and the College suffered.

The accumulation of merited as well as unmerited criticism would have caused a less courageous man than Craven to despair.

[172] Braxton Craven, History of Trinity College (Trinity College Papers).

[173] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Feb., 1853; Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 189 ff.; Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in North Carolina since 1776*, pp. 39-40; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, pp. 372-373.

[174] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1854, p. 174.

[175] Jonathan Worth to Governor Thomas Bragg, Oct. 10, 1855 (Governors' Papers).

[176] *Ibid.*; Governor Thomas Bragg to J. B. Batchelor, Oct. 10, 1855 (Thomas Bragg Letter Book, 1855-1857).

[177] J. B. Batchelor to Governor Thomas Bragg, Nov. 16, 1855 (Governors' Papers).

He was discouraged but not defeated. He was convinced of the worthiness of his general educational policies, and he was determined to see them succeed. If he could not win support from the state, he would find it elsewhere.

CHAPTER IV

Normal Changed To Trinity College (1856-1860)

THE MOVEMENT FOR the founding of colleges before the Civil War was identified with the rise and growth of religious denominations in the United States. Just as the colleges of the Colonial era were largely religious in origin and character, so, with the exception of a few state universities, most of the colleges organized between the Revolution and the Civil War were founded, supported, and in the majority of cases controlled by religious interests.[1] Before 1860 fifteen religious denominations in the United States were engaged in the development of higher education. These may be divided into two groups: one, convinced of the importance of an educated ministry, was active throughout its history in promoting colleges organized primarily for the training of ministers; the other, opposed in the beginning to the policy of educating the ministry,

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, this brief discussion of the founding of denominational colleges in the United States is based on the following authorities: Sweet, *Story of Religions in America*, pp. 107, 201, 302, 321; Knight, *Education in the United States*, pp. 71 ff.; D. G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (New York, 1932), pp. 55, 69-72, 78-79, 89-91, 93-95, 103-105, 107-111; Cubberley, *History of Education*, p. 691; Wills, *Growth of American Higher Education*, pp. 60, 381-385; H. K. Rowe, *The History of Religion in America* (New York, 1924), pp. 107; H. R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929), p. 170; J. H. Patton, *A Popular History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1900), p. 127; A. H. Newman, *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1894), pp. 418, 482-486, 498; S. M. Duvall, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education up to 1869* (New York, 1928), pp. 27-36; P. N. Garber, *The Romance of American Methodism* (Greensboro, 1931), pp. 206-219; P. N. Garber, *The Methodists Are One People* (Nashville, Tenn., 1939), p. 19; C. F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1906), pp. 245-257.

was late in establishing colleges. Among the denominations favoring the education of preachers were the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Catholics, Lutherans, German Reformed, Dutch Reformed, and Unitarians. Among those opposing this policy during their early history were the Methodists, Baptists, Disciples, Friends, United Brethren, Christians, and Universalists. In these last-named denominations evangelical fervor was considered more important than learning; for this reason some of the main incentives for college-building were absent, and prejudice existed against colleges. Because of the rapid growth of these denominations among underprivileged people, the educational standards for their ministers were very low. It was late in the period preceding the Civil War before these denominations were convinced of the necessity for a change in educational policy.

The Methodists were among the last to join the movement for college-building; but by the period of the Civil War they were rapidly overtaking the Presbyterians and the Baptists, at that time the two most active denominations in the founding of colleges. The membership of the Methodist Church greatly increased as the result of the Great Awakening in the eighteenth century and the Second Awakening at the turn of the same century. This rapid increase, especially among the people of the East and among those along the frontier, caused the Church to depend more and more on its lay preachers and circuit riders. It was not until the thirties that the leaders of the Methodists warmly advocated higher standards for the ministry, and a general movement began for the founding of colleges primarily for the education of ministers. In 1830 Randolph-Macon was established in Virginia, and in 1831 Wesleyan University in Connecticut. These two schools, the one in the North, the other in the South, thus became the parent institutions of the Church.[2]

[2] For discussions of denominational effort in North Carolina, see the following references: W. E. Drake, "Higher Education in North Carolina before 1860" (doctoral dissertation, Library of the University of North Carolina, 1930), pp. 153-199; Boyd, *History of North Carolina*, II, 186; Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 87; Shaw, *Davidson College*, p. 12; Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1925), p. 49; J. C. Leonard, *History of Catawba College* (Lexington, N. C., 1927), p. 93; G. D. Bernheim and G. H. Cox, *The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and*

North Carolina Methodism and Randolph-Macon College

Having no official organization of their own before 1827, the Methodists in North Carolina were united with the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Three years after the North Carolina Conference was organized in 1827, the Virginia and North Carolina conferences jointly authorized the founding of Randolph-Macon College, to be located near the boundary line of the two states.[3] Between 1830 and 1850 a growing number of Methodists from North Carolina were elected officers of the College, and an increasing number of young men from the state were educated at Randolph-Macon. The North Carolina Conference naturally had a friendly interest in the College where some of its members were educated.[4]

At the meeting of the Conference in 1838 the North Carolina financial agent for Randolph-Macon reported old and new subscriptions amounting to over $3,000.[5] The next year the Conference resolved to raise $10,000 for the endowment of one half a professorship if the board of trustees would grant the Conference five scholarships "in perpetuity."[6] No record of the result of this action has been found. By 1848 the Methodists of North Carolina were still friendly to Randolph-Macon, but they were not concentrating their educational efforts wholly on that college. In that year the North Carolina Conference adopted a new "plan of education" as embodied in the following resolution:

> Resolved that there be in this Conference a standing Committee on Education to consist of the Presiding Elders, and other preachers appointed by the Conference at each annual session. Resolved that the following be the specific duties of that Committee:

Ministerium in North Carolina (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 64; C. L. Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina* (Greensboro, N. C., 1898), p. 230; Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, pp. 345-351; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, pp. 331-370; Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in North Carolina since 1776*, pp. 23-40; W. K. Boyd, "Methodist Expansion in North Carolina after the Revolution," (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XII, Durham, 1916), pp. 37-55.

[3] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, p. 248; Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 14; E. C. Brooks, "How the First State Normal School Became Trinity College," p. 160.

[4] Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, pp. 35-122.

[5] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1838-1849, Feb. 7, 1838.

[6] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1838-1849, Feb. 4, 1839.

1st, to make an annual report upon the condition of Randolph Macon College, and of the several schools and seminaries in which this Conference is interested.

2nd, to have charge of such young men within our bounds as expect to enter regular work of the ministry, but who are deficient in the requisite education, and without the means of obtaining it, and to select for them some school or teacher, where or with whom they may prosecute their studies so long as the Committee may think necessary.

3rd, to devise means of raising funds to aid necessitous young men in the prosecution of their studies, which funds shall be distributed in such a manner according to such regulations as they may choose to adopt for their own.

4th, to report annually to the Conference the amount of money received by them during the years, and how apportioned, the number and names of the young men in their charge, when at school, progress in studies, and whatever else may be deemed necessary and interesting to be communicated to the Conference.[7]

Three years after this report Craven had made his proposal to the North Carolina Conference that Normal College be permitted to educate young men for the ministry "free of charge."[8] In 1853 the Education Committee of the Conference had stated in its report on Normal College:

This young and flourishing institution, although not under the control of the Conference, merits the patronage of the church and community. . . . The facilities afforded young men who are preparing to enter the ministry, and the large number of students there connected with Methodist families, render Normal College worthy of the zealous support of the Conference.[9]

It was the following year (1854) that the Education Committee had commented enthusiastically upon the growth of Normal and declared that "to all practical purposes" it was Methodist. The Committee had also reported, but not so enthusiastically, upon Randolph-Macon, and had commended it to the "confidence and patronage" of the Methodists of North Carolina. Notwithstanding this friendly statement, opposition to Randolph-Macon had developed among members of the Conference.[10]

[7] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, Nov. 26, 1848.

[8] See chap. iii; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1856.

[9] *The Annual Register of the North Carolina Annual Conference, etc.* (Raleigh, 1853), p. 17.

[10] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, p. 174.

This hostility was caused by a feud between the Reverend William A. Smith, President of Randolph-Macon, and the Reverend Charles F. Deems, member of the North Carolina Conference. In 1848 Deems had resigned his position in the University of North Carolina to accept a professorship in Randolph-Macon. Because of serious disagreements with Smith and because of his expressed desire to return to the pastorate, he remained in his new position for only one year.[11] So bitter was the feeling between Smith and Deems and so intense did it become within the next five years that each preferred charges of "immorality" (lying) and slander against the other.

Smith was the first to request official action. At the meeting of the North Carolina Conference at Pittsboro in 1854 he charged Deems with false and slanderous statements relative to certain friends and to Deems's resignation from Randolph-Macon. These charges were heard by a Committee of Ten chosen by Smith and Deems. The accusations, denials, and discussions were bitterly contested. Many members of the Conference took sides, and feeling ran high among the ministers.[12]

The Committee of Ten finally reported that "the course pursued by Dr. Deems from the outset of this unfortunate affair was calculated to make a false impression," that his policy "has been an error of personal judgment or the result of unfortunate counsel," and that his "fear of prosecution and personal violence . . . greatly extenuate his error." The Committee advised that both Smith and Deems "withdraw all unkind and harsh expressions which either may have used . . . concerning the other" and accept the finding of the Committee "as a final adjustment" of all difficulties between them. Furthermore, the Committee of Ten felt that the charges against Deems were not serious enough to damage his reputation for honesty and recommended the "passage" of his character by the Conference. The Reverend G. F. Pierce, presiding bishop at this session of the North Carolina Conference, summarized the results of the controversy

[11] Brooks, "How the First State Normal School Became Trinity College," pp. 161-162; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 516-517; Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, pp. 116-117.

[12] *Proceedings of the Virginia Conference in the Trial of W. A. Smith* (1855), pp. 108-109.

and expressed the desire that all ill feeling arising therefrom be forgotten and forgiven.[13]

The bishop's attempt to quiet the ill feeling among the ministers and to settle the quarrel between Smith and Deems was unsuccessful. The next year (1855) Deems reopened the affair by formal charges of falsehood against Smith before the Virginia Conference,[14] and the accumulated bitterness of years came out in the investigation. The Virginia Conference finally voted to sustain the defense of Smith. Regardless of this action, the supporters of Deems in Virginia and North Carolina were firm in their unshaken confidence in their champion.[15]

During the prolonged controversy the Virginia Conference supported Smith, whereas the North Carolina Conference sustained Deems.[16] At the trials of the two men, witnesses testified that the real differences between Smith and Deems lay deeper than the written accusations presented in the charges. It was said that each had managed to thwart the deep-laid ambitions of the other; Smith wished to become bishop in the Southern Methodist Church, and Deems wanted the presidency of Randolph-Macon. When each blocked the other, bitter accusations followed.[17] Smith was further accused of using "improper influences" in persuading young men from North Carolina to join the Virginia Conference, and Deems was said to have used his influence to alienate the support of North Carolina Methodism from Randolph-Macon. Following the verdict of the Virginia Conference, a number of trustees who were members of the North Carolina Conference resigned from the governing board of Randoph-Macon.[18] Repercussions of the controversy continued as late as 1859 in both North Carolina and Virginia.[19] Years later

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[15] *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, Dec. 26, 1855.

[16] Randolph-Macon College had conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon Deems in 1853. Although ill feeling existed between the two men, there is no evidence that Smith opposed giving the degree to Deems (see *Proceedings of the Virginia Conference, 1855;* Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 125).

[17] *Proceedings of the Virginia Conference, 1855;* Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1850-1856.

[18] Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 133.

[19] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1856-1859; Brooks, "How the First State Normal School Became Trinity College," pp. 161-162.

Deems renewed his friendship for Randolph-Macon and in many ways generously aided the College.[20]

Normal Officially Accepted by the North Carolina Conference

During these years of misunderstanding between Methodism in Virginia and North Carolina, Craven was organizing Normal and trying to win support for the College. His hold on the political forces of the state was weakening, and he felt that he could no longer depend upon those sources for support. Moreover, the continual bickering between the supporters of Normal and the University of North Carolina appeared to create antagonisms too powerful for him to dispel.[21] The distrust engendered toward Randolph-

[20] Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, p. 133.

[21] The following sample of the public baiting of the followers of the two institutions appeared in the *Patriot and Flag*, Greensboro, N. C., April 16, 1858:

"To the Editors of the Patriot— Sirs: I enclose a communication which I find in a late number of the *Iredell Express*, that I respectfully request you to transfer to your columns. My motives in sending you this communication is [*sic*] not to injure or depreciate Normal College. I have been a friend of that Institution ever since its establishment, and have proved my friendship by my patronage; but I must be permitted to doubt whether its interest is advanced by the editor of the *Sentinel* proclaiming himself as a *graduate of Normal*. I will only say in its behalf, that our best colleges sometimes *graduate* very indifferent scholars. You cannot manufacture a good article, without the raw material. The enclosed communication *takes off* a very self important, egotistical youth about right. I hope it will do him good.

"From the *Iredell Express:*

"The *Sentinel* and the University

"The *Western Sentinel* of the 26th of February, contains an editorial on Normal College, that deserves passing notice.— Fulsome laudations are pronounced on its 'strong and united faculty,' and on the 'profound (?) scholarship' and 'high tone of accomplishments' there inculcated. Compliments are piled on the 'Arguments and orations' of the young gentlemen, delivered on the 22d. They are represented as 'deep, searching, convincing and thrilling.' It seems to be a characteristic peculiar to Normalites to regard all their attainments as remarkably 'profound,' whereas the short article before me from a graduated *editor*, sets at defiance the rules of *grammar*, and puts the simple art of *spelling* to blush! How pertinent the application of the truthful old proverb, 'Dogs bark as they are taught.'

"Had the editor confined his remarks to Normal, his article would have passed unnoticed; but he passes into a bigoted, intolerant, uncalled for, and groundless diatribe of abuse and insinuation against our Noble University.

" 'Its pretensions,' says he, are '*trifling braggadocio and hollow*' and 'it is destined soon either to change its code of morals, mend its course of study or lose the insignia with which it has been so long crowned.' Allow the suggestion, Mr. Editor, that men of *sound* judgment regard our University in quite a different light. I have just read a communication from a learned D.D. who has never been in any way connected with Chapel Hill. He holds the following language: 'Our University is a noble institution and is far ahead of anything in the surrounding

Macon came at a time when Craven was seeking some permanent support for Normal. At the close of the trial at Pittsboro in 1854 he wrote Deems a letter of congratulation. In reply to this letter, Deems thanked Craven for his "expression of friendship"; and, after bitterly accusing his enemies, wrote: "All men know that I held in my hand the power to say 'I accept' and I could have been the head of the highest college in our church [Randolph-Macon]. They also know that after I declined that, I was still President of this College [Greensboro Female College]."[22]

For months before the annual meeting of the North Carolina Conference in 1856, Craven and his friends were quietly preparing plans to persuade the Conference to adopt Normal as its official college. The Reverend R. T. Heflin, editor of the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*[23] and an ardent supporter of Deems, wrote

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States, except, perhaps, Virginia,' not Normal. O, I am sure it will pain the doctor to know that the *Sentinel* has proclaimed '*ex cathedra*' that the claims of the University are but 'braggadocio pretensions.' How all good men will tremble to learn that the brightest state jewel is corrupt and 'hollow'! But who is to make good his assertion as to the bad morals and 'hollow' scholarship imbibed from the 'trifling' faculty at Chapel Hill? Why, *Normal*, of course. Hear Sir Oracle, again. 'It (Normal) is yet destined to *pull* the *mask from presumption and become the* leading institution in the State.' Oh! What 'profound scholarship, deep searching, convincing and thrilling' thought were requisite for scanning the future and bringing to light these startling results!—Again says the editor: 'Chapel Hill has sent forth most of the fools of note.' My dear sir, where *did* you learn all these things? Did they come to thee in 'Thoughts from the visions of the night when deep sleep falleth on men!' Did not fear come upon thee, and trembling, that made all thy bones to shake, and the hair of thy flesh stand up? We push our inquiries, for sure we are that *of Thyself* thou knowest as little of the future as of the past. Tell us what oracle hast thou consulted? Was it that of Jupiter at Dodona, Appollo [*sic*] at Delphi, or the Magnus Appollo [*sic*] at some other place? What sacrifices and presents were requisite, and which were the appointed days! Was it an *immediate* or *mediate* revelation? — that is, was it a revelation by direct inspiration, or was it considered as the fruit of great knowledge, experience, and observation? And perhaps thou canst settle the long mooted question whether these responses from oracles are the mere imposture of priests, or proceed from the agency of Satan. Come friend, speak out for the benefit of your humble servants; and allow the inquiry in passing. 'Did Normal ever graduate a fool of *little* note?' How kind, how obliging, how condescending it would be if thou wouldst only open thy mouth and enlighten our ignorance, on these points!

"Sir, your humble Servant
"Q. P."

"March 9th, 1858"

[22] Nov. 20, 1854 (Trinity College Papers).

[23] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 405-406.

a letter of advice to Craven a little over a month before the meeting of the Conference:

I am now prepared to write at length, as I wish to do. . . . But want of time compels me to condense what I would say, well knowing that you will fill up the details.

1. The move for a New College, if successful will, I think beyond doubt, drive to the point you wish—the adoption of Normal—and, Craven, —your terms are unexceptionably liberal—alluring.

2. It is not dissatisfaction with Normal, but with R.M.C. which in most prompts this move.

3. To publish your memorandum of Terms, etc., or in any way to bring in Normal at this stage, would be highly prejudicial to the object you propose: but the time will come—the pear will get ripe.

4. We are bound to R.M.C. as yet. We must make a faithful effort to get such changes at R.M.C. as will remove present objections to it.

If we succeed in this: still we *may* have a college of our own—If we fail—then we *must* have one. I shall then advocate a new college—and when that is resolved upon, I shall go my length for Normal. Privately, with friends, we may *now* talk over the whole programme—But publicly, we should adhere to the order of development indicated. The policy of this course arises from the fact that a large influential portion of our Conference is tied down by Virginia influence, present, and traditional; and as unanimity is important, we must graduate our appeal to their gait. Of one thing be assured, and rest patiently in the assurance that Normal and yourself will not be harmed by this move; every probability points to the benefit of both. In most of these views Bro. N. F. Reid permits me to say he concurs. And allow me to urge upon you to be patient, confiding with friends, and contained with those of whose sentiments you are not well assured.

Bro. Craven, cultivate your pulpit talent. Your last sermon at Yanceyville Camp Meeting, in estimation of all who heard it, was worthy the position of any man in our church. Feel after your pulpit strength; and it will be a blessing to yourself and to yours.

Can I see you before Conf.?

If not write me fully, and let me see you early at Conference where you must be all the time.[24]

On October 10, 1856, three days before Heflin's letter was dated, the board of trustees of Normal College had met and unanimously passed resolutions authorizing Craven to offer Normal to the North

[24] Oct. 13, 1856 (Trinity College Papers).

Carolina Conference.[25] At the meeting of the Annual Conference in November, 1856, the friends of Normal were ready to present their case and were prepared in diplomatic techniques of procedure. On November 16 Craven presented his offer in a "communication from the trustees of Normal College," and it was referred to the Committee on Education. The proposition was as follows:

If the Conference will authorize and request the Trustees of Normal College to raise by donations $25,000, ten thousand of which is to be expended in paying present debts, and fifteen thousand in erecting other necessary buildings, We will do as follows:

1. We will convey the lands and property, now belonging to the College, to the trustees of Normal College in trust for such uses and purposes as this Conference may specify.

2. The Conference shall make all nominations to fill vacancies in the Board of Trustees.

3. The Conference shall appoint a Board of Visitors, which Board shall have equal power with the Trustees, in making rules and regulations for the internal government of the College, and shall approve all appointments in the faculty before they are valid.

Now if the Conference will adopt the College on these conditions, we will give a proper guarantee to execute the deed of conveyance so soon as our debt to the Literary Board is paid; and we will act fully upon every other item, from the time [of] adoption by the Conference.[26]

At the time these proposals were made Olin High School asked the Conference to adopt it as the official school. Both sets of proposals were finally submitted to a "Special Committee." On November 19, 1856, this committee reported that Methodism in "the bounds of this Conference" was not "in circumstances to justify this body in taking the oversight of these or any other similar institution."[27] Immediately following this unfavorable report, the Reverend R. T. Hefflin presented these substitute resolutions:

Resolved 1st. That we accept the proposition from the Normal College.

Resolved 2nd. That we nominate five trustees to fill present vacancies and also that we appoint a board of five visitors, which board shall see that the trustees of Normal College faithfully execute their propositions.[28]

[25] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Oct. 10, 1856 (Trinity College Papers).

[26] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, pp. 233-236; C. F. Deems (ed.), *Annals of Southern Methodism for 1856* (Nashville, Tenn., 1857), pp. 145-146.

[27] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1856, pp. 216, 228.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

On the following day, November 20, 1856, these resolutions were passed "with great unanimity," and Normal's place as the Conference college was assured.[29]

In accordance with the resolutions, five trustees were immediately nominated by the Conference to fill vacancies on the board: Charles F. Deems, R. T. Heflin, D. B. Nicholson, N. H. D. Wilson, and William Barringer.[30] The newly selected board of visitors was made up of William Glass, N. F. Reid, I. T. Wyche, S. M. Frost, and Peter Doub.[31]

The next month, on December 5, 1856, the board of trustees met, and Craven presented his report from the Conference. It was accepted, and the board unanimously resolved:

> 1. That the proposition made by B. Craven to the Conference and by said Conference accepted, is hereby confirmed and made a law of this Institution.
>
> 2. Resolved, that from this time forth we act according to the proposition as accepted and correctly reported in the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*,[32] and that in good faith this is henceforth a Conference College.
>
> 3. That the Conference nomination of Trustees is hereby confirmed. . . .
>
> 4. That we raise $25,000 for the Institution and that B. Craven is hereby appointed agent to manage, control, and act in this matter as may appear best.[33]

With this action Normal became the official college of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The immediate response to the acceptance of Normal by the Methodists was favorable. The *Greensborough Patriot* expressed its approval in the following editorial:

> The friends of this Institution were highly gratified at the cordiality with which it was adopted by the North Carolina Conference at its late

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 232; Deems (ed.), *Annuals of Southern Methodism for 1856*, pp. 145-146.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, p. 233; *Catalogue of Normal College, 1856-1857*, p. 4.

[32] This was a copy of the proposition offered by Craven to the Conference on Nov. 16, 1856.

[33] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees of Normal College, Dec. 5, 1856 (Trinity College Papers).

session in this place, as a Conference College. With the cooperation and patronage of so large a body of intelligent and influential men as compose the North Carolina Conference, and with the continuation of the means heretofore used in its behalf, Normal College may confidently look forward to a large increase of prosperity and usefulness.

We learn that additions will soon be made to the present commodius [*sic*] College buildings; that the services of additional Professors will be secured, and that other important improvements will be carried into effect, so as to make this Institution "fill the eye" of its most ardent friends.[34]

W. W. Flood, a student at Normal, writing to Enoch Faw at the time of the adoption of the College, told of Craven's apparent pride in the recent events: "'Old Brack' struts about with more dignity and looks quite consequential since Conference. I think he has grown to be a full 'six-footer.' School is fuller than usual, and the cry is 'Still they come!'" Flood revealed his own satisfaction at the new relationship of the College: "Normal is no longer a *one horse* power, the Conference has received it and it is now emphatically the North Carolina Conference College. So out with your sheepskin and tell all the world to gaze; you'll be no longer ashamed of it."[35]

Craven's worries, however, were not ended. The official connection of the North Carolina Conference with Randolph-Macon had not been dissolved, and there were intimations of a stronger tie; or, in lieu of that, the establishment of a new college. In July, 1857, at a meeting of the board of trustees, Craven pointed out:

The College at present labors under some difficulty from its vague position before the public. It effectually belongs to the Conference, yet there seems to be some doubt, a feeling that perhaps another will be established in which all are convinced that one or both must fail. Under these conditions none are willing to act. Any action of the Trustees that would relieve this difficulty, would greatly promote the interests of the institution.[36]

There is no record of any action taken on this occasion, but subsequent events at the next meeting of the Conference show that plans were

[34] Dec. 5, 1856.

[35] Nov. 28, 1856 (Private Collection).

[36] Annual Report of the Faculty to the Board of Trustees of Normal College, July 14, 1857 (Trinity College Papers).

made. At this meeting Craven presented his first report on Normal as the Conference college, and it was laid on the table. At the same session a report from Randolph-Macon was read, and it too was laid on the table. Both reports were finally referred to the Committee on Education, and the old trouble between Virginia and North Carolina Methodism was reopened in heated discussion.[37] The report on Normal was finally adopted, and that on Randolph-Macon was suppressed. The attention of the Conference was called, however, to a minority report signed by two members of the Committee on Education:

> The minority of the Committee on Education beg leave to submit their report on Randolph Macon College:
>
> This institution is the oldest college in the Southern Church. It was built chiefly by the cooperation of North Carolina and Virginia for the benefit of each. The North Carolina Conference has an equal number of trustees with the Virginia Conference. This institution is enjoying its usual prosperity; and its financial condition is encouraging. The agent during the past conference year has been successfully laboring to secure an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars, which when attained will secure to the Conference the right to educate free of tuition for thirty years.
>
> Resolved that this Conference feel interested in Randolph Macon College and commend it to the patronage of our friends.[38]

When the motion was made to adopt this report, the yeas and nays were demanded: twenty-four yeas and fifty-four nays were recorded. The Conference thus registered its preference for Normal and ended the connection of North Carolina Methodism with Randolph-Macon. Nevertheless, this was not to be the last of the affair, for the question was to be reopened after the Civil War. Now, however, enthusiasm for the new college ran high, and the Conference endorsed the recommendations of the Committee on Education, headed by Deems:

> This Institution, the only Male College in which the Conference has an undivided interest, we are happy to learn from the report of the President, is in a very flourishing condition. During the past year there has

[37] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, pp. 156-160.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259. These two members had opposed accepting Normal as a Conference school the year before.

[*sic*] been 190 matriculates, and the number of the present session is considerably in advance of last year.

The greatest drawback to the advancement of the College is the need of additional dormitories. The President has already informed the Conference that a number of students have been lost to the College for want of additional accommodations. So deep is the hold which Normal College has upon the affections of the Methodist Community in North Carolina, that your committee need hardly multiply words in commendation of your own Conference College. We recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. That as the patronage now offered to the College is beyond the means of accommodation, it is necessary to take immediate steps to meet the educational spirit of our people.

2. That $50,000 will be required to place the College in a situation to meet and satisfy our wants; that we will at once proceed to raise as much as may be sufficient to furnish necessary buildings and equipments, and the remainder of $50,000 as soon as may be thought proper.

3. That the President of the College and the Conference Trustees and Visitors be authorized and requested to act as agents to raise the money.[39]

During this hectic session of the North Carolina Conference, Craven's "commanding personality was perhaps the greatest factor in silencing opposition and in creating genuine interest in the new church institution."[40] Although the opposition was silenced for a time, it was not dispelled. The Conference was clearly divided on the question of its college, and, as Craven wrote later, "Normal had a hard but victorious life."[41]

During the academic year 1855-1856, President Smith of Randolph-Macon tendered his resignation to his trustees, and it was refused. Again he offered it in 1857-1858 "for reasons personal to himself"; but at the "urgent solicitation of the students, the Alumni Society, and the Board, he withdrew his resignation."[42]

By 1857 representatives of the press in both North Carolina and Virginia seemed a little weary of the continual trouble between the Methodists of their respective states; however, they continued to

[39] *Minutes of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Raleigh, 1858), p. 29. See also *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, Dec. 23, 1857.

[40] Brooks, "How the First State Normal School Became Trinity College," p. 165.

[41] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 185.

[42] Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College*, pp. 133, 137.

report on chief happenings. The *Weekly North Carolina Standard* quoted the *Petersburg Express* in its report on the actions of the North Carolina Conference in 1857:

> Bishop Pierce rebuked the Conference at one point, reminding the members there was too much disposition to wrangle. A report recommending Randolph Macon College to the favorable consideration of the North Carolina people, started the tongues of several prominent members of the Conference, and elicited quite a warm discussion. The report was voted down by a very decisive vote. This will not surprise our readers when they recollect that many of the North Carolina ministers have of late been much embittered against Randolph Macon. . . . North Carolina has a large number of schools and colleges now in most successful operation. Some of them are peculiarly under the patronage of the M. E. Church. It is not to be expected that her sons will make any effort to build up the Institution of a sister state, to the detriment of those in their own North Carolina.[43]

The transfer of Normal to the North Carolina Conference could not be fully consummated until all conditions required by both trustees and Conference were fulfilled. The provisions relative to the selection of the board of trustees and the board of visitors had been carried out immediately upon the adoption of the College. Other requirements called for careful study and detailed work.

The title to the property of the College presented some difficulty. In 1858 the trustees authorized Craven, W. E. Pell, and J. C. Blocker "to submit the land title to legal counsel and obtain written decision."[44] In December of the same year a deed was drawn up and accepted by the trustees. It in no way canceled the provisions of the old deed, except in so far as the title was to be invested in a "Literary Institution for the North Carolina Conference." The holdings of the College were increased to sixteen acres, "more or less," by purchasing additional land from James Leach, Joseph Johnson, J. L. Wright, A. M. Frazier, and Jesse Welborne. Each of these men was paid $10 for his share of the land deeded to the College.[45]

The name *Normal College* was no longer suitable for the Conference school. In 1858 the trustees authorized Braxton Craven,

[43] *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, Dec. 23, 1857.

[44] Minutes and Resolutions of the Board of Trustees of Normal College, Dec. 8, 1858 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

[45] Deed Book, No. 37, pp. 141-142 (Office of the Register of Deeds, Randolph County Courthouse, Asheboro, N. C.).

C. F. Deems, R. T. Heflin, Doctor Williamson, J. W. Thomas, Doctor Beckwith, and J. C. Blocker as a committee "to make application to the next legislature to change the name of the college from Normal to ————————, to make the normal feature correspond with other colleges, and to make such changes as will make the charter conform to the Conference motions."[46] The committee at once considered the propriety of changing the name of the College. In 1856 R. T. Heflin had raised this question and had suggested Caswell College as a new name: "I have a name for Normal—when the name is changed—which I doubt the propriety of applying for, until the debt to the state is paid. What is it? A good one: but I have not room or time, to give the reasons now—'Caswell College,' after Governor Caswell—an old hero—a friend of Bishop Asbury—father of a race of Methodists."[47]

When the committee decided on a new name, it did not follow Heflin's advice. Charles F. Deems suggested the name of "Trinity," after Trinity College, Cambridge; and the suggestion was accepted by the committee and included in the new charter presented to the General Assembly.[48]

After "slight modifications" the new charter proposed by the committee was enacted into law on February 16, 1859. Its main provisions included the following points:[49]

1. The name *Normal College* was changed to *Trinity College* and all the rights and privileges of the corporation of Normal were conferred upon Trinity.

2. "The estate, real and personal, received and controlled by the Trustees of Trinity College" was to be used for a "literary institution for the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

3. Members of the board of trustees were to be chosen by the North Carolina Conference after they had been previously nominated by the board itself; thus the trustees continued to be self-perpetuating.

4. The "Faculty and Trustees" were given the power to confer

[46] Brooks, "How the First State Normal School Became Trinity College," p. 165.

[47] R. T. Heflin to Braxton Craven, Oct. 13, 1856 (Trinity College Papers).

[48] Brooks, "How the First State Normal School Became Trinity College," pp. 165-166; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 28, 1892.

[49] *Laws of North Carolina, 1858-1859* (Raleigh, 1859), p. 81.

"such degrees and marks of honor as are conferred by colleges and universities generally."

5. Any "tippling establishment, or place for the sale of wine, cordials, spirituous or malt liquors" was forbidden within two miles of the College; and it was made unlawful for "any person in the state, without a written permission from the Faculty, to sell or offer to sell" wine or whiskey to be used by the College or by any student within two miles of Trinity. It was further forbidden to establish either at the College or within two miles of it any "public billiard table" or any "games of chance"; and no person was allowed, without written permission from the faculty, to exhibit "any theatrical, sleight-of-hand, natural or artificial curiosities, or any concert, serenade, or performance in music, singing or dancing."

6. All provisions of the old charter dealing with state relations and the power to grant certificates to teach in North Carolina were repealed.

When the trustees met on June 27, 1859, Craven reported on the new charter. A resolution offered by N. H. D. Wilson and unanimously adopted by the board approved the charter and stated that "henceforth we are to be known as Trinity College, and in this style and name we proceed to enact . . . business. . . ."[50]

The legal steps leading to the conversion of Normal into Trinity College had now been completed. The College no longer occupied a peculiar state relationship, nor did it have any special features, normal or otherwise, essentially different from those of the other denominational colleges in the state.

Trinity had not attained its new position without criticism. Each step brought either praise or blame, and newspapers and periodicals were sounding boards for public opinion. The Raleigh *Weekly Standard* noted the change in the charter and spoke favorably of the former work of the college.[51] The *Greensborough Patriot* quoted the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* in favoring the name of Trinity because of the stigma that had become attached to the name of Normal:

[50] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Normal College, June 27, 1859 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

[51] March 16, 1859.

The design of this change was to avoid a popular prejudice which has been unfounded and injurious, and has inferred from the former name of the institution, that its highest grade of scholarship was only sufficient to qualify a student to teach in the public schools. Its actual grade of scholarship is now equal to that of the best colleges; and its name cannot give occasion for mistake on this point.[52]

W. T. Watson, a student at Trinity in 1859, wrote a letter to his father in which he spoke favorably of the change: "I understand that the present name of the College has been changed to Trinity, which I think is much more appropriate and no doubt will meet the approbation of people in general."[53]

Perhaps the "people in general" approved the change, but there were some who did not. The *Greensborough Patriot* printed an unsigned letter from some person who was facetiously skeptical about name-changing:

> We once knew a man, who thought his name did not sound quite so euphonious as he wished and that he was less respected because of that name, petitioned a Legislature to give him a new name, so that he might be more respected in society. The petition was granted. But notwithstanding all his efforts to be known under the new name only, people would still believe he was the same man. It is recorded in history that a certain philosopher at Athens, seeing how readily men in humble stations were made great men by vote, gravely proposed that the asses should, in the same manner, be changed into horses. Now, whether our Legislature acted on this grave advice in substituting *Trinity* for *Normal*, the reporters of that body have not informed us. We have some little impression, however, that there may be some truth in the opinion of another old Greek philosopher, viz.: that there will be some appearance of the former character "through the holes of the old coat."[54]

The Administration

The change in the personnel of the board of trustees between 1856 and 1860 reveals a gradual removal of state political influences and a frank substitution of Methodist authority. After the academic year 1856-1857 the following names no longer appeared among the lists of trustees: Calvin H. Wiley, A. H. Sheppard, N. W. Woodfin, J. M. Garrett, R. M. Saunders, G. W. Caldwell, S. P. Hill, C. M.

[52] Feb. 25, 1859.
[53] Wilbur [Watson], to "Pa," Jan. 2, 1859 (Watson Papers).
[54] March 18, 1859.

Lines, J. C. Graves, J. T. Morehead. Before 1859 the governor of the state was always mentioned as ex officio chairman of the board, and the superintendent of common schools was usually designated as secretary. After that date and the cancellation of all state relationships in the old charter these statements no longer appeared.[55]

The reorganized board of trustees and the first one under the charter of 1859 reveal how completely the Methodists controlled Trinity. The following ministers were members of the North Carolina Conferences: Charles F. Deems, chairman of the board, Braxton Craven, R. T. Heflin, D. B. Nicholson, J. H. Robbins, N. H. D. Wilson, W. Barringer, W. Closs, N. F. Reid, Ira T. Wyche, W. H. Bobbitt, J. W. Tucker. The other trustees were prominent laymen whose homes were scattered in every section of the state: John A. Gilmer, James M. Garrett, Greensboro; General J. M. B. Leach, Lexington; Dr. S. G. Coffin, Jamestown; John B. Troy, Troy's Store; J. W. Thomas, Thomasville; J. P. H. Russ, Roger's Store; M. W. Leach, La Grange; Dr. James E. Williamson, Locust Hill; J. C. Blocker, Blockers; Dr. John W. Beckwith, Smithfield; Colonel W. S. G. Andrews, Goldsboro; Henry Lily, Fayetteville; Colonel S. D. Wallace, Wilmington; T. W. Harris, Weldon; J. F. Clark, Washington; and H. B. Short, Plymouth; Joseph Johnson, James Leach, Ahi Robbins, B. T. Steed, Kelley Johnson, and L. M. Leach, all of Trinity. The five members of the board of visitors were Methodist ministers.[56]

Although the Methodists were in complete control of the College, the men who had guided the institution since the days of Brown's Schoolhouse and Union Institute maintained important positions. The following trustees composed the executive committee in 1859: Braxton Craven, James Leach, Joseph Johnson, Ahi Robbins, J. W. Thomas, and Dr. S. G. Coffin.[57]

The title of "President of Trinity College" was first given Craven by the North Carolina Conference in 1859. In the same

[55] Catalogues of Normal College, 1851-1859; catalogues of Trinity College, 1859-1860.

[56] *Ibid.*; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, pp. 242, 527; Resolutions of the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, Jan. 7, 1859, p. 30 (Trinity College Papers); E. C. Brooks, "Braxton Craven and Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (Jan., 1916), 248.

[57] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, pp. 3-4.

year he was received "into full connection" as a minister in the Conference.[58]

Out of the experience of many meetings the trustees finally formulated "By-Laws" for the transaction of business. Although these regulations were not always strictly followed, in the main they governed the actions of the trustees:

1. The officers of the Board shall consist of a President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be elected annually by ballot without nomination, a majority of all votes cast, being necessary to a choice.

2. The President shall preside in all meetings of the Board; draw drafts upon the Treasurer for all monies ordered by the Board to be paid; affix the seal of the corporation to such instruments as require it;—be *ex officio* President of the Executive Committee hereinafter provided for, and discharge such other duties as are usual to his position; in his absence his place shall be filled by the *pro tempore* of a President.

3. The Secretary shall keep a journal of the proceedings of the Board of Trustees at their annual and other meetings, conduct such correspondence and perform such other duties as may be necessary.

4. The Treasurer shall secure all money and notes due the corporation for building, endowment, and all other purposes, except such sums arising from tuition and other fees as shall be necessary to pay the faculty and meet other expenses of the institution. He shall manage and disburse these funds according to the order of the Board paying out money only on the draft of the President of the Board. He shall execute such bond for the faithful performance of his duty, as shall be satisfactory to the executive committee and receive such compensation for his services as may be agreed upon between himself and said Committee. He shall also make an annual exhibit to the Board of Trustees of receipts and disbursements together with the assets and liabilities of the Board.

5. Six members of the Board shall be annually chosen by ballot, who together with the President of the Board, shall constitute an Executive Committee. The duties of the Committee shall be such as are prescribed in the 4th section of our charter and as the Board from time to time shall assign them.

6. The trustees shall hold their annual meetings in the College building, on Tuesday of Commencement week each year. The Board may adjourn to meet at any time and place, and the President of the Board may at any time call a meeting for special business, by giving public notice in the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, or any other method by which the Trustees shall receive the information, at least one month prior to the time of said meeting.

[58] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, p. 307.

7. In the transactions of business the trustees shall conduct their deliberations according to the usual rules of order, governing deliberative bodies.

8. These By-Laws may be amended by two thirds of the members present voting in favor thereof at any annual meeting, provided, that, when an amendment is proposed, it shall be done in writing, and no final action shall be taken upon it, during the session in which it is offered.[59]

With the determination that Trinity should not be surpassed by any college in the South, the trustees gave their attention to every department of the school.[60] The faculty was a subject for discussion and action at various gatherings; and at a meeting in January, 1857, the board authorized the following professorships, to be filled "as soon as might be convenient":

1. President and Professor of Mental and Moral Science.
2. Professor of Mathematics.
3. Professor of Latin and Modern History.
4. Professor of Greek and Natural Science.
5. Professor of English Literature.

With such tutors as the president may think proper.[61]

As time passed there was a slight change in these professorships, but on the whole they remained the same during this period.

Four new members of the faculty were added to those holding positions at the College in 1856.[62] In May, 1857, the trustees elected "Joseph H. Speed, A.B.," as professor of Greek and natural philosophy. A native of Orange County, where he had been principal of South Lowell Academy, he was a graduate of Hampden-Sydney College.[63] In November of the year of his election, Speed was released and his appointment annulled; no reason was given for this action of the board.[64] A young graduate of Normal in the class of 1858, R. H. Skeen, from Eden, North Carolina, was made tutor of mathematics in 1859. Another young graduate added to the teaching force in 1860 was L. W. Andrews, of McIntosh, Georgia.

[59] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1859, pp. 36-38.

[60] "Normal College" (reprint from the Greensboro *Times*), *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, June 3, 1857.

[61] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Jan. 10, 1857, p. 17.

[62] Catalogues of Normal and Trinity colleges, 1856-1860.

[63] *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, June 3, 1857.

[64] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, May 10, 1857; *Catalogue of Normal College, 1856-1857*, p. 5.

A graduate in the class of 1859, he had served as professor in Louisburg College before he came to Trinity to take Skeen's place as tutor in mathematics.[65]

The fourth member of the faculty to be added during the years between 1856 and 1860 was W. T. Gannaway.[66] The trustees elected him "a professor in the college" on November 25, 1857, and by that action brought to the College one of its most distinguished officials. During the years before the Civil War, Gannaway served as professor of the Latin and Greek languages and natural philosophy. He was born in Wythe County, Virginia, in 1825, and was graduated in 1845 from Emory and Henry College, Virginia. For nine years after his graduation he was in charge of Floyd Institute, Virginia. At the end of that time he accepted a teaching position at Germantown, North Carolina, and remained there until he came to Normal in 1857.

Although in the main the new additions to the faculty conformed in background and training to the old members, there was evidence of change. The first professor wholly trained at institutions other than Union Institute, Normal, or Trinity, was appointed to the teaching staff.

Since salaries were not guaranteed and the college income fluctuated, the faculty could never be certain of their pay. A workable plan, however, was followed. From 1854 to 1857 each professor received one sixth of the college income, and their salaries ranged from $500 to $800.[67] For the year 1857-1858 Craven agreed to pay Professors Johnson, Wright, and Gannaway one seventh of the income from tuition "whenever said income is collected."[68] In 1859 the trustees authorized a committee to ascertain among other things the salaries to be paid the faculty.[69] There is no record of the report

[65] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1860-1861*, pp. 5, 7.

[66] This sketch of Gannaway is based on the following: Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Nov. 25, 1857, p. 22; catalogues of Normal and Trinity colleges, 1857-1860; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 446; Rose Leach Johnson, "Historic Places in Old Trinity," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (Aug., 1917), 35-36.

[67] Account Books, 1854-1859 (Treasurer's Office, Woman's College, Duke University).

[68] Agreement of the Faculty of Normal College from Sept. 10, 1857 to July, 1858 (Trinity College Papers).

[69] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 27, 1859, p. 33.

of this committee, but the bursar's account from August 5, 1860, to June 20, 1861, shows the following salaries:

Braxton Craven	$1,500
Lemuel Johnson	$1,000
W. T. Gannaway	$1,000
I. L. Wright	$1,000
O. W. Carr	$ 700
R. H. Skeen and L. W. Andrews	$ 500
Total	$5,700[70]

J. R. Cole, who was graduated from Trinity in 1861, later wrote the following description of the faculty during the period immediately preceding the Civil War:

> There comes Dr. Craven, the great scholar, the great man, the great president, walking with quick step and dressed in broadcloth and a high silk hat. There is Professor Wright, tall and dignified and slow, prepared to meet his classes in Latin. Away through the campus comes Professor Gannaway, pleasant and polite, to instruct his classes in Greek and history. From across the hollow, climbing the hill with long steps and swinging gait, Professor Johnson, the Mathematician of the College, comes into view: I seem to see his straight black hair and to hear him say as he demonstrates a problem in calculus or mathematical astronomy on the black-board, "Looking at it thus, we will easily understand it"—which was not always the case. There, too, is Professor Carr, the genial Christian gentleman, with his eyes on a beautiful young woman just over the hills; and there is Lewis Andrews, of Georgia, the jovial, musical lover of the Greek. There were other instructors coming and going with the years.[71]

Craven's reputation as an educator had spread throughout the South by 1860, and other institutions sought his services. The *North Carolina Christian Advocate* "protested his acceptance,"[72] and he remained at Trinity.

Financial Affairs and Plans for Expansion

Of the many problems that faced the officials of the College, that of property and finance was the most persistent. Besides land and one large brick building erected with money borrowed from the State Literary Fund and other funds contributed for that pur-

[70] Bursar's Account, 1860 (Trinity College Papers).
[71] Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," p. 19.
[72] Jan. 6, 1860.

pose, the property consisted of the old college building; equipment of various kinds; and three libraries, one owned by the College and the other two by the literary societies. This property, valued at $30,000, represented the labor of Braxton Craven over a period of eighteen years. Against it stood an indebtedness of $10,000 to the Literary Board and $700 to Craven. The debt to the Literary Board was covered by a mortgage bond signed by Craven, John A. Gilmer, and others. The $700 debt to Craven was secured by a lien on the property of the College. The Conference had accepted the College with its indebtedness and had authorized the raising of $50,000 for a new building and for an endowment.[73]

The raising of an endowment for Trinity was one of the most important projects of the College before 1860. In January, 1857, the trustees asked Craven to name the "amount of endowment fund that may be deemed proper." After a study of ten months Craven set the figure at $50,000. He thought this amount would be sufficient for the demands of an immediate building program and for the endowment of at least one professorship. Both trustees and Conference accepted the sum as reasonable and pledged support in obtaining the amount. In 1858 the board appointed the Reverend J. N. Andrews as agent to raise the $50,000 and asked Craven to assist him. A committee was appointed to recommend the best means of raising the money. This committee suggested "that the notes be taken payable to the Trustees . . . and their successors, . . . in one, two, and three years."[74]

The agents immediately began their work and reported enthusiastic response from some of the Methodist pastorates. In May, 1859, J. B. Martin wrote of his success:

> I have just returned from Roberson circuit, where I spent two days laboring for the College, and obtained the very clever sum of $1,235. This is almost double the amount contributed by any other circuit; and I confidently expect the good people to increase the amount to at least $2,000 before the close of the year. Well done for Roberson! How easy to raise money for a good cause when the people have a *will* to work. Our people could make Trinity all she ought to be in a few years, if

[73] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees for Jan. 10, 1857, p. 17 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

[74] *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1857, pp. 22-23; June 24, 1858, pp. 25-26.

they would just try. They have abundant ability, but many of them lack the *will*. Come brethren, help! Let us raise the $50,000 this year. We can do it easily if all will do as well as Roberson. And you can do as well, and many circuits can do better, because they have much more ability. Open your hearts, brethren, and give liberally of the ability God hath given you.[75]

The Reverend R. T. Heflin, editor of the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, wrote constantly of the needs of Trinity. He described the value of the College to Methodism in North Carolina and urged contributions to its endowment.[76]

So active and successful had been the agents for raising the endowment that in December, 1860, the Committee on Education of the North Carolina Conference reported that N. H. D. Wilson, a Conference agent, had raised $8,926 during the year.[77] The sum, "in cash and in bonds," was payable "in one, two, three, and four years after this date." The Committee declared further that the amount raised or pledged was "the largest ever reported by any agent appointed by our Conference to any agency in our Church" and that the "successful issue of this enterprise" could no longer be questioned. The Committee on Education closed its report with an appreciative tribute to Trinity and a ringing appeal for its support. N. H. D. Wilson was continued as agent for the College, the only agency supported by the Conference. The *North Carolina Christian Advocate* declared that this fact would "assure our membership of the vital importance which the Conference attaches to the enlargement of the institution."[78]

After the financial report of the Conference in 1860 Craven stated in a letter to Enoch Faw that he had received in cash contributions for the "Conference College . . . about $18,000 for building, etc."[79] This sum probably represents the total amount of cash raised for Trinity by the Conference before the Civil War.

A problem that constantly worried the trustees was the debt that the College owed the State Literary Fund. In 1857 Craven recom-

[75] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, May 11, 1859.
[76] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1860.
[77] *Minutes of the North Carolina Conference*, 1860 (Raleigh, 1861).
[78] Jan. 6, 1860.
[79] Dec. 24, 1860 (Private Collection).

mended to the board: "It is especially necessary that the State debt should be paid." He pointed out that the $600 the College was paying annually in interest "would nearly pay another professor." He told the trustees that, in order to meet the debt, they must act: ". . . an agent may do the work, but he must be directed and sustained by the active cooperation of the corporation."[80]

At the meeting of the board the following June, 1858, it was resolved that "when $10,000 is available, it shall be used in liquidation of the debt to the State."[81] In June, 1859, the question was still before the trustees, and Charles F. Deems offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

> Resolved, that Rev. R. T. Heflin, Col. Andrews, J. C. Blocker, Esq., be instructed to prepare a bond to the Literary Board of the State of North Carolina with sufficient and proper security binding Trinity College for the amount of $10,000, to be substituted for the bond of Normal College, now held by the Literary Board, and provided that cannot be done, they propose an indemnifying bond to be given to the persons who are securities to Normal College bond, to remove the mortgage now held by those persons on the property of the college.[82]

The board finally decided to use for other purposes all money raised both for an endowment and for the payment of the debt. Therefore the obligation to the state remained unpaid; however, the bond to the Literary Board shows that beginning in 1857 Craven met the interest on the debt until he finally paid the principal out of his own personal means in 1864.[83]

Provision for other financial affairs of the College was made by the trustees. Current expenditures were defined as "salaries of the faculty, tutors, and financial secretary; pay for fuel, servants, printing, lights, necessary repairs, interest on the state debt, traveling expenses of the trustees and other college officers, purchases of books and stationery, and such other incidental expenditures as may be

[80] Annual Report of the Faculty to the Board of Trustees of Normal College, July 14, 1857 (Trinity College Papers).

[81] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, June 22-28, 1858, pp. 25-26 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

[82] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 29, 1859, p. 36 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

[83] Normal College Bond to Literary Fund, $10,000, Feb. 10, 1854.

necessary."[84] Income for meeting these expenditures was to come from "tuition, matriculation, and damage fees, together with any rents from college property, profits from the sale of books and stationery, and all interest from bonds, notes, or funds due the corporation."[85] Beginning July 17, 1857, and continuing until 1860-1861, the annual charges for tuition were as follows: collegiate course, $42; regular preparatory, $36; primary, $30; and irregular, $30 to $42. Board alone was $7.00 a month, and board, including "rooms, washing, fuel, servants, etc.," ranged from $8.00 to $10.00 a month. Fees were as follows: $3.00 annual janitor's fee; $5.00 matriculation fee paid by each student at the time of entering, and $2.50 each year thereafter. An unspecified damage fee was charged those who defaced or damaged the college property in any way.[86]

The policy of allowing students to enter college at any time and to pay the required fees from the time of their entrance was continued from earlier years. Students who entered two or three weeks late were charged, however, for the whole time. After students had been admitted, no deduction was made in fees "except in cases of protracted sickness."[87]

The catalogue stated that the listed fees "are positively all the expenses pertaining to the College in any way." All bills were due at Christmas and commencement. The official expense for one year at Trinity was about $125, a sum higher than that required at old Normal College. Parents were advised to deposit all money with the president, and the catalogue stated that "we think that more substantial advantages cannot be obtained at less expense."[88]

[84] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 27, 1859, p. 35. The following items were included in the "contingent expenses" for the school year 1860-1861: Putty and screws, hauling books from High Point, brooms, masonry, chalk, candles, papering rooms, twelve yards of calico, wood, whitewash brush, nails, lime, new map, commencement notices, notices in the following papers: *Express*, *Advocate*, *Times*, Nashville *Advocate*, *Patriot*, board for Negro boy, repairs to roof, postage, and sundries—$460.18 (Bursar's Report from Aug. 5, 1860, to June 20, 1861, Trinity College Papers).

[85] Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 27, 1859, p. 35; Bursar's Report from Aug. 5, 1860, to June 20, 1861.

[86] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Jan. 10, 1857, p. 17 (Trinity College Papers); Account Books, 1856-1860 (Treasurer's Office, Woman's College, Duke University).

[87] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1860-1861*, p. 19.

[88] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1857-1858*, p. 24; *1858-1859*, p. 24.

From fragmentary accounts, it is impossible to estimate the college income during this period. For the year 1855-1856 it was $3,437; and for 1856-1857, $3,952.[89] In writing about the College in 1876, Craven summarized the financial affairs of the institution from 1853 to 1859: the average gross income each year was about $5,000; the losses for the six years were $1,340, or an average of $223 a year; "gratuitous tuition was $2,700, or an annual average of $450."[90]

In July, 1857, Craven recommended to the trustees that "it is especially necessary that more buildings should be erected, both for college purposes and boarding accommodations."[91] The following November the trustees passed a resolution stating that "it is necessary for the success of the Institution to build at least fifty rooms for students on the college grounds, and also boarding establishments to accommodate at least one hundred students."[92] This resolution inaugurated plans for a new building program, and plans were in the process of execution when war brought them to an abrupt stop. Meanwhile the need for more buildings increased. In January, 1859, the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* stated: "Since the adoption of this institution [Normal] by the North Carolina Conference, its patronage has greatly enlarged." The year before, the same periodical had declared that nearly one hundred more students had applied for admission than could be accommodated at the College and that there was a great necessity for "enlarging the boarding accommodations of the institution." In a letter to the *Advocate* in March of the same year Craven stated that the trustees estimated that it would take at least $15,000 "to complete the buildings absolutely necessary." He said also that there was urgent need for immediate action: "The problem is now pressed for solution: will the Methodist Church build a college?" He then outlined a plan for raising the necessary money: ". . . a friend proposes to be one of fifteen to give $1,000 each, $500 payable on September, 1859, and $500, September 1, 1860. Surely there are fifteen that will do it.

[89] Account Book, 1854-1859 (Treasurer's Office, Woman's College, Duke University).

[90] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 184-185.

[91] Annual Report of the Faculty to the Board of Trustees, July 14, 1857.

[92] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Nov. 25, 1857, pp. 22-23.

The proposition is open until May 1."[93] No further mention of this plan has been found.

When the trustees met in June, 1859, they appointed a committee to study the needs of the College; this committee was specific in its recommendations:

> The committee appointed to "examine the college and fixtures generally and ascertain what improvements are most urgent" beg leave to report: — that they have inspected present buildings and the apparatus, and we find the following to be necessary to place the College on a proper footing:—
>
> 1. An addition to the Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus sufficient to make it complete.
>
> 2. It is necessary to put up a building or buildings so as to increase the number of dormitories, either by using the present building for dormitories alone and building a chapel and laboratory apart; or by building dormitories apart and altering the present building so as to prepare a suitable room for a Laboratory and continue to use the present chapel. Your committee is of the opinion that a building about the size of the present college building, can be so placed just to the west of and in a line with the present building, near the north corner of the President's yard, as to furnish a basement that will give a good Laboratory and all necessary recitation rooms and with three stories above will not be of greater altitude than the present building, giving a uniformity of appearance with a commanding view, sufficiently far removed as to alleviate the danger of losing both in case of fire and being very convenient of access from the present building and the President's house.
>
> 3. We find that the dormitories need thorough cleaning and white-washing and that there is no privey [*sic*] for the use of the students. These are the only matters that have commanded the notice of the committee as requiring immediate attention.[94]

Plans for a new building were finally drawn, and four contractors presented bids for the work. These bids ranged from $14,000 to $23,500. The contract was finally awarded to the lowest bidder, J. W. Holt, of Warrenton, with the understanding that the building would be finished by June, 1862.[95]

The plans called for a building one hundred and fifty feet long

[93] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, March 10, 1859.

[94] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 27, 1859, pp. 34-35.

[95] Minutes of the Building Committee, Oct. 16, 1860 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University); Braxton Craven to Enoch Faw, Dec. 24, 1860 (Private Collection); *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Session of the North Carolina Conference, December 5-10, 1860.*

and fifty feet deep, three stories high, and "surmounted by a dome." The front was to be "ornamented with a collonade [*sic*] of six pillars, fifty feet in extent." The first floor was to be used as parlors, recitation rooms, and museum; the second, for the chapel and libraries; and the third floor for the chapel galleries and society halls. The scientific laboratory was to be placed in the basement. Further plans described "wings" that were to extend from the center of the building one hundred and twenty-five feet. In these wings were to be rooms for students, "sick rooms, etc." Latest improvements were to be installed: "pulleys for elevating wood to the upper stories, sewers for drainage, and other improvements for health, comfort, and convenience." The whole building was to be finished "in the best style of architecture"; and when it was completed, it would be "one of the finest structures in the South." The High Point *Reporter* was enthusiastic over the prospects of the future building:

> We may without violent stretch of imagination, skip over a few years, or perhaps, months, and view it standing out in all its magnificence of structure and beauty and finish; and then turning the mind's eye to an humble edifice [Brown's Schoolhouse] across the hills, which was a few years ago the germ from which has sprung the present flourishing College, favorably known throughout the land, find cause to adore that Providence, and admire that energy and perseverance, which have brought about such wonderful results.[96]

The "violent stretch" of the *Reporter's* imagination did not enable its "mind's eye" to see the general debacle of the next five years and the vanishing of the dream of a great Trinity along with the economic system of the Old South. The "magnificent edifice" was never built; war forced the cancellation of the contract.[97]

The Curriculum and Related Matters

As in previous years at Normal, entrance examinations were required for admission to the freshman class.[98] Common academic deficiencies were brought to the attention of applicants, who were urged to prepare themselves thoroughly for entrance to college:

> If, in preparing for Trinity, boys are pressed for time to accomplish what is demanded, we earnestly advise them to *learn well* what they do go

[96] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, July 24, 1860.
[97] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 185-186.
[98] Catalogues of Normal and Trinity colleges, 1856-1860.

over, rather than imperfectly to accomplish the whole requisition. There is tenfold greater deficiency generally in the Grammars, Arithmetic, and Geography, than in Caesar, Virgil, the Readers, or Algebra.[99]

Except for the omission of special courses in teacher-training, the courses of instruction at Trinity followed those developed earlier at Normal. From 1855 to 1859 exactly the same courses were offered: preparatory, English, partial, and the regular collegiate course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In 1858-1859 the English course was dropped and a "Special Course" substituted; however, this seemed to differ little from the English course. It was during that year, too, that the normal features of the curriculum were canceled, and the English course may have been the one followed largely by those taking teacher-training. It was also in the year 1858-1859 that students were permitted to "complete the studies in any department; viz., mathematics, Latin, Greek, English Literature, and Experimental Science." To all students finishing any of these departmental studies, the faculty issued "testimonials to that effect," but no mention was made of this practice after 1859. From 1859 to 1862 only three courses were offered: preparatory, partial, and the regular collegiate. The preparatory and the partial courses followed precisely the earlier ones by the same name. In 1860-1861 this statement was added to the usual explanation of the partial course: "To young gentlemen who wish to take a scientific course, we offer as many inducements as any institution in the country."[100]

From 1856 to 1861 the collegiate course of instruction leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts was little different from that listed in the college catalogue for 1854-1855, and was exactly the same as that given for 1855-1856.[101] The course was outlined to fill the collegiate year divided into three terms of fourteen weeks each. For 1860-1861 the school year was divided into two terms instead of three, and the course of instruction was adjusted to meet the new division. Its content, however, differed little, if any, from that given under the three-term system.[102]

[99] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 14; *1859-1860*, p. 17; *1860-1861*, p. 14.

[100] *Ibid., 1858-1859*, pp. 18-19; *1859-1860*, p. 17; *1860-1861*, p. 17.

[101] See chap. iii.

[102] Catalogues of Normal and Trinity colleges, 1856-1860.

The collegiate course, like the earlier one, was dominated by the study of the classics; but the continuation of scientific studies together with bookkeeping, surveying, navigation, and similar subjects reflected developing trends in curriculum-making.

Shortly after Normal was adopted by the Conference the trustees described the requirements for degrees conferred by the College:

> 1. That graduation shall not be a matter of course, and going through the curriculum, but shall depend upon good morals and good scholarship.
> 2. That A.B. shall be strictly a literary degree, and shall only be conferred upon such as have remained one term at least in the College, have stood their examination and been recommended by the faculty.
> 3. That A.M. shall not be conferred as a matter of course, upon the graduates of the Institution, but upon such only as exhibit moral and useful lives in connection with fair literary character, and after sufficient investigation, have been recommended by the faculty.[103]

These requirements remained unchanged during this period. The degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts were denied some candidates, while they were conferred upon others of proved ability and accomplishment. So long as the normal feature remained an official part of the College, each year a number of state certificates were issued.[104]

Although there was no prescribed course for teachers after Normal became Trinity, Craven never lost interest in the training of teachers. He approved of normal schools, but he also considered all institutions of higher learning as places preparing students to teach in public schools, colleges, and universities. The state should assume this responsibility, he believed; but in lieu of this, religious denominations might assume or share the responsibility of such professional training.[105] About the time that the North Carolina Conference assumed the control of Normal, Craven wrote:

> The teacher must learn to teach; he may be willing but not able. Normal schools are a step in the right direction; but we need more of them, with more ample arrangements and longer sessions. We also need some kind of schools to train professors for colleges. . . .

[103] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, July 15, 1857, p. 19; see also *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 19; *1859-1860*, p. 7.

[104] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 15, 1857, p. 20; Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, June 22, 1858, p. 24.

[105] Braxton Craven, Lectures, 1849-1882 (Trinity College Papers).

Remedy: A regular State system embracing all schools of every kind, and such appropriations of money as will place every school in proper condition to do good work.[106]

In a public lecture on "Normal Schools" delivered on April 22, 1857, Craven reviewed the rise and development of the normal-school idea; criticized some of its features; proposed changes; and finally described how normal-training was actually working out in practice at Normal College, a Methodist institution. He opened his lecture with critical reference to European and Northern systems of teacher-training and stated his own thesis:

I could not suppose that you would be amused with the widely circulated and pretty stories of Prussian and Saxon systems, or that you could be edified by a repetition of the stale eulogies upon Northern schools; it appears that preference would be given to an inquiry into the real intention of Normal Schools, the general law to which their action must be referred, and whether they are practicable and desirable as a general policy of Southern education. . . .

Normal schools are comparatively new, their very conception is a product of the nineteenth century, they are in nearly every place regarded as a mere experiment, or as a vagancy of restless reform. Their popularity in some European governments argues nothing in their favor in a republic, and their great usefulness in the Northern states is not sustained by anything enviable in the civil or moral character of the citizens.

Craven then pointed out that the "Normal element has appeared in organic literature, it is a legitimate result of mental expansion, it proposes immediate changes, and will certainly make its impress upon this age"; yet he criticized radical interpretations of the normal idea and included a jibe at Horace Mann and the "Northern Schools." He classified the American colleges as "Aristocratic or Democratic," and stated that everything about them was being attacked, sometimes justly, sometimes unjustly. Confusion did not stop in higher education, however; it extended to academies and high schools. Much of this confusion he declared was caused by "one-sided" teachers. In proposing "a considerable reconstruction" of the "Normal idea" he pointed out the differences between the Northern and Southern systems, and outlined a proposed system of education for the United States:

[106] *Ibid.*

Here let it be distinctly noted that the Normal School system recommended in the Southern States is a very different thing from that used in the North. So far as confining our system to primary schools, we wish it for the present at least to remain apparently unconnected; it is worse than useless to attempt a reformation among the weakest and least influential members. Reform is needed in universities, colleges, and academies as well as primary schools. . . .

In this connection it will be well to guard against the error of supposing that the elements of Normal education differ from those of any other education. Such has been the supposition practically cherished in the Northern Schools, and as a consequence they are rapidly tending to the very error they were intended to eradicate. The opinion is increasing there that accurate, exhaustive study is essential only for those who are to teach, and that Normal schools are to turn out a definite number of finished teachers as so many pens and inkstands made to order. Such a tendency, unless it is checked, must end in the worst of all possible castes, cursed with superficial pretension and an odious mannerism. American educational philosophy is as yet too indeterminate to afford a safe prediction as to its ultimate form; but an accurate survey of what is already established, of prevailing opinion of what ought to be, and of speculation as to what is possible, the following may be offered as an approximate result: (1) A general system of primary schools by which the rudiments of education may be offered to all upon available terms; (2) Academies and High Schools where rudimental learning may be extended and higher culture commenced; (3) colleges in which may be secured complete mental development, the best habits and modes of thought, a thorough knowledge of all disciplinary studies, and a character adequate to the demands of civil, social, and Christian life; (4) Special schools of professions, science and arts where the collegiate scholar may learn his profession scientifically and practically with the very best advantages offered by the age . . .; (5) and lastly great institutions for the progress and diffusion of knowledge, as for example the Smithsonian, in which no teaching shall be done, but the best minds the world affords shall devote their whole powers to research. . . . It will be observed that I have not mentioned Universities, and the reason is that it does not appear that the European forms will ever prevail in this country. Those so named in the different states being no more in intention than a superior college.

Craven then outlined his scheme for the training of professors and teachers to carry out his proposed American plan of education:

In conclusion we briefly notice the means proposed to prepare professors and instructors generally adequate to these high educational conceptions. The scheme may be illusory, as past experience affords no good basis for argument or comparison, and it is so indefinitely progressive

that no brief experiment can give an unmistakable decision. It is, however, as follows:

1. Establish a sufficient number of Normal Colleges, say three or four in the Southern States, with the most liberal arrangements, the best professors and the most available conditions the mental ability of the age and the resources of the country will afford. These colleges will have the same relation to literary colleges, as is borne by special scientific, literary, or professional schools. They will not at all supersede the necessity for such colleges as we now have, but will most assuredly augment their number and efficiency. It would be well if these Normal Colleges could be amply endowed, not that they should give gratuitous tuition, for that is to be avoided in all cases, except those of special merit or necessity, but that they might afford attractions to noble, Christian ambition, superior to any other inducements known in the world of sciences or arts—these institutions being more important than any others in the sphere of human interest should be beyond competition in pecuniary advantages, above the necessity of flattering power or yielding to any inferior consideration, and independent of all the usual fluctuation of changes, and caprice of human society. Let the organization be very similar to other colleges. Every professor must be a holy man living practically and daily the life that is "hid with Christ in God." And none others must be selected or retained for any consideration whatever. . . . These men must be models of civil, religious, and social life. . . . Their duty will be to prepare presidents and professors for Colleges, and instructors for High Schools and Academies. There must be at least a professorship in each of the collegiate departments not to teach the elements of their divisions but to show the professional aspirant how to impart to others. None but graduated men or their equivalents will be received as students, these in addition to literary attainments, must be practical Christians, embryos of the Normal professors in general character, apt to teach, devoted to it as a profession, and feel that it is next to the ministry the highest and most responsible vocation known among men.

There should be in addition to these Normal Colleges, three or more Normal High Schools in each State; these in all respects should be conducted as the colleges, but on a lower grade. Their office will be to prepare teachers for primary schools.

It will be seen that in every system, I everywhere place religion in the van. . . . I place no great confidence in education without religion, believing that real piety is the true position for man to occupy, and the only safe one in any pursuit.

The history of the Prussian and New England Schools, proves conclusively that the elements of education should not be imported in Normal Schools. The first educational duty of all persons is to acquire an improved disciplined mind of as high a grade as possible, then for those who

intend to teach, the Normal is a professional school. In the Southern States and under the influence of the Methodist Church, it may as yet be impossible to establish a system of Normal institutions, such as has been described, but in the meantime there is a very efficient substitute which is available at all points.

Craven finally described his own institution, Normal College, as an example of the practical working out of his plan for teacher-training in a state-affiliated denominational college:

You will pardon me for describing in this connection the Institution over which I have the honor to preside. The charter is equal and similar to that of our State University. The Governor is *ex-officio* President of the Board of Trustees, etc.; it has by mere accident the name of Normal College, and belongs to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Trustees, however, have the authority to grant in addition to the usual literary and honorary degrees, special marks of honor to teachers, and to give State certificates which shall exempt the bearer from examinations by county committees for the common schools. A special department was organized for normal instruction, embracing both graduates and regulars; when the course of study demanded by our school system is completed, and the student desires to teach, he is subjected to a rigid examination and if approved by seven Trustees he may attend a series of Normal lectures, and receive his certificate. This system can be used with great effect. There is an immense demand for such teachers in almost all parts of the country. Normal Departments might be organized in all our colleges and High Schools without at all interfering with the ordinary routine and, if other places are as North Carolina, the effect would be salutary.

Whether the normal policy as proposed is desirable or not, the results to be consumated [*sic*] certainly accord with the great principles of legislation, the general good of society, and the spirit of Christianity. Doubtless some will consider the whole as a baseless dream of speculation, a utopian vision to be located only in the land of fable, or a religious fantasy deserving the appellation of abnormal and nonsensible. But for all that, the Methodist Church will not relinquish its high position; though younger in literary organization than several others, her educational power is already felt through the whole vitality of the nation, and as a goodly ship "with sails suddenly furled will still move many a fathom on her destined course"; so would our education polity, though the church should prove recreant or cease to be. But no such misfortune will occur. The Normal idea by that or some other name, and in some mode will yet be developed. Our schools as a united harmonious whole will breathe life, power, and action into our vast population, changing as if by magic

its heterogeneous elements of discord into universal affinity and creating a nationality, worthy of this great Union, and this glorious era of civilization.[107]

In 1857 Craven still hoped to combine his ideas for a normal college with those for a liberal arts college of Methodist affiliation. By 1859, however, he had become convinced of the impracticability of his idea and sought to develop a Methodist liberal arts college. Regardless of the modification of his ideas relative to normal instruction, he always believed that the training of teachers should be one of the principal purposes of the liberal arts college.[108]

So long as the College was empowered to do so, it issued teachers' certificates. Available records from scattered sources do not reveal the number—only that each year "a number" of state certificates were issued.[109] The only available certificate given by Normal was issued to a woman. The year after the control of the College had been assumed by the Methodists, the following certificate was issued to "Miss C. A. Hayworth":

NORMAL COLLEGE
July 16, 1857

This certifies that Miss C. A. Hayworth is authorized by the Trustees of Normal College, to teach school in any part of North Carolina without being subject to further examination for one year.

B. CRAVEN, *Pres.*

D. B. NICHOLSON
JOHN A. GILMER
R. T. HEFLIN
JAMES LEACH
B. F. STEED
E. W. OGBURN
J. H. ROBBINS
Trustees

Renewed from June 24, 1858 to June 30, 1859.

B. CRAVEN, *Pres.*[110]

No student, man or woman, by the name of "Hayworth" appears in any extant list of students at Normal. Apparently under some

[107] Braxton Craven, Normal Schools—A Lecture Read before the Institute, April 22, 1857, pp. 1-45 (Trinity College Papers).

[108] Braxton Craven, Lectures, 1849-1882.

[109] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1856-1860.

[110] This certificate may be found in the Trinity College Papers.

unknown circumstance, women were permitted to study or to become candidates for teachers' certificates at the College.

It was in 1858, the year in which Miss Hayworth's certificate was renewed, that a school for "female teachers," known as Female Normal School, was opened at High Point. Its principal was a graduate of Normal College.[111] The fact that the school was near the College, where the brothers of the young ladies could attend a "male college," was listed as one of the advantages of the institution. Female Normal seems to have been patterned somewhat after Normal College. The *Greensborough Patriot,* quoting the *North Carolina Christian Advocate,* stated that the school was doing more than any other "in the South to educate young ladies of limited means."[112] There is no mention of any connection other than that of friendly interest between Trinity College and Female Normal.

Craven continued his support of general education in North Carolina. Although he did not always agree with Calvin H. Wiley's policies, he worked amicably with the State Superintendent. At the state teachers convention in 1858 Craven was appointed chairman of the committee on normal schools, a position to which he was reappointed from time to time. He and Wiley were two of the directors of the *North Carolina Journal of Education,* whose first issue appeared in 1858; and in 1861 he was elected vice-president of the teachers' convention.[113]

With an ardent belief in education in general and in that of Trinity in particular, Craven was constantly on the alert for better methods of teaching. As in earlier years, lectures were used to supplement other methods of instruction. They were given "in connection with text-books, apparatus, minerals, charts, and other means of illustration," and had for their purpose the giving of "more ample information and extending the range of thought far beyond such books as are usually placed in the hands of students."[114] Many of these lectures Craven delivered. His lecture notes include the fol-

[111] Catalogues of Normal College, *1855-1856*, p. 8; *1856-1857*, p. 7; *1857-1858*, p. 7; *Patriot and Flag*, Feb. 5, 12, 1858, July 9, 22, 1859.

[112] July 27, 1859.

[113] Brooks, "The First State Normal School Becomes Trinity College," pp. 99-100; *Patriot and Flag*, Dec. 25, 1857.

[114] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1856-1857*, p. 17; *1857-1858*, p. 20; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 17; *1859-1860*, p. 18.

lowing subjects: theoretical geology, chemistry, slavery, rhetoric, poetry, fine arts, moral science, moral and mental philosophy, military tactics, theology, law, cosmogony, mineralogy, logic, economics and government, psychology, history, and teaching.[115]

The "apparatus, museum, etc." increased with the growth of the institution. The college catalogues stated that " we are well prepared to give ample instruction and illustration in the Natural Sciences and their applications, as Colleges are generally, or as any person could reasonably desire." A special appeal was made for materials for the "Museum and Cabinet":

> A very considerable Museum and Cabinet of minerals have been collected; embracing many rare and valuable specimens; but we regard our acquisitions thus far, as a mere beginning. All this country is rich in such materials, and by proper exertions a cabinet could speedily be collected that would equal the very best in the world. It is hoped that the friends of the College, both Ministers and Laymen, will collect a quantity in every community. Gather a sample of every kind; do not suppose that anything is *too common*. We will pay all expense of transportation. Many foreign minerals will be necessary to complete our collection, and they can readily be obtained so soon as we can offer good specimens in exchange. We specially want a large collection of fossils from the eastern counties; these would be of great value to the institution.[116]

Textbooks as aids in teaching were mentioned continually. These texts differed little from those in general use throughout the country during this period.[117]

The grade of scholarship at Trinity was a subject of grave consideration for both trustees and faculty. Old Normal College had emphasized serious study; nevertheless, its students were often severely criticized for deficiencies in scholarship. In 1857 the faculty reported to the trustees that the "grade of scholarship has been raised considerably, and now equals in every respect the very best colleges in the land."[118] One of the newspapers in the state commented favorably on a renewed emphasis on scholastic training and academic requirements at the College:

[115] Braxton Craven, Lectures, 1849-1882.

[116] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1856-1857*, p. 17; *1857-1858*, p. 20; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 18.

[117] See bill from Ivison and Phinney, 321 Broadway, New York, March 31, 1857 (Trinity College Papers).

[118] Annual Report of the Faculty to the Trustees of Normal College, July 14, 1857.

We are glad to learn that the grade of scholarship was thoroughly discussed [by the trustees] and placed as high as the best colleges in the country. Also that no degree shall be conferred upon the simple test of so many years connection with the college; a thorough, testing examination upon the whole collegiate course being the only successful guarantee. All the degrees, therefore, conferred by the Trustees, mean something more than having merely gone through a certain curriculum.[119]

The first catalogue issued under the name of Trinity College explained specifically the policy of the new College in regard to "Thorough Scholarship":

We have established such departments of instruction, and such requisitions in each department, as are thought to be best adapted to this age and in this country to the production of profound scholars. The course of study is as extensive as can possibly be accomplished in four years; the variety amply sufficient to develop all the mental powers and insure an acquaintance with all great fields of thought, and the teaching will be done by the best instructors the country affords, aided by all necessary apparatus and arrangements. We have no secondary motive or purpose to serve—the noblest form of literary culture is and must be our object. If students are badly prepared we cannot promise to make them scholars; if they must necessarily be urged through in four years, we can do as well perhaps as others, but we will not endorse the result. We are aware that profound scholarship is not acquired by assumption or "act of parliament," but by accurate study, wholesome discipline and time sufficient for mental growth: that part of the public that supports Trinity asked for a first class college; they shall have it.[120]

In "Special Remarks for Patrons," the College explained its policy in regard to reports on the activities of students and urged the necessity of frankness by both parents and teachers.[121] "Full reports" of students were sent to parents and guardians six times during the year. "A strict account" of merits and demerits was kept "with each student for all his recitations and college duties of every kind," and the result was marked on his report. Grades were made on the basis of one hundred. Recognition by "marks of distinction" was continued from the practice of earlier days. Each student was required to recite three times each day; and if his average grade did not exceed fifty, he was removed to another class, or he was dis-

[119] *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, July 29, 1857.
[120] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 13.
[121] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1857-1858*, pp. 22-23.

missed from school. The patrons of the school were assured that the reports that they received from the College were "the *truth,* that they neither disguise nor palliate."[122]

Examinations were serious testing times at the College. The following description by a student reveals not only the seriousness of these occasions, but also the methods of instruction used by some of the faculty:

> Every student that has the fear of the commencement report before his eyes is busy for a certainty. This is the "testing term," and such testing as no unprepared boy cares to meet. Everything must be torn to atoms and then put up again, and a substantial reason given for every word you say. See those twenty-five boys in Greek; the questions come across and pile thick and fast; directly some unlucky wight staggers a little or makes a mistake; then he must stand a broadside of fifty questions, or break down altogether. A dozen boys are up at the blackboard working mathematics; one bright youth distances all the rest, writes his answer in great big figures, and turns around facing the Professor, as much as to say "Well, sir, what more?" The explanation begins, but soon a reason is forgotten, for the lazy fellow has borrowed his work, and now with desperate effort he attempts to escape confession; but he is headed off in all directions, until he gives it up.
>
> Passing the Laboratory occasionally, you will see them apparently boiling dirt, making muddy water and ugly mixtures generally; they call it analyzing soils, etc.—These I guess are young farmers. Two or three times a week you will see the Juniors in flower gardens, meadows, and other blooming spots. They are pulling flowers to pieces, and talking about Quercus, Rosa, Silia, Rubus, and other choctaw lingo; but I suppose they are deep in Botany. For the last two weeks, the Seniors have been engineering and such a time of it! They have run railroads and other roads all over the country, made turnouts and depots in all directions, leveled, curved, filled, cut, bridged, reconnoitered, mapped, etc., etc., till you can hardly walk without striking your foot against a peg.[123]

Students and College Life

The energetic work of the officials and friends of Trinity resulted in a general increase in the popularity of the College and in the number of students entering the school.[124] Students were drawn from ten of the Southern States; the greatest number came (in the order named) from North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, and

[122] Catalogues of Normal and Trinity colleges, 1856-1860.
[123] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, May 12, 1859.
[124] See Appendix, Tables 1 and 2.

Georgia. They belonged to the middle ranks of society; a student who graduated in 1861 later wrote that they were "the flower of North Carolina and our Southland."[125] The unfriendly relationship between the Methodists in Virginia and North Carolina as a result of the Deems-Smith controversy and rivalry with Randolph-Macon College did not seem to affect the number of students entering from Virginia from 1856 to 1859. For the academic years 1859-1860 and 1860-1861, however, there was a considerable decrease in the number of students from that state. By this time the official connection between the North Carolina Conference and Randolph-Macon had been terminated, and Virginia Methodism was rallying to the support of its own college.

In 1856, the year which brought official connection with the North Carolina Conference, the number of students materially increased, and the next year the number reached the greatest of all the years while the College was located in Randolph County. The following year (1858-1859), there was a reduction in the total number. It will be remembered that this was the year when all state relationships were canceled, and this reduction may represent a loss of students preparing for teachers' certificates. Even with the reduction, however, the total number of students was greater than that of any year except one before 1856. After 1858-1859 there was an annual increase in the total number of students until the Civil War drew the young men into the Confederate Army.

Although the total number of students taking the preparatory and irregular courses was always greater, there was a general increase in the number enrolled in the regular college course and a decline in those taking the preparatory and irregular courses. This may have been caused by the fact that the English Course was dropped from the curriculum after 1858-1859. The last two years (1856-1858) that the course was offered, only eleven students registered for it. After 1856, and especially after 1858, Trinity emphasized its regular collegiate features as it sought to build a liberal arts college of distinction.

A study of the vocations of those who received degrees from

[125] E. A. Wright, "Reminiscences of Old Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (April, 1917), 16.

Normal or Trinity between 1857 and 1860 reveals that the majority were teachers and preachers. There were thirty-six who received the degree of Bachelor of Arts and four who received honorary degrees. Of those graduating from Trinity, the greatest number entered the profession of teaching; but some of these were local preachers and some later entered the regular ministry. In 1860 there were seventeen teachers, five farmers, four physicians, three preachers, two lawyers, one student, and four whose vocations were not given. Craven stated in 1876 that less than one tenth of those who matriculated at Normal or Trinity were graduated.[126]

After the Methodists gained full control of the College, the education of ministers became of greater concern. Besides donating some of its own funds for this purpose, the College continued to receive aid from the Education Society of the North Carolina Conference. The Society functioned as it had done earlier, and in 1859 Craven, as treasurer, reported upon its activities in raising money and educating ministers. During its entire history, the Society had raised $2,000 and lost only $75. Many members of the North Carolina Conference had been educated through its efforts. Craven reported further that Trinity, "with its limited resources and apparent inability," had given a larger sum for this purpose than had been raised by the Society. During 1859, of a great number of ministerial students who needed help, four were of exceptional promise; these four were studying at Trinity and were recipients of financial help from the Society.[127] Craven's attitude toward the problem of educating the ministry is revealed in a selection from this report to the Education Society in 1859:

> While as a general rule, it is comparatively easy for a young man to educate himself in this day of denominational activity and tempting propositions from innumerable schools, yet, ministerial candidates form a remarkable and persistent exception. Their patrimony, being a contingent revenue from the voluntary contribution of the Society, has small demand among the money holders of the day. While the embryo physician, lawyer, farmer, or artesan [*sic*] can readily command the resources of his

[126] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1859-1860*, pp. 6-7; *1860-1861*, p. 7; *1867-1868*, p. 6; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1857-1860; *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Aug. 3, 1859.

[127] Report of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Education Society of the North Carolina Conference, 1859 (Trinity College Papers).

friends, or even of strangers; the young preacher is regarded as an alien from the favors of chance and a hopeless bankrupt in the changes of fortune. I never signed as security for any man, except young preachers; a dozen or more of them have my poor favor in this way, and in some cases where father and brothers have utterly refused to risk a dollar. I know experimentally that it is extremely difficult for any young preacher devoid of present or prospective fortune, to procure any considerable assistance from any source whatever. If you consider this as discreditable and abominable, it is nevertheless an abominable truth, and ought to be considered by those who so glowingly describe what a man of the right stamp will achieve.[128]

Religious training continued to be one of the main emphases of the College. The Committee on Education of the North Carolina Conference reported in 1860 that "the whole tone of life" was "such as will exert a good moral influence on the sons of our people."[129] A student during this period wrote his impression of the morning devotions: "When the great bell on the campus rang out its loud sweet notes, . . . calling the two hundred and forty boys to the chapel in the early morning, the voice of the president reading the Scriptures and the songs of the multitude of students filled the building and opened the day's work with tender solemn devotion."[130]

Craven was the pastor and spiritual adviser of the students as well as their teacher and administrator. A student described him as preacher: "In his argumentative faculties of mind, he is surpassed by few if any. He is eloquent, yet calm; and at some points will draw such vivid pictures of life eternal or horrors of the lost, that the soul is enraptured with the former and struck with dread of the latter."[131]

Revival services were held each year, and interest became so fervent that college work was sometimes suspended. These services were reported as having "salutary effect upon the character and manner of students generally." From 1853 to 1859 there were 360 conversions, and during the next three years there were 165, making

[128] B. Craven, Treasurer's Report of the Education Society of the North Carolina Conference, 1859 (Trinity College Papers).

[129] *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Session of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, December 5-11, 1860.*

[130] J. R. Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," p. 20.

[131] A letter to "Thom" from "Pampey," Dec. 9, 1860 (Watson Collection); *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Sept. 18, 1860.

a total of 525. Between 1853 and 1859 about 284 joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and 16 joined other churches.[132]

Although "religion was made an object of great concern" at Trinity, and the "heart as well as the mind was educated," the College was declared to be nonsectarian. In 1860 a student wrote that "it is free from croaking sectarianism." "We are Methodist of course, but thus far but little sectarian spirit has invaded our ranks. May this spirit ever characterize our beloved College, and Trinity have a name for usefulness abroad among other denominations, as well as at home among ourselves."[133]

The question of sectarianism was reopened at a time when the religious denominations of the state were somewhat united in an attack upon the University of North Carolina. The Methodists entered the controversy rather late; but when they did, there is some evidence that they were just as bitter as any other denomination. The University was attacked upon such questions as free tuition and proposed state appropriations for its support, the so-called exclusion of the clergy from the board of trustees, the preponderance of Presbyterians on the faculty, admission requirements, compulsory chapel attendance, Roman Catholic influences, and the comparative advantages of denominational and state colleges.[134] After Normal College became Trinity, no record has been found showing that Trinity or Craven engaged in any of these attacks. The alumni of the two institutions occasionally baited each other, however; and the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* printed some bitter statements about the University.[135] Perhaps the claim that Trinity was denominational but not sectarian was relatively true.

With emphasis upon religion at the College, it is not surprising that the stern discipline of old Normal continued to characterize Trinity. Craven reported to the trustees in 1857 that the "discipline has been more rigid and higher-toned than ever heretofore."[136]

[132] Report to Trustees of Normal College, July 14, 1857 (Trinity College Papers); Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 184-185.

[133] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Dec. 25, 1860.

[134] Alma P. Foerster, "The State University in the Old South" (doctoral dissertation, Duke University Library, 1939), pp. 239-243; Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in North Carolina since 1776*, pp. 40-63.

[135] March 10, 1859.

[136] Annual Report of the Faculty to the Trustees, July 14, 1857.

There was some attempt to modify the seriousness of student life, however; and both criticism and suggestions for improvement were offered:

> There are some things that I at least would be glad to have different. I confess that they are not essentials nor of first importance, still I think they deserve attention. I should like a little more dignified repose; every thing seems to be too intensely earnest and laborious for our old notions of refined culture. They [students] act too quickly, go to bed too early, rise too soon; they have breakfast by 6 1-2 o'clock, dine half past twelve; and thus there seems to be too much hurry. I would like a little more society in the old sense; people of taste and leisure. Everybody seems to be employed. They certainly need more boarding houses, and more college buildings. Perhaps a little relaxation from stern moral discipline, allowing some of the amusements and ways of the general public, would be reasonable and more popular.[137]

This criticism probably resulted in bringing about more social ease in student life, but it in no way reduced the strict requirement of college discipline. Under the title "College Character," Craven published his attitude toward public opinion that tolerated current practices forbidden at Trinity and the policy of the College toward students who indulged in such practices:

> It has long been the custom in Southern colleges for students to have a code of regulations and morals peculiar to themselves. According to this code, they may practice all dissipation, damage property, create disturbances, commit depredations, play tricks, and then club together for concealment, and if one should divulge anything, he is insulted and scoffed. To this "College Opinion," we pay no respect, but hold all subject to the morals of Christian people, and visit with swift punishment every dastardly spirit that attempts to conceal or palliate crime. What young man in his own home would buy "night suppers" from negroes, steal chickens from neighbors, and do numerous similar things. Yet such things have been done at Colleges, both patrons and the public laughing at them and letting them pass without censure. Students or patrons who expect toleration at Trinity will be disappointed; we will not even retain any one as a student who advocates such principles. We ask patrons to consider the subject closely before they excuse their sons for such things, or advise them to yield obedience to such a ruinous code of morals. This "College Opinion" has never obtained position here and never shall; but

[137] MS fragment included with a report to the Board of Trustees [1859] (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

we have had some trouble in repelling it, and it has been the cause of nearly every dismission that has ever occurred in this Institution.[138]

Craven pointed out that the "most prevalent vices in colleges are drinking spirituous liquors and gambling, whilst the very general habit of carrying arms of some kind furnishes the means of creating difficulties and inflicting injuries." The laws of the College, he said, forbade "any student to drink any spirituous liquors of any kind" just as they forbade "having or using any weapon, or cards, or other means whereby games of chance are played." Craven complained that the chief difficulty in executing the college laws came from the fact that the students brought these forbidden things from their homes. He appealed to parents to uphold the College by refusing to permit their sons to bring forbidden articles to school.[139] Occasionally he took parents to task for other matters as well:

"But I send my son to college." You do! What is your object in doing that? Do you desire to make him in mind, thought, character, and Christian excellence? Why do you let him be so extravagant and so idle? Why do you let him come home so often. The Faculty have informed you that he is doing badly, why do you not attend to it? Because you have sent your son to college, your responsibility is not, therefore, at an end. You owe certain duties to your son that you cannot transfer to any other man. God help you to remember them.[140]

Apparently some of the students at Trinity felt as strongly as Craven toward social practices forbidden at the College. They attacked dancing, idling, romping, and visiting. "From such influences" wrote one student in 1860, "we would leave our homes and turn to college. Trinity College is a moral place and even its enemies cannot deny the assertion."[141]

Some students refused to obey college laws and became involved in difficulties. No secret clubs or societies were permitted to exist among the students. A precedent was set on one occasion when a large secret club was formed, badges were obtained, and everything was in full operation before Craven discovered its existence. The

[138] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, pp. 21-22.
[139] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
[140] Undated and unsigned MS in the handwriting of Braxton Craven (Trinity College Papers).
[141] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Aug. 2, 1860.

junior class supported the club and tried by their numbers and influence to force acceptance from the College. Craven was adamant; the leaders were expelled, and Craven wrote that "the result has certainly been beneficial upon the morals and study of the students."[142] The total number of expulsions for all causes between 1853 and 1859 was eight; and between 1859 and 1860, five, making a total of thirteen in seven years.[143]

Although stern in matters of discipline, the College encouraged recreational features considered helpful to students. Added to activities of earlier days were hopscotch, "football," town-ball, and bandy.[144] J. R. Cole, a graduate of the class of 1861, later described the game of bandy as it was played about 1859-1860:

> But, boys, you ought to have seen some of our games of bandy. Imagine thirty or forty athletes, from sixteen to twenty-five years of age, half on one side, and half on the other, with big clubs bent round at the lower end, stretched out facing each other on the campus—watchful, ready to spring as the leader says "High Buck" or "Low Doe," and as the big hard ball is thrown up or down, see them rush up to it with uplifted clubs, and strike right and left crying "Shin on your side," and see them jump into the air to avoid a savage blow, and the ball is knocked whirling, and all rush for it, and sticks fly, and hands are hurt, and limbs are bruised, and heads are struck, and still the excited, panting players rush after the ball to gain the victory. It was exciting, it was fun, and the weak timid boy was not in it.
>
> Thirty years after I left college, I met in a distant city the old Postmaster of Trinity College, and he greeted me with the remark, "The one thing I remember about you is that I wondered every day if you wouldn't get killed in the game of bandy." I hope my Professors remember me for other reasons. However, boys, I want to say that the qualities that are required to make a great bold football or bandy player will not come amiss when you are charging down upon the difficulties of life in after years.[145]

As in earlier times at Normal, students sometimes left the College to visit relatives and friends. Apparently the practice was abused, for after 1857 Craven required that parents or guardians

[142] MS fragment among the papers of Braxton Craven, 1856-1860 (Trinity College Papers).

[143] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 184-185; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1859-1860*, pp. 8-13.

[144] Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," p. 20.

[145] Cole, *Miscellany*, p. 253.

send him a written permission if they desired their sons or wards to leave the College for these purposes.[146]

To some of the students, life at Trinity constituted their ideal of happiness. One wrote:

> The four years passed by me at Trinity College constituted my ideal of happiness. Not a cloud upon the sky, not a ripple upon the deep, not a disappointment, nor a fear, nor an anxiety. No ungratified wish, no foreboding of the future. With Watson and Debnam and Hines and Davenport and Andrews and Gravely and their voices, flutes, and violins and banjos, the campus and college hall resounded with the music and melody of "My Darling Nellie Gray," and "Lillie Dale" and "Annie Laurie" and "Kathleen Mavourneen" and "Gentle Annie" and "My Old Kentucky Home" and "The Old North State" and "S'Wanee River" and "My Old Cabin Home" and "Waterloo." And Gravely's banjo would make "Run Nigger Run" and "Old Dan Tucker" and "Stop Dat Knocking at My Door" fairly dance on the laughing strings. As the moon sailed through the heavens and the winds whispered through the trees, and the peaceful homes rested in quiet happiness, a voice floating out of the window in mournful melody would be heard: "Thou wilt come no moe, gentle Annie," and a reply upon the breeze would come "Vain were the vows that we plighted," and then a joyful cry, "Roll on, ye dark waves, I heed not your anger, Maggie's by my side." And the moon still sailed, and the breeze still whispered, and the boys dreamed.[147]

Another student in a letter to his sister was not as enthusiastic about College life:

> As you perceive I am back at old Trinity once again, having been here over two weeks, am very well and doing well though studying monstrous hard, scarcely having time to even write a letter. . . .
>
> I can't tell you about the College; for there is nothing attractive or interesting in any way connected with it. You can imagine a large brick house, situated upon a very commanding elevation, but no mountains rise up around it to give majesty and grandeur to scenery, and a great many boys continually passing to and fro in and out of this building, while here and there at different distances from this building . . . are boarding houses, in the piazzas of which crowds of students are sitting, some standing smoking pipes and cigars, talking and laughing; looking south from the college you will perhaps see a long line of them taking their evening

[146] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1857-1858*, pp. 24-25; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1860-1861*, p. 20.

[147] Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," p. 22.

walk. This is a partial account of Trinity life from morning 'til night the whole year around.[148]

The organized extracurricular activities among the students were largely the continuation of those begun at Normal. The Columbian and Hesperian literary societies expanded their activities. Their influence among the students grew, and the physical equipment of their halls increased with their enlarged membership.[149] J. R. Cole described the societies during this period:

> As I walk [in memory] among the great oaks on the north side of the College, I look up to the third story of the main college building and see the Columbian Literary Society hall where about one hundred fine boys from fifteen to thirty years of age studied oratory and senatorial dignity every Friday night; and at the other end of the College the Hesperian Literary Society told one hundred boys that they must follow the footsteps of Demosthenes and Cicero and Webster. I shut my eyes and seem to hear the exultant voices of Hoyle of Guilford, of Andrews of Georgia, Winston of Rockingham, of Weston of Hyde, of Debnam of Wake, of Granger of Goldsboro, of Watson of Virginia, and Hines of Georgia.[150]

The two societies continued their rivalry in adding books to their libraries. By 1861 each contained 2,200 volumes, which, together with the 650 in the College library, totaled 5,050 books available to the students at Trinity.[151] During this time it became customary for the senior members to present gifts to the societies. The Hesperians and Columbians continued to give medals at commencement and to take turn about in inviting distinguished men to speak. Some of the Columbians disliked their motto, and in 1857 it was changed to *Ingenium Usu Splendescit*.[152]

Sometime during this period a new organization was formed. This was the Fletcher or the Fletcheronian Society, made up of "the

[148] "Fletcher" to "Missie," Sept. 5, 1860 (Watson Collection).

[149] Minutes of the Columbian and the Hesperian literary societies, 1856-1860; Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," pp. 171 ff.

[150] Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," pp. 19-20.

[151] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1860-1861*, p. 22; letter to Enoch Faw from Braxton Craven, Dec. 24, 1860 (Private Collection). The titles of many of these books appear in the Hesperian Literary Society Librarian's Books, 1854-1860 (Treasurer's Office, Woman's College, Duke University).

[152] Diary of Enoch Faw, 1856; W. W. Flood to Enoch Faw, Jan. 31, 1857 (Private Collection); C. C. Andrews to Enoch Faw, April 10, 1857 (Private Collection); "Wilbur" [Fletcher] to "Pa" [T. J. Fletcher], April 2, 1854 (Watson Collection).

pious young men of the College" who sought to aid each other in promoting "holiness of heart and entire consecration to God." The members had special meetings at commencement, when some well-known minister preached to them.[153]

The village of Trinity continued to grow, and in 1860 Craven wrote "We have become a considerable village, some very good buildings."[154] All available records show that most cordial relations existed between the College and the little town. In 1858 the citizens presented a "campus" to the College. Only occasionally did the officials find it necessary to deny some boardinghouse the privilege of taking students.[155]

The village was "scattered along just one mile." Most of the houses were painted white; "the effect produced by the houses, native groves, pretty inclosures, and about the centre, the College, with a grove of oaks" was "perfectly charming."[156] A graduate of Trinity in 1861 later wrote the following description of the College and the surrounding village:

> Through the years and tears and memory, I turn back and gaze once more on that picture of 1857 to 1861. Again I see the quiet village, the parallelogram campus, the beautiful grove, the giant oaks, the playgrounds, the flower-beds on the campus, the college buildings, the little post-office where we received the sweet perfumed messages from lovely girls far away, the boys—the happy boys, the noble faculty. . . .
>
> The village grew, streets were laid out, new families moved in to educate their sons and to board the students, pleasant homes were located, and on the hills and streets and shady groves a fine community of good families gradually settled. Besides the faculty, there were the Leaches, Robinses, the Andrewses, the Welborns, the Alfords, the McNabs, the Browns, the Smalls, the Winslows, the Skeens, the Englishes, and many others whose names have passed from my memory.[157]

At commencements throngs of people from North Carolina and

[153] *Catalogue of Normal College, 1857-1858*, p. 26; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 24; letter to Enoch Faw from C. C. Andrews, April 10, 1857; *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Aug., 1859.

[154] *Greensborough Patriot*, July 22, 1859; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 23; *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, 1859; Braxton Craven to Enoch Faw, Dec. 24, 1860 (Private Collection).

[155] Resolutions of the Board of Trustees, Nov. 25, 1857, p. 23, Aug. 28, 1858, pp. 28-30.

[156] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, May 12, 1859.

[157] Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," pp. 19, 21.

other Southern states crowded not only the village but also High Point and other near-by towns. These came in answer to public invitations in newspapers and periodicals and private invitations, elaborately printed, decorated, and sent out by the College and its students. For weeks before the annual event both College and village bustled with activity as students prepared to pass impressive examinations and make learned speeches and as the people in the village prepared to house and feed the crowds.[158]

The commencement exercises began on Sunday and extended through Thursday. The week was opened by some minister who preached before the Fletcheronian Society at eleven o'clock on Sunday morning. On Monday night there were declamations by the freshman class, and on Tuesday night the sophomores declaimed. On Tuesday at eleven o'clock a well-known minister preached the annual sermon before the graduating class, and the alumni held their meeting and address at two o'clock in the afternoon. At ten o'clock on Wednesday morning the "Literary Address" was delivered before the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies, and that night the junior class gave their orations. The final exercises of graduation were held on Thursday, which was the most popular day of commencement week. On that day a sermon, a literary address, orations by each member of the senior class, diplomas, honors, degrees, and marks of distinction were given. This full day closed with a "commencement party" which continued far into the night.[159]

During the years from 1856 to 1861 preachers, writers, statesmen, and others appeared on the commencement programs. Among these were John A. Gilmer, Zebulon B. Vance, John W. Ellis, the Reverends Charles P. Jones, Charles F. Deems, J. W. Tucker, W. E. Pell, N. F. Reid, L. S. Burkhead, and others.[160] In 1857 the Columbian Literary Society invited Alexander H. Stephens to de-

[158] Printed programs for commencement, July 16, 1857, June 30, 1859; printed invitation to commencement, June 21, 1858; W. W. Flood to Enoch Faw, Jan. 31, 1857; C. C. Andrews to Enoch Faw, April 10, 1857; "Wilbur" [Fletcher] to "Pa" [T. J. Fletcher], April 2, 1859; *Patriot and Flag*, July 24, 1857; *Greensborough Patriot*, July 2, 1858; *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, May 12, 1859, May 29, 1860.

[159] Catalogues of Normal and Trinity colleges, 1856-1860.

[160] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, May 29, 1860; Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," pp. 21-22.

liver the literary address, but he was unable to accept. A member of the Society declared that "We are glad Stephens did not accept, as we detest everybody who fights a duel."[161] William Gilmore Simms, the second choice, did accept, and on graduation day spoke on the "Professions." He began his address by stepping upon the stage, throwing up his hands, and exclaiming "Good heavens, young gentlemen, what will become of you all?"[162] No record has been found of the rest of his address, but a reporter in the *Patriot and Flag* stated that "he fully sustained his high literary reputation," and the "whole audience appeared enchained and delighted thoughout its delivery."[163]

[161] C.C. Andrews to Enoch Faw, April 10, 1857.

[162] Cole, "Trinity College Ante Bellum," p. 21.

[163] The following is the reporter's account of commencement week, including Simms's address:

"From Thomasville we went to Normal College, being commencement week there; on Wednesday the 15th, the annual Sermon to the Senior Class was preached by Rev. C. P. Jones of the North Carolina Conference. It was a sermon of marked ability. The Rev. gentleman held up before the young men, the choice of Moses, in refusing to become the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather the afflictions of God's people. . . .

"Thursday was commencement day. The following young men were graduated. We give the names and themes of their orations.

"George Lee Hearn, of Holly Springs, Mississippi.
'Latin Oration.'

"Feliz Cicero Fraizer, of Normal College,
'Demonstration of the Age.'

"John Skidmore Midyett [*sic*], of Hyde County, N. C.
'The Immediate Future.'

"Leonard Rush Wright, Darlington, S. C.,
'The American Literary Spirit.'

"William Washington Flood, of Henry Co., Va.
'Know Thyself a Man, and be a God.'

"Each of these young gentlemen acquited [*sic*] himself in a handsome manner. We hear no better graduating speeches in any institution. We are convinced from what we witnessed, that Normal College is making rapid strides to a high position in the rank of Colleges. We heard many literary gentlemen present, express themselves as having their expectation more than realized. Normal College has not, and does not, take that rank to which she is justly entitled. Prejudices have been excited against her in certain quarters, which now, whatever may have been the case heretofore, are unfounded. Since the North Carolina Conference has taken connexion with the Institution, her prospects have brightened, and the public may rest assured, that the grade of scholarship and the internal management of the College, will merit their entire confidence. Thursday evening a party which was given in honor of the Senior Class came off, which we heard was in every way pleasant and agreeable. . . . In the afternoon of the same day, the address before the Literary Societies was delivered by W. Gilmore Simms, LL.D., of South Carolina. His theme was the 'Professions.' In this effort he fully sustained his high literary

The following selection from an account of commencement in 1858 includes one reporter's impression of the College:

We had the pleasure last week of being present and witnessing a portion of the commencement. . . . The village (be it known there has grown up quite a village . . .) was very much crowded with visitors, and a general interest manifest in the success of the new College; and thus far, we think the North Carolina Conference has cause to be proud of its connection . . . and the public every inducement to extend to it a liberal patronage. . . .

[The College] has acquired a reputation for morality which is an honor to any college. . . .

Everything seemed to pass off pleasantly greatly to the credit of the energetic and untiring President of the College, the Rev. B. Craven, and his worthy associates of the Faculty.[164]

It was during this commencement week of 1858 that the first Alumni Association was organized. Initiated by Craven, a meeting was held on June 22, 1858.[165] The following alumni were present: Lemuel Johnson, C. C. Cole, I. L. Wright, D. R. Bruton, J. S. Leach, M. L. Wood, Levi Branson, Enoch Faw, W. C. Gannon, J. F. Smoot, and J. S. Midgett. Craven explained that the object of the meeting was to form an "association of the alumni of Normal College." Lemuel Johnson was then selected president, and C. C. Cole, secretary. After a general discussion of the object of the meeting, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, that we form ourselves into an association to be called "The Alumni Association of Normal College" and to that end the president appoint a committee to draft a constitution for the government of the same.

The following committee was appointed: I. L. Wright, D. R. Bruton, and Enoch Faw. After retiring for deliberation, the committee returned with a partial report, which, "after debate, was

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reputation. The whole audience appeared enchained and delighted throughout its delivery. We hear that the sermon and address will be published" (*Patriot and Flag*, July 24, 1857).

[164] *Greensborough Patriot*, July 2, 1858.

[165] The discussion of this meeting is based on the Records of the Society of the Alumni of Trinity College, 1858-1921 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University); Diary of Marquis L. Wood, 1858. See also Nora C. Chaffin, "The Organization of the First Alumni Association," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXV (Sept., 1939), 215.

referred back for further deliberation." The meeting then adjourned to meet at "7 o'clock A.M. tomorrow."

The Association met as scheduled, and to the members of the previous day the following were added: T. S. Whittington, J. W. Payne, Alston Fuller, and G. W. Hege. The committee on the constitution "made further report," and after considerable debate, the report was again referred to the committee. "The meeting then adjourned to meet at two o'clock in the afternoon." At that time the committee made its final report, and the constitution was "unanimously adopted."

For years before the organization of the Alumni Association, some of the former students had kept in touch with each other by correspondence. This they continued to do, and each year at commencement the Association met to listen to addresses, to renew old friendships, and to learn ways of serving the College.[166]

During commencement week in 1859 a "China Missionary Meeting" was held at the College.[167] "By a strange Providence," China had been opened to "missionaries of the Cross," but no missionary from the North Carolina Conference had ever been sent there. An appeal was made for a volunteer. Bishop G. F. Pierce asked, "Who is the Man?" and Charles F. Deems echoed: "Is there among us a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, who will devote his life to this work?"[168]

Sometime in 1859 the Reverend Marquis L. Wood, a graduate of Union Institute and Normal College, volunteered to go to China. Wood, a native of Randolph County, was reared in the same section in which Craven had spent his early years. His father, a small farmer, was able to give him but few educational advantages. With the financial assistance of the Education Society of the North Carolina Conference, however, he was able to remain at Union Institute and Normal College until his graduation in 1855. Before he finished Normal, he had been licensed "as an exhorter," and already had begun to preach when he was admitted to membership in the North

[166] Correspondence of Enoch Faw, 1856-1860 (Private Collection); correspondence of Braxton Craven, 1856-1860 (Trinity College Papers); catalogues of Normal and Trinity colleges, 1856-1860.

[167] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1858-1859*, p. 24.

[168] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, 1859.

Carolina Conference in 1855. He was serving a regular circuit of the Conference when he volunteered to go as a missionary to China. Late that year he married, and on December 17, 1859, he and his bride sailed from New York for China. His ship took him by South America, and it was July 13, 1860, before he landed in China. He was to spend exciting years there before returning to his native land to serve as a trustee and president of Trinity College.[169]

The period in the history of Trinity between 1856 and 1862 has sometimes been called the "golden age" of the College.[170] Supported by Methodism in North Carolina, the College was rapidly becoming one of the better-known educational institutions in the South. In 1876 Craven summarized the growing enthusiasm for Trinity during the last few years of the period:

> These years [1859-1862] were by far the most prosperous years the College has ever had; current expenses were paid fully and promptly, oppositions had died away, agents appointed by the Conference were readily securing ample funds for elegant and commodious buildings. Some gentlemen were proposing to inaugurate a handsome endowment, and everything was favorable for a secure foundation of enduring prosperity. By the [Civil] War all was changed.[171]

[169] Diary of Marquis L. Wood, 1857-1885.

[170] Brooks, "Braxton Craven and Trinity College," p. 253.

[171] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 185. See also Nora C. Chaffin, "Trinity College during Its Golden Age," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXV (Jan., 1939), 9-10, 14.

CHAPTER V

Trinity College During The Civil War (1860-1866)

AT TRINITY both faculty and students discussed the sectional differences which led to the Civil War. Since 1840 Braxton Craven had decried the dependence of the South upon the North, and his pleas for Southern economic and intellectual development filled the columns of the *Southern Index* and *Evergreen*.[1] He wrote and worked in his native county and in a section of North Carolina where slavery had never attained a firm foothold. The owner of two slaves, he accepted slavery and made the best of the system as it existed. Most of the people of the vicinity of Trinity owned no slaves; and those who did for the most part possessed as few as Craven. Large slaveholders were a widely scattered minority in the counties of Randolph, Guilford, and Davidson. Like Craven, most of the people were loyal to the Union and disliked the idea of secession. When secession finally came, many, unlike him, declined to accept the decision and refused to support the Confederacy.[2]

At the College there were lectures on slavery and on the political, economic, and intellectual differences between the North and South. Students debated these problems in their literary societies, and their

[1] See chap. ii; Braxton Craven, Lectures, 1842-1882 (Trinity College Papers). For a keen analysis of Southern dependence, see B. B. Kendrick, "The Colonial Status of the South," *Journal of Southern History*, VIII (Jan., 1942) 3-22.

[2] Francis Grave Morris and Phyllis Mary Morris, "Economic Conditions in North Carolina about 1780," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (July, 1939), 296 ff.; U. S. Census, 1850, Schedules I-IV; Braxton Craven, Lecture on Slavery (Trinity College Papers); J. G. de R. Hamilton, *History of North Carolina* (Chicago, New York, 1919), III (*North Carolina since 1860*), 40; E. C. Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (Oct., 1917), 172, 185.

decisions by majority vote were not always consistent with marked sectional loyalty. On different occasions the societies decided that secession was impossible; but, on the other hand, they favored the seizure of Cuba and condoned the War with Mexico.[3]

In a public address on April 6, 1860, Craven commented on the conditions of "Southern Civilization," showing how the South had become subject to the North; urging the South to arouse its energies; and while adhering to his Southern viewpoint, declaring his loyalty to the Union:

> Helper's book[4] may be incendiary and full of insurrection, but it is not the only book that is undermining the foundations of Southern life and threatening us with sedition and death. With such education and development, it is not at all strange that Northern papers should be supported and Southern papers left to starve. We are told that the *Times*[5] does not equal the *Evening Post* or *Harper's Weekly*, and that the *Patriot*[6] is vastly inferior to the *Herald*. We might reply that potatoes are not so pungent as garlic, nor purple so brilliant as scarlet, but that does not prove that garlic and scarlet ought to be acceptable to anybody but Mexicans and Arabs.
>
> Then by way of general summary, we may without boasting assert that for the seat of a high and permanent civilization we [the South] have a fair geographical basis. For agricultural products we have an indiginous [*sic*] soil for everything from the buckwheat and chestnut of the mountain to the rice and orange of the coast; in minerals, we have lime and granite, sandstone and coal; in gems, we have jasper and chalcedony in Stokes [County]; agate, in Northhampton [County]; and the diamond, in the west; in timbers, we have the best, for cottage or palace, machine or ship; and we own the whole thermometer of climate from steam to snow. . . .
>
> In position we never have been free. The Revolution broke our servitude to England, but left the South subject to the North. I am for the Union against all comers now and forever, but I am also for Southern social independence. We have served our time as overseers, factors, and clerks; it is time to commence business on our own resources. . . . Shall we awake to life . . . or shall we be the mere outpost of a nation; shall we be the great capital of a kingdom of mind or shall we be the Ireland of America? . . . .[7]

[3] Braxton Craven, Lectures, 1849-1882; Minutes of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies, 1856-1866.

[4] Hinton R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South* (New York, 1859).

[5] *Times*, Greensboro, N. C.

[6] *Patriot*, Greensboro, N. C.

[7] Braxton Craven, "The Civilization of the Southern States," April 6, 1860 (Trinity College Papers).

The Academic Year 1860-1861

During the closing months of 1860 and the first four months of 1861 Craven joined with a goodly majority of citizens of North Carolina in opposing secession.[8] In a letter to Enoch Faw on December 24, 1860, he described the attitude of North Carolina, reviewed the problem of secession, and advocated "Revolution" as a final resort:

> The excitement here is moderate, very little sympathy with South Carolina. We admire [Alexander H.] Stephens of your State, and what now appears to be the intention of your people. I think secession is legally impossible, such construction is incompatible with the Constitution; but Revolution is possible, as the last resort of an injured people. We have been badly treated, but one wrong does not justify another. If the North will improve the Fugitive Slave Law, crush their personal liberty laws, and put the territories out of Congress, we would do far better to stay in the Union. If the South secedes as a whole, we shall never agree. The tariff will be an endless difficulty, the slave trade another. Again, dissolution will bring war. Certain geographical districts are best suited for nations. . . . North Carolina will not go out until a trial of Northern promise is made, but we will not bear anything more. It is not believed in this country, that Slavery is the real cause of the difficulty. South Carolina has long desired to be out, and party defeat had something to do with the matter. We care nothing for Lincoln, we fear nothing from him, but the general spirit of the North is detestable, a real Puritan fanaticism, without any sense and full of presumption. If this cannot be checked, we must leave the Union. Better dwell with anything than a fanatic. But we still hope for a compromise, a friendly settlement. The precipitancy of South Carolina has lost all her friends here. She is acting upon secession as a legal right which we deny. There is, however, a strong effort made in our Legislature for Secession, the Opposition is unanimously opposed, and the Democracy is divided on the subject; but the great Mass of people is opposed. If left to me, I should say to the North, "Without difficulty or delay, restore our fugitives, put the territories out of Congress, and stop all your anti-slavery movements, and we remain." If she said "No!" to any item, I should then say "Revolution and defiance, a new republic or nothing!"[9]

As late as the middle of March, 1861, Craven declared in his diary that there would be no war; about a month later the fighting

[8] Hamilton, *History of North Carolina since the Civil War*, pp. 1 ff.; Nora C. Chaffin, "Jonathan Worth Fought Secession," Greensboro *Daily News*, Nov. 20, 1932.

[9] Braxton Craven to Enoch Faw, Dec. 24, 1860 (Private Collection).

at Fort Sumter drove him, along with North Carolina, to the side of disunion. The opinion of the students differed little from that of Craven. In December, 1859, the Hesperian Literary Society decided that the "Harper's Ferry outbreak" would not be "detrimental to the preservation of the Union"; and in September, 1860, the Society declared that there was no "danger at present of a dissolution of the Union." Finally, on March 29, 1861, the Hesperians debated the question "Should the Southern States submit to the Lincoln administration?," which "after an eloquent and pathetic discussion was decided in the negative."[10]

In December, 1860, Craven wrote Enoch Faw: "Our last term was the best we ever had, but I fear the present crisis will injure us. Many of our boys from the South will not return."[11] Craven had a common-sense presentiment of what was ahead for the College, but he could not foresee the depths of distress that the war would bring to Trinity along with the rest of the South.

J. R. Cole, who graduated from Trinity in 1861, later wrote how he received the first news of the outbreak of war:

> But our dreams of peace, and love, and learning, and ambition were destined to a sudden and fearful interruption. . . . While walking peacefully to the postoffice with my student gown wrapped around me one April afternoon in 1861, the old mail coach of Ren Frazier was seen rolling rapidly down the road, and in a few minutes I had in my hands a little note that read as follows: "You are ordered to report to your company for duty immediately." That was not a love letter, but it looked innocent enough—yet it was a command to drop my books, leave my college friends, change my course, and enter into a war of unprecedented horror and bloodshed. Dr. Craven advised me earnestly not to go, that all the plans I had ever formed would be overturned, and nothing would be as I wished, that the war would be no child's play, but a long and desperate struggle. I replied that I believed as he did, that I did not want to leave college, that I did not see any necessity for war, but I belonged to the Military Company at my home in Greensboro, "The Guilford Grays," had enjoyed with it the pleasures of peace and social companionship; and I must share the fate of the company, whatsoever that might be. It was a sudden shock, but there was but one thing to do—stand it.

[10] Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," p. 170; Hamilton, *History of North Carolina since the Civil War*, pp. 3 ff.; Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, Dec. 2, 1859, Sept. 14, 1860, March 29, 1861.

[11] Dec. 24, 1860.

Jno. McKnight was a student at the College, and also a member of the Guilford Grays; he hastened to my room and I said, "What are you going to do, John?" He replied, "Whatever you do." I said, "I am going." He replied "Then I'll go too. . . ." Two hours after receiving the order, we were on our way to our company, and the war.[12]

December, 1860, and the first months of 1861 presaged the happenings of the next four years at the College. Before the close of the school year 1860-1861, about forty students had volunteered, and the remainder planned to follow their example or talked of not returning to school the next year.[13] In his report to the trustees in June, 1861, Craven described the conditions at the College:

The collegiate year now closing has been characterized by a great variety of unusual developments. The political excitement of the times has affected us in a great variety of modes and necessitated the adoption of unusual expedients. But the College has continued steadily and through all; no class has disbanded, and no exercise in the usual routine has been suspended. The students have enjoyed unusually good health. We have no case of sickness, except a young man who lived near this place. The deportment has been remarkably good, and the attention to study during the first part of the year was all that could be desired; since March however, the excitement in politics has had a very injurious influence upon collegiate application.[14]

The number of matriculations during the year had reached two hundred and fifteen; with one exception, this was the highest number the institution had ever attained. Craven expressed the opinion that this number would have grown to "two hundred and fifty, if the conditions of the country had continued as at the time the term commenced."

"Total disruption of the College, which seemed inevitable," was avoided by one of the "unusual expedients" mentioned in Craven's report to the trustees. He organized a company among the young men and gave it the name of "Trinity Guard." He also organized a military department and planned a "military school" for the vacation period. In June, 1861, Craven asked the trustees

[12] Cole, *Miscellany*, pp. 254-255.

[13] Braxton Craven to Enoch Faw, Dec. 24, 1860; Report of the President of the Faculty to the Board of Trustees for the Year Ending June 20, 1861 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

[14] Report of the President of the Faculty to the Board of Trustees, June 20, 1861.

to approve his actions and to provide for more effective military training: "to retain the same mode of government as at present, but to have an efficient, well-organized department as an extra in cost to be open to all who may wish to join."[15]

The Trinity Guard, organized in May, the same month in which the ordinance of secession was passed by the North Carolina Convention, included students in school, former students, and members of the faculty. The officers were B. Craven, captain; A. Townsend, first lieutenant, and L. W. Andrews, third lieutenant.[16] Fletcher Watson, a senior at Trinity, wrote to his father advising that his younger brother at Trinity be forbidden "to join any company yet—he is . . . entirely too young." In the same letter, Watson announced that he had joined the Trinity Guard:

> Perhaps you may think me as acting premature in joining a company composed of students entirely. I will give my reasons and the conditions under which I joined. In the first place, I know if the war continues any length of time I should certainly have to go; and it would be very necessary for me to be drilled beforehand as much as possible. Again, this drilling takes away none of my attention from my books besides being a splendid exercise; again, it was understood that the company should not be called out unless at an actual invasion of this State by the enemy—and every member should be considered withdrawn after commencement. Consequently, there is very little chance of its being called out and shall be released after commencement. Upon these conditions and reasons I have joined. I do not think under the circumstances that you yourself would have objected. I am endeavoring to study as hard as ever and to make as close application as possible. We shall have nothing like as good commencement this year in any respect as heretofore—good many of the students have left. I shall certainly hold on and graduate if I can.[17]

Although the regular routine was somewhat disrupted, the College observed commencement as usual in 1861—the "last great occasion of the kind for many years." Some of the seniors who had gone home to join military companies returned in time to take their examinations and receive their diplomas.[18] Crowds of people heard

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] F[letcher] B. W[atson] to "Pa" [T. J. Watson], May 7, 1861 (Watson Collection); Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," p. 172; Braxton Craven to Governor Henry T. Clark, Aug. 5, 1861 (Governors' Papers).

[17] F[letcher] B. W[atson] to "Pa" [T. J. Watson], May 7, 1861 (Watson Collection).

[18] Cole, *Miscellany*, pp. 259-260.

the usual speeches, witnessed the conferring of honors, and mingled with the governor of the state, judges, and other distinguished men. Eighteen young men, including Fletcher Watson, received their diplomas. J. R. Cole returned to Trinity for his degree, and later described himself and his impressions on that occasion:

> When my name was called and I stepped forth on the stage of the college chapel dressed in the most fashionable and fastidious manner that all the tailors of the State could suggest, and bowed profoundly to the president and faculty, to the governor and judges and other distinguished guests on the stage, and then turned to the great audience of beautiful women and brave men—it was the happiest and proudest day of my life. . . . And when my oration was delivered, and the governor . . . had presented me my diploma, and the faculty had conferred upon me the degree of A.B. with the first honors of the college, and the Columbian Literary Society had presented me this beautiful gold medal . . . and Old Hundred on a thousand voices swelled with the music of "Praise God from whom all Blessings Flow" my heart beat with joy. . . . All my classmates were happy and triumphant, too, and Professor Gannaway, our noble professor of Greek, invited the whole class to a great dinner and had distinguished guests to meet us. Thus I closed my college career.[19]

The Academic Year 1861-1862

After commencement, most of the Trinity Guard remained during the succeeding vacation to study in the military school. Organized under a constitution, the Guard "made considerable outlay" of its own money in order to be well equipped and "thoroughly efficient" before August 5, 1861, when it applied to Governor Henry T. Clark for commissions.[20]

Meanwhile the Guard aided in quieting local disturbances. Some people in Randolph, Guilford, and Davidson counties actively resisted secession and the military requirements of the Confederacy. During the summer of 1861 the Guard "very promptly responded to the call of Davidson [County] for help." Craven wrote to Governor Clark: "In two hours after receiving the notice we were on our way." He stationed a guard at Thomasville, "where the people were much alarmed, and with the remainder of the company marched through the county . . . and visited all the houses." After this excursion

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[20] Braxton Craven to Governor Henry T. Clark, Aug. 5, 1861 (Governors' Papers).

Craven assured Governor Clark that the county would be "perfectly quiet," but he informed him that there was "need of a company in the lower part of this county [Randolph] and Montgomery" and stated that the Trinity Guard would be ready for duty as soon as it was commissioned. At the same time Craven informed the Governor that a movement had begun in his section to raise a regiment of state troops, "provided I will agree to be colonel"; and, "from the present appearance, the regiment could be raised in a short time."[21]

Late in 1861 Governor Clark gave the Trinity Guard a special assignment at Salisbury, North Carolina. The necessity for establishing a Confederate prison in North Carolina to confine the overflow of Federal prisoners from Richmond and Raleigh and to incarcerate disloyal citizens had resulted in purchasing a site and preparing a prison in Salisbury. The Governor had experienced difficulty in finding a location, since many citizens disliked having a prison near their homes, farms, and businesses. Moreover, Clark found that North Carolinians refused to volunteer for the specific service of caring for prisoners because they considered that service degrading. On November 4, 1861, he wrote the Secretary of War that he would have trouble finding a temporary guard until he could "enlist one or more companies . . . for 'local defense and special.' " The day after he wrote this letter he wrote to Craven offering him the command of the post.[22]

Craven answered on November 7, 1861, that he would consult his men and notify the Governor immediately. Two days later the Trinity Guard decided to accept Clark's offer. Craven wrote the decision to the Governor, stated his ability to keep his position at Trinity and at the same time accept the post at Salisbury, included an outline of the conditions of service prescribed for his company,

[21] Braxton Craven to Governor Henry T. Clark, Aug. 5, 1861, and I. L. Wright to Governor Henry T. Clark, March 10, 1862 (Governors' Papers). See also Wilson and Petty, *Archdale*.

[22] Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," pp. 173-175; W. B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons* (Columbus, 1930), pp. 55-56; Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65. Written by Members of the Respective Commands* (Raleigh, 1901), IV, 745 ff.; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1898), Series 2, III, 680-681, 695-696, 699, 734, 736-738 (hereinafter referred to as *Official Records*).

described the equipment of the Guard, and asked for further supplies and instructions.[23]

No record has been found giving the exact date of the commission and arrival of the Trinity Guard at Salisbury,[24] yet they had arrived and were quartered at the garrison before the coming of the first consignment of prisoners on December 9, 1861. On that date 120 were brought by train and housed in a large brick building. The next group of prisoners, 176 in number, arrived on December 26. The coming of these prisoners caused "considerable excitement" in Salisbury, where few citizens had even seen a "live Yankee soldier."[25]

During the first weeks in the Salisbury Prison, the inmates experienced as "few discomforts and privations as regular prisoners of War were ever required to bear. . . ." Some were allowed "to parole the town," and "they strolled carelessly and cheerfuly [*sic*] through the grounds, laughed and chatted in their warm quarters, tattooed their arms with the 'Stars and Stripes,' [and] whittled on fancy toys and Yankee notions. . . ." Captain Craven appeared to fit well into this picture: "When the commandant went in amongst them, his language, his tone, the attention and respect, the quiet discipline and genial humor reminded one rather more of a pleasant scene in a college chapel than a rigid confinement in a prison."[26]

Besides caring for their needs, Craven encouraged recreational activities among the prisoners. Baseball, which was just coming into vogue in other sections of the country, was played on the prison grounds. Craven's kindly treatment bore fruit two years later when some of his former charges stationed in Raleigh presented him with a horse and "shin-plasters"—paper money in small denominations.[27]

[23] Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," pp. 175-176.

[24] In reply to an inquiry by Professor Jerome Dowd, the Secretary of War wrote: "The Confederate Archives on file in this office show that Captain B. Craven was in command of the post at Salisbury, N. C., December 20, 1861, and that he was relieved by Captain A. C. Godwin between January 7 and 11, 1862. Neither the exact date of his appointment nor the date he was relieved has been found on record." See Jerome Dowd, *The Life of Braxton Craven: A Biographical Approach to Social Science* (Durham, 1939), p. 94.

[25] A. W. Mangum, *History of the Salisbury, N. C., Confederate Prison (Publications* of the Southern History Association, Vol. III, No. 4, Oct., 1899), pp. 307 ff.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*; Dowd, *The Life of Braxton Craven: A Biographical Approach to Social Science*, pp. 95-97.

Meanwhile a question had arisen relative to the seat of final jurisdiction over the prison command: did it lie with the state or with the Confederate Government? On December 20, 1861, Craven wrote to the Secretary of War asking for a ruling on this question. Four days later a letter from the Secretary made it plain that Craven's command was temporary and that the Trinity Guard must soon enter the service of the Confederate States. Although the company had enlisted for home service only, it was evident that the Secretary of War was required to place them in the regular army. On December 30, 1861, Craven wrote to Governor Clark and laid the matter before him, at the same time submitting plans and recommendations for the prison.[28]

The problem was further complicated by a contest for the command at Salisbury. It appeared that Captain A. C. Godwin, of Norfolk County, Virginia, was about to replace Craven. Wishing to retain his post, Craven again wrote to Clark. The intrigue ended on January 11, 1862, when Major George C. Gibbs, of Florida, was ordered to Salisbury to take command.[29] Craven had been in charge of the prison about a month when he was relieved of his command, and he and the Trinity Guard returned to the College. The Confederate Government seemed determined to muster the company into the regular service, and on January 22, 1862, once more Craven appealed to the Governor:

> I have just heard that Adjutant General Martin has ordered the Trinity Guard to be mustered into the Confederate service for three years, or the war. In reference to this I have to say
>
> 1. You told me on the 6th day of January that I might say to the Guard, that if the troops at Salisbury were to be Confederate troops, the Trinity Guard might have the privilege of reenlisting which of course meant saying who would and who would not stay. I told this to the men.
>
> 2. Your original letter to me about going to Salisbury, said the Troops were to be State Troops; nothing said about Confederate Troops—that I might take the Guard, or reenlist them, or raise a new company. I took the Guard supposing by plain construction of your letter, that the Guard would remain as it has been, that going to Salisbury would in no way change it, that it would stay there for a time and then return to

[28] *Official Records*, Ser. 2, III, 758, 760, 770; Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," pp. 179-181.

[29] *Ibid.*

Trinity or go at any time to quell insurrection or sedition. All this is fair and honorable, and certainly the Governor of North Carolina will not require any thing that is not fair. The Trinity Guard have been at much expense of time and money, and have faithfully discharged their obligations. Without much complaint they have endured hard usage and insult at Salisbury, and now we appeal to the justice and generosity of the Commander in Chief to allow the things granted by promise and enlistment.[30]

The question remained closed for a few weeks, but the new draft laws of 1862 threatened the students. In great concern, on February 24 Craven wrote to Governor Clark for information and at the same time made an appeal for both colleges and students:

Will students have to stand the draft? I hope not. It is all that can be done to sustain our colleges at all, and I hope the few who will go to school will be allowed to remain. We have about 20 that would be subject to draft. It was rumored here yesterday that students would be drafted, and nearly all would have left this morning, if I had not persuaded them to remain till I could hear from you. I hope you will allow the students to be exempted, otherwise we shall inevitably be broken, which you do not desire. I hope you will favor me with an early answer.[31]

Clark's answer the next day made it clear that students were subject to the draft, but expressed regret at the necessity.[32] About two months later, the Confederate Congress enacted the conscription law which called all male citizens between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five to the Army for the duration of the war. The following day Craven wrote to Clark to ask if the law would apply immediately in North Carolina and if students over eighteen were to be drafted; at the same time he placed his services at the disposal of the Governor.[33] No answer has been found from Clark, and no record has been discovered showing that Craven held any other military post during the Civil War. So long as he remained at Trinity, however, he and his

[30] Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," p. 182.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[32] His letter follows: "In reply to your inquiry about the liability of students of colleges to be drafted—it was decided in the case of Chapel Hill, that students could only be drafted in the county and regiment where they lived. Consequently only those students who are citizens of Randolph can be drafted in your College. I regret the necessity for any draft, but the necessity of the country, now, can respect neither individuals nor institutions" (Governors' Papers).

[33] Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," pp. 184-185.

faculty aided in quelling disturbances in Randolph, Guilford, and Davidson counties.[34]

Craven's military activities were only a part of his duties during the year 1861-1862. Struggling to continue the regular college routine, he found his efforts thwarted by the conditions of war. In 1861 he confided in his diary: "A hard life it is in every sense. No wonder so very few colleges live."[35]

There were few recorded changes in the regular outline of courses offered at Trinity. One innovation, however, was the introduction of physical education. The college catalogue had announced in 1860-1861 that "arrangements will be completed for regular, systematic, physical training, securing health, development, and all proper manly accomplishments."[36] In his report to the trustees in June, 1861, Craven had pointed out that these exercises had been carried on during the year by the sophomore, junior, and senior classes "with marked advantage and no little popularity." He recommended the erection of a suitable building "for gymnastic exercises" at an estimated cost of $600. No final action was taken at this time, but the next year, 1862, the entire building program of the College was indefinitely suspended.[37]

This was caused by drastic reduction in the income of the College. In 1860 the salaries of the professors were set at $1,000 each, while Craven was to receive $1,500; but in June, 1861, the professors had received only one third of this amount. For the year 1861-1862 the salaries were set at the same sum; however, the president was empowered to make such arrangements with the professors as would not "pecuniarily involve the board." This was done by an agreement with the faculty to take as their salaries "whatever might be made," and this policy was continued throughout the period of the Civil War. It goes without saying that the faculty received very little pay.[38]

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[36] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1860-1861*, p. 20.

[37] Reports of the President of the Faculty to the Board of Trustees, June 20, 1861, June 17, 1862 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University); Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 4 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University).

[38] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 16; Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 17, 1862.

Although several thousand dollars had been subscribed for endowment, buildings, and other purposes, in 1861 only a few hundred had actually been collected.[39] For the years 1861 to 1865 no record of the payment of pledges has been found.

Craven had learned by experience to keep the expenditures of the College equal to its income. Although he was almost entirely dependent upon fees of students for this income and although during the year 1861-1862 the number of students had dropped from 212 of the previous year to 82, he reported to the trustees in June, 1862, that with the exception of the interest due on the debt to the Literary Fund, "the College is in a better condition than it was at last commencement." In regard to the six-hundred-dollar interest due on the old debt to the Literary Fund, Craven told the trustees that he was uncertain about the advisability of making an "extra effort . . . to pay this." Perhaps his attitude was caused by the reduced income of the College as well as the fluctuation in value of Confederate currency. Whatever decision was made by the board, the bond shows that the interest was finally paid by Craven.[40]

Even with the excitement of war and the rapid decline in the number of matriculates, in 1862 life among the students followed sketchily the pattern of previous years. The Columbian and Hesperian literary societies met as usual; and in 1861 they planned to add books to their libraries, buy new furniture, subscribe to more magazines, and begin the publication of a literary periodical to be called the *Trinity College Magazine*. Few of these plans were carried out because of greatly reduced treasuries.[41]

In 1861 the Columbians raised sufficient funds to purchase portraits of Jefferson Davis and P. G. T. Beauregard, "the two brightest lights of the Southern Confederacy." These portraits probably were designed to fill spaces left vacant on the walls by the removal of the pictures of Winfield Scott and Lewis Cass. In 1860 the Society had solemnly voted to remove these pictures from their hall and "consign them to the flames." A year later Cass's name, together with that of Millard Fillmore, was stricken from the list of honorary

[39] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 4.

[40] Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees, June 17, 1862; Normal College Bond to Literary Fund, $10,000, March 4, 1854.

[41] Minutes of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies, 1860-1866.

members. The Columbians showed their loyalty further by inviting Jefferson Davis to become an honorary member, and on September 20, 1861, their corresponding secretary proudly read a letter of acceptance from the President of the Confederacy.[42]

With the excitement of war and the gradual relaxing of social restrictions, there was a noticeable lessening of the rigid tone of the College. The great need for students, however, did not prevent Craven from meting out punishment when the occasion demanded. In his diary for April 8, 1861, he recorded: "Had to suspend six boys for drinking liquor."[43] This punishment was not so severe as it had been previously when a student was expelled for the first offense against the college law that forbade the drinking of all "spirituous liquors."

Commencement was held as usual in 1862; and although the occasion was not so elaborate as those of other years, it was given almost as much attention. Eight students received the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and four "irregular graduates" of the class of 1859, the degree of Master of Arts.[44] A part of the commencement program was the following song, "respectfully dedicated to Mr. C. C.":

The Southern Star
(Air: "Old North State")

To the land of our fathers all mangled and gory
Give a pledge and a shout as the gleam of their glory
Lift her banner on high in the breeze of the morning,
To the nations a sign and to Tyrants a warning!

Chorus

Hurrah! Hurrah! The bright Southland forever!
Hurrah! Hurrah! The bright Southern Star!

Though she is trampled and pillaged all around on her border,
And her fields and her towns and works in disorder;
Yet her sons are in armor, her fury awaking;
And her slumbering wrath against the Yankees is breaking.

Let old England neglect her and France study caution
And still give her no aid on the land or the ocean;

[42] Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society, 1860-1866, pp. 77, 89, 91, 93.
[43] Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," p. 171.
[44] Braxton Craven, Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1866 (Trinity College Papers); *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1860-1861*, pp. 8-9.

All round in a circle of fire and of slaughter,
She will crush the proud foe on the land and the water.

With an army so brave and a people united,
With her freedom assailed and her wrong to be righted,
With a daring that never can fail to deliver,
She will ransom herself from the Tyrant forever.

When the father is falling and the lover is dying,
When the home is forsaken and the orphan is crying,
The first faith of her matrons no wars can dissever;
And her Wardens are true, God bless them forever!

Then a cheer for the Southland, the gem of all nations!
And a smile to matrons, her heroes, and maidens!
Let her standard float gaily, her foes be confounded,
And a pean [*sic*] of victory of freemen be sounded![45]

The trustees of Trinity met during commencement, and Craven made his annual report. It was a simple outline of the main activities of the College during the year. For the future conduct of the College, Craven recommended that "the College continue as during the past year, viz., to be conducted as circumstances may demand."[46] Accepted, this policy was continued throughout the period of the Civil War.

Even with his pressing military and college duties, Craven found the time to join other educational leaders in North Carolina in their efforts to provide for the needs of the public schools. At the call of Calvin H. Wiley, Superintendent of Common Schools, representatives of colleges and preparatory schools met in Raleigh on July 9, 1861. Their immediate object was the formulation of plans for the preparation and publication of textbooks for Southern schools. A committee, appointed to study the subject, recommended "the preparation and publication of suitable textbooks by southern men"; it also reported that some books were already in preparation and some were almost ready for the press. The conference decided to appoint a "committee of twelve," with Calvin H. Wiley as chairman and Craven one of the members, to prepare "An Address to the People of North Carolina." The address declared that the unsuspect-

[45] "The Bright Southern Stars," by "A Friend." Sung at Commencement, June 20, 1862 (Trinity College Papers).

[46] Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees, June 17, 1862.

ing South, depending upon the justice of the North, had concentrated its efforts on the production of raw materials and had left commerce and manufacturing to the people of the North. As a result, great business centers had grown up in the North. Newspapers, periodicals, and books that created world opinion about the Union were published there, as well as schoolbooks written by Northern authors for use in Southern schools. In this way, the world had been led to form unjust opinions in regard to the society of the slaveholding states; moreover, these publications led people to think that the Southern states were "inferior in moral and intellectual resources, and necessarily dependent upon other communities for teachers, for literature, for thought, and for mental and religious light." The committee then declared that the time had now arrived when the South must strive for intellectual as well as political independence; Southern people must think for themselves and be aided and guided by Southern newspapers and periodicals edited and published by Southern men. As a means of fostering Southern intellectual independence, North Carolina was urged to take the lead in encouraging the printing of schoolbooks by Southern writers.[47]

This address had its effect. Within a year textbooks with a distinct Southern bias were being printed in North Carolina. Craven gave his active support to this movement by preparing a revised edition of a well-known English grammar, *An Analytical and Practical Grammar of the English Language*, by the Reverend P. Bullion.[48]

The Academic Year 1862-1863

The pressure of war caused more hardship at the College during the year 1862-1863. The number of students "was smaller than at any other time since the college was chartered." Sixty-five, mostly in the preparatory department, entered; and there were "about forty" by the end of the school year—June 17, 1863. "Still there were some members in all classes; the whole routine with a full faculty was continued; and all had regular commencement exercises. . . ." The College was conducted as in previous years, and salaries were prorated on fees from students.[49]

[47] Noble, *Public Schools of North Carolina*, pp. 234-237.

[48] Rev. P. Bullion, *An Analytical and Practical Grammar of the English Language*, revised by Rev. Braxton Craven (Raleigh, 1864).

[49] Braxton Craven, Report from Trinity College, Dec. 2, 1863 (Trinity Col-

The decline in the number of students resulted in the weakening of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies. The Hesperians decided that the scarcity of members justified the disbanding of their organization; but "by order of Dr. Craven" they reorganized, elected new officers, and continued their activities.[50] The Columbians did not attempt to disband and on two occasions passed resolutions of sympathy on the death of members: one, John W. Lee, "was killed on the bloody plains of Chancellorsville"; the other, W. R. Robbins, died of wounds received in the same battle. The Columbians continued to elect distinguished men to honorary membership.[51]

In April, 1863, the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* wrote an editorial on the educational efforts at Trinity:

> This institution like all the male colleges of the country, has suffered severely by the war. Most of its students are in the army doing battle for their country. Yet we are pleased to say its halls are still kept open, though the number of its students is small compared with its former numbers. The President, Dr. Craven, is doing his utmost to make it an efficient institution in the work of education. The pupils are doing well, deriving much benefit from the facilities afforded them for improvement.[52]

Two months later the College held its annual commencement. The students performed their parts well, and the Reverend L. S. Burkhead "delivered the annual sermon to a large and interested audience." "The Senior Class having been reduced by war, there was but one graduate." At the same time the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon eight alumni.[53]

During this commencement in June, 1863, the trustees met and, regardless of the discouragements of the year, took decisive action on important matters. The various educational exercises of the College were to be continued and "the Professorships kept up." Plans were made for the immediate payment of the old debt to the Literary

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lege Papers); Report of the President of Trinity College for the Collegiate Year Ending June 17, 1863; *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, July 8, 1863; E. C. Brooks, "The Re-opening of Trinity College after the War," *Trinity Alumni Register*, II (Oct., 1916), 247.

[50] Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1854-1866, p. 34.

[51] Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society, 1860-1870, pp. 173, 177.

[52] April 16, 1863.

[53] *Ibid.*, July 8, 1863; Braxton Craven, Report on the Condition of Trinity College, 1866.

Fund, and tuition was raised 50 per cent. Because of the inflated currency, the trustees were uncertain whether or not it was the "proper time to ask for an agent to complete the $50,000 proposition," and "that subject was respectfully referred to the North Carolina Conference."[54]

After commenting favorably upon these actions of the trustees, the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* urged parents to send their children to school: "Parents ought not to need reminding, that however necessary it may be for the older boys to enter the army, the younger ones should be kept steadily at school. Never was this more needful than at present. We trust that Trinity College will be well filled next session."[55]

On July 7, 1863, Craven advertised the date of the opening of the new term and listed the new schedule of fees at the College:

The next term will commence August 12th

Board per month about	$25.00
Tuition per session	37.00
Preparatory per session	15.00 to 27.00[56]

In less than a month after Craven had set these prices, the advance in cost of living forced him to raise the price set for board: "Board for the next term will be from $35 to $40 per month. The advance in the price of provisions renders this increase necessary. . . ."[57]

The Academic Year 1863-1864

There was considerable optimism among friends of Trinity when the College opened in August, 1863, but it appeared to be short-lived.[58] In his report to the North Carolina Conference the following December, Craven described discouraging conditions. There were eighty-five students in school, but applications had been received from over two hundred. So many of the boardinghouses had "been taken by refugees" and so difficult was it "to obtain provisions" that the College was restricted in accepting students. By January 1, however, Craven declared that "our boarding accommodations will

[54] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, July 8, 1863; Trustees Book, No. 12, p. 23; B. Craven, Report from Trinity College, Dec. 2, 1863.
[55] July 8, 1863.
[56] *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1863.
[57] *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1863.
[58] *Ibid.*

be so enlarged, that a much larger number can be accommodated." He said that "order and attention to studies though not so good as in former years," were "better than was anticipated"; and there was "no apparent reason why the College should not successfully continue during the War." He reminded the Conference that "arrangements were made, at the commencement of our political difficulties, to make the income of the College meet all the current expenses." For that reason Trinity had "incurred no new liability, while no moneys from without" had been appropriated.[59]

It was during the meeting of this annual Conference that an attack was made upon Trinity and its president. Trouble had been simmering since the adoption of the College, but it rarely expressed itself publicly until about 1862. During the early part of that year the Reverend Robert S. Moran, a former local elder of the Genesee Conference, New York, but in 1862 a member of the North Carolina Conference, threatened to "bring charges" against Craven "in the church." Craven was ignorant of both the intention and subject of the charges until a friend informed him by letter on May 7, 1862. On the same day that he received this letter Craven wrote to Moran asking him to explain his accusations and pleading that any differences be settled "in the spirit of the Gospel" and as "a Christian Minister":

> I received a letter this morning with the following sentence "I learned two days ago that Moran will bring charges against you in the Church." I cannot think this is true. I do not fear charges from any source, but I should regret to have this Conference in continued trouble. If you have any grievances or other matter against me; state them to me frankly as a Christian gentlemen, and I will as frankly explain or acknowledge as the case may be. I have not the most remote idea what you can possibly have against me. Writing this letter under the circumstances, is somewhat unusual perhaps, but I prefer the direct Christian course; I ask in the spirit of the Gospel and as a Christian minister that if in aught I have offended, or in any way committed a seeming wrong, that you state the matter to me plainly and specifically, and I pledge you I will answer without equivocation or evasion. I take this course, not that I really believe you or any other man intend to bring charges, but because I suppose there must be some complaint as offence as a basis for the sentence I received, and want in all things to conform to Mat. 5:23 and Mat. 18: 15-17.[60]

[59] Braxton Craven, Report from Trinity College, Dec. 2, 1863.

[60] Braxton Craven to "Bro. Moran," May 7, 1862 (Trinity College Papers).

No answer has been found to this letter. The minutes of the North Carolina Conference record no formal charges against Craven, but there are indications of bitter controversy among the ministers over the support of Trinity and the administration of the College.

Shortly after Moran came to North Carolina in 1857, he apparently developed a personal dislike for Craven and an ardent admiration for Charles F. Deems. Perhaps he wanted to see Deems become president of Trinity and may have worked to that end. In 1857, when the Conference voted to support Normal as its official college in preference to Randolph-Macon, Moran was excused from voting. At this same Conference he was elected one of the trustees of Olin High School, a rival of Normal.[61]

In 1854 Deems had resigned the presidency of Greensboro Female College and had entered the regular pastorate of the North Carolina Conference. He had served charges in Goldsboro, Wilmington, the Wilmington District, and the New Bern District. During this time he had become one of the most popular and influential ministers in the Conference. He was interested in every matter of Methodist concern, and he was especially active at the annual conferences, where he frequently proved his skill and agility as a parliamentarian. In the early 1860's he became a close friend of the Reverend Robert S. Moran, the outspoken critic of Trinity and of its president.[62]

After Craven became aware of Moran's animosity early in 1862, there are indications of growing bitterness in the Conference as the ministers rallied to the support of either Moran or Craven. The feeling came to a head at the meeting of the Conference in 1863. It appears that Craven and his administration of the College were criticized on the following points:

(1) Since the securities to the debt of the College held a mortgage on the property, the Conference did not have a complete and unclouded title to the property of Trinity.

(2) It had been agreed at the time of the transfer of the College

[61] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," pp. 310, 316; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, Dec. 1, 1857.

[62] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," pp. 309-310, 316; Braxton Craven to "Bro. Moran," May 7, 1862; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1854-1866.

to the Conference that the mortgage would be paid, and this had not been done.

(3) Pledges made for the purpose of liquidating the debt had not been collected.

(4) Contributors claimed that the College was under obligation to erect new buildings; and since these had not been constructed, they were not morally bound to pay their pledges.

(5) Since Craven, by the provisions of the old deed to the property of the College, was to remain president until the financial obligations had been removed, he had not been sufficiently active in collecting pledges and clearing the title for the Conference.[63]

To clear up these points and to meet the criticism of his administration, Craven presented to the Conference a detailed explanation. After reviewing the history of the adoption of Trinity by the Conference, he pointed out that, according to the best legal opinion, the title to the property of the College was unclouded; submitted data showing what had been done toward collecting pledges to the College; and explained that the debt had been incurred under proper guarantees of payment. He then declared:

> This is a fair statement of the College operations and in all these times no charge of fault or deception was ever made. . . . Errors have doubtless been committed and unwise policies adopted, but the whole course of action of every Trustee and of the Conference, manifestly exhibits frank, fair, upright intention, with a desire to promote the interest of the College and the cause of Christian culture by all laudable and proper means.[64]

This statement did not satisfy Craven's enemies; and when the Conference failed to repudiate his management of the College, they planned another line of attack. They persuaded the Conference to adopt Olin High School and to provide that it be gradually converted into the only college for men supported by the North Carolina Conference.[65] Although the friends of Trinity rushed to the rescue of the College by stopping active help of the Conference for all its "Male Colleges," Craven was crushed by the criticism that had been

[63] Brooks, "The Re-opening of Trinity College after the War," pp. 248-251.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[65] *Ibid.*; *Official Records*, III, 267-268; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, Dec. 6, 7, 1863.

heaped upon him and Trinity and by the failure of the Conference to remain loyal to the College. Almost a month before this meeting, he had sent his resignation to the president of the Board of Trustees:

Trinity College
Nov. 17, 1863.

Rev. N. H. D. Wilson
President of the Board of Trustees of Trinity College

I hereby resign the presidency of Trinity College to take effect from and after the first day of January, 1864. I doubt not the Trustees will be able to find a proper man to fill the place, and I assure you Trinity shall ever have my most zealous efforts to aid in her prosperity.

Very Respectfully
B. Craven[66]

On the same day that Olin High School was adopted by the Conference, Craven was appointed pastor at "Raleigh Station." So painful had been the attacks on him that, on his resignation in 1863, he determined to end for all time his position as president of the College. The students at Trinity expressed their regret at the loss of their president, and the day after Craven entered the regular pastorate of the Methodist Church, the Columbian Literary Society voted to "return heartfelt thanks to Dr. Craven for his alacrity and ability with which he has discharged his duties as President of this institution."[67]

The resignation of Craven did not silence the discussion about "Olin College" and Trinity. Newspapers and periodicals took up the affair, and rumors spread in North Carolina and Virginia. The *North Carolina Christian Advocate* undertook to answer some of them:

"A correspondent of the Petersburg *Express* says that Trinity College, the Methodist institution for North Carolina, always third or fourth rate, is to be sold, and Olin College, is to be built up in its stead. Rev. S. M. Frost will be President."

We clip the above from the *Biblical Recorder* in order to correct the several mis-statements contained in it.

There is no truth in the statement that Trinity College is to be sold;

[66] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 24.

[67] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, Dec. 7, 1863; Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, 1866; Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society, 1860-1870, p. 205.

nor is it true that Olin College is to be built up in its stead; nor does any one know that Rev. S. M. Frost is to be President. The exercises at Trinity College will go on without interruption. The Trustees will we presume elect Dr. Craven's successor in February next. No attempt will be made in the present exigencies of the country to organize a college at Olin; meanwhile a good classical school will be maintained there.

But why the *Recorder* should become a party in propagating an ill-natured, unkind fling at Trinity College, we will not attempt to account for. The friends of Trinity College have not claimed that it was a first class college, yet they are anxious to make it so, and it has been both to the Church and the State. Trinity College has enjoyed about the same reputation for scholarship, which has been accorded to Wake Forest College, where the editor of the *Recorder* graduated, but it has usually had two or three times as many students as Wake Forest. If the one therefore be a "third or fourth rate" College, the other we suppose would be about *ditto*.[68]

Subsequent events revealed that the Reverend S. M. Frost was chosen president of Olin. When the trustees of Trinity met in February, they selected a president, *pro tem*, for the College.

Meanwhile Trinity closed for the Christmas holidays, and it was necessary for the trustees to assure the public that Trinity would reopen at its regular time and continue its work regardless of the resignation of its president. On December 30, 1863, through the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* they announced this fact together with new prices that would prevail at Trinity during the succeeding term:

The exercises of this institution will be resumed on the 6th of January, 1864, under a competent board of professors. The resignation of the late president, Rev. Dr. Craven, will be filled at an early day.

Board $7.50 per month in provisions at old prices or $80 per month in currency.[69]

On February 3, 1864, the trustees met, investigated the College, and elected W. T. Gannaway, Professor of Latin and Greek, president pro tempore.[70] They announced their findings and election through the columns of the *North Carolina Christian Advocate:*

[68] June 6, 1864.
[69] *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1864.
[70] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1868-1879, p. 24.

The Trustees met on the 3rd ins't, and found the College doing very well. The number of students is as large as could be expected. Board is comparatively cheap, and the accommodations are as good as the times afford. It was not deemed advisable to elect a President while things continue as they are. The Faculty is sufficiently large, the Professors have had much experience, and are fully competent to manage all the departments successfully. Professor W. T. Gannaway was elected President *pro tem.*, and we feel confident the institution will be managed to the entire satisfaction of all who may give it their patronage.[71]

At this meeting of the trustees Craven was appointed "collecting agent" for the College.[72]

Gannaway entered upon his new duties in February, 1864, and the following June he described the "unfavorable circumstances" under which he began his administration:

It is scarcely necessary for me to allude to the rare combination of unfavorable circumstances under which I entered upon the discharge of my official duties. The former President had just vacated his position; heavy military levies had already deprived our Southern Colleges of most of their usual patronage, or suspended them altogether; the financial affairs of the country were very unsettled and quite uncertain; the means of subsistence remarkably scarce and commanding fabulous prices; many of our regular boarding houses entirely closed, while others were only partially and reluctantly opened; and the College and campus dormitories were without furniture, thus rendering it difficult, or next to impossible to procure, for the students, the necessary accommodations for board and lodging.[73]

Regardless of these embarrassments, the College continued its work. There were forty-six students in attendance during the term; but the operation of the new conscription law early in 1864 required "about twenty of that number . . . to go into active service." About "fifteen or twenty girls" were admitted during the term, but Gannaway failed to mention this fact in his report to the trustees, and available records do not show whether the number of students left at Trinity, after the final draft, included the young women.[74] Gannaway later described the admission of these women:

[71] Feb. 13, 1864.

[72] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 64.

[73] Report of W. T. Gannaway, President, Pro Tem, of Trinity College for the Latter Term of the Collegiate Year Ending June 9, 1864 (Trinity College Papers).

[74] *Ibid.*; Chaffin, "First Women at Trinity College," p. 81.

Girls were admitted to our classes, and our organizations and management were such as to give entire satisfaction. The arrangement proved beneficial to both sexes. Fifteen or twenty young ladies occupied my recitation room and were under my supervision and control. Their presence was like an oasis in the Sahara of War, and their instruction was an antidote for the hardness, roughness, and inhumanity of the conflict. The usual curriculum was still continued, and all of the regular classes were represented.[75]

The new president found student life disorganized:

The students of the previous session had not been subjected to the usual discipline; and habits of study had greatly deteriorated; for they, too, were affected by the excitement, the anxieties, and the passions of the war. The fall session of 1863 closed in gloom and uncertainty without promise of hopeful prospect. But on January 6, 1864, the College opened under the new regime, with a much better patronage than had been expected.[76]

Encouraged to resume their activities, the Hesperian and Columbian literary societies revived their former efforts. Regular meetings with declamations, discussion, and debates were held by the greatly reduced membership. In September, 1863, the Hesperians debated the question "Should the intervention of France and England be beneficial to the Confederate States?" and decided in the negative. On May 27, 1864, the same society elected four honorary members: Colonel David Barnes, Governor Zebulon B. Vance, Governor William B. Smith, of Virginia, and General Robert E. Lee. The minutes of the Society record two acceptances: On October 7, 1864, letters were read "from General R. E. Lee and Governor B. Smith concerning membership, both of them accepted the election." The Columbians claimed as their member the only graduate of the class of 1864.[77]

So well had student life been guided by the end of the term in June, 1864, that Gannaway noted it in his report to the trustees: "The general health of the students during the term has been very good, their attention to study and their duties in the main, regular and constant; and their morality and good order has [*sic*] been highly

[75] W. T. Gannaway, "Trinity College in War Times," *Trinity Archive*, VI (May, 1893), 324.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Minutes of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies, 1863.

commendable. Indeed the whole term has been characterized by undisturbed quiet, pleasantness, and harmony."[78]

"The usual curriculum" was continued, "and all the regular classes were represented." Besides his administrative duties, Gannaway "had charge of all the classes in Latin, Greek, and French." Professor Lemuel Johnson continued to teach mathematics; and in June, 1864, in addition to his teaching duties, the trustees appointed him librarian and treasurer of the College. Johnson thus became the first official librarian of Trinity; as such, he was to take care of the few remaining books in the College and society libraries. No book was to be removed from the libraries "except by his direction." As treasurer, he was to receive and pay out all monies, and for his services he was to receive 5 per cent of the money, or not over one hundred dollars a session for his services. Professor I. L. Wright continued to teach science and English literature; and C. C. Lanier, who had been the sole graduate of the College in 1863, had charge of the preparatory department. O. W. Carr had left the College in 1862 to join the Confederate Army. "Those were war times," Gannaway wrote later, "and one professor did as much work as two or three of our college specialists of the present day [1893]."[79]

The income of the College from January to June, 1864, was pitifully small, but no new debts were contracted and no complaints from the faculty were registered. Gannaway gave these simple facts in his report to the trustees:

> In view of the already depreciated and rapidly depreciating state of the currency, I, after some correspondence with the President of your Board, determined to make a small advance in the rates of Tuition, fixing them at $8.00 and $10.00 per month according to the classification or grade of advancement of the student. You are respectfully requested to approve this action, and to establish such rates as you may deem advisable.
>
> In reference to the limited financial affairs of the College, it is not deemed necessary to make any detailed report, further than to say, that I have contracted no debt, incurred no obligation, bought no supplies, for which I have not already paid. The College today, so far as my admin-

[78] Report of W. T. Gannaway, President, Pro Tem, of Trinity College, for the Latter Term of the Collegiate Year Ending June 9, 1864.

[79] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 27-28; Brooks, "The Reopening of Trinity College after the War," p. 254; Gannaway, "Trinity College in War Times," pp. 324-325.

istration is concerned, owes not a dollar more than when its affairs were placed in my hands.

The income of the College, which, of course, is small, is, after deducting all expenses, divided equitably among the faculty. The sums thus received are no adequate compensation for the services rendered; but in consideration of the times and the unfortunate conditions of the country, the Professors are not disposed to expect any further compensation now than their just proportion of the College income.[80]

Looking to the future, Gannaway made only one request of the board: ". . . all we ask of your hands, at present, is your favorable influence and active efforts abroad to aid us in sustaining our organization, and conducting the College safely through its present crisis." He then pointed out that the "difficulty of obtaining board" had "seriously embarrassed the operation of the present session," and suggested the advisability of passing a resolution "assuring the people of this community of your unabated interest in the prosperity of the College, and requesting them to afford the facilities in their power to secure that end. . . ." Although he had been able to keep all the regular classes in operation during the past session, Gannaway told the trustees "That it is not expected that we will be able to sustain next term all the regular classes, but the Preparatory Department may be greatly enlarged, and conducted with more than its former efficiency."[81]

At the end of the school year in June, 1864, commencement was held as in previous years. E. H. Tapscott, of Warren, Virginia, the only graduate, had "passed successfully through the regular course," and was a "good scholar, and a young gentleman of excellent character."[82] To emphasize the closing exercises of the year "in due form . . . , grand preparations were made for the occasion." All students "of both sexes" entered heartily into the work—for there was no service that we asked at their hands that they did not cheerfully perform." The campus, which had been neglected for several years, was repaired and put in order:

. . . the trees needed trimming, the walk leading southward from the college door had never been regularly laid off and properly constructed, and was badly washed. Wild bushes were springing up on every hand, and

[80] Report of W. T. Gannaway, President, Pro Tem, of Trinity College, for the Latter Term of the Collegiate Year Ending June 9, 1864.

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *Ibid.*

things generally bore the marks of neglect. A day was taken for the improvement of the lawn. The trees were trimmed, the campus shrubbed, the College scrubbed, and the students rubbed until the renovation and preparation were deemed complete.[83]

A full program for commencement was planned, and outside speakers were invited. Governor Zebulon B. Vance was asked to deliver the principal address. He "gracefully acknowledged" the honor "through his private secretary," but his "urgent duties . . . denied him the opportunity." Braxton Craven was then invited to speak; and his address "acquired new strength from the standing on his native heath."[84]

The final day of commencement was "bright and beautiful," and as Gannaway described it, was not wholly lacking in festivities:

> The community and the general public have always manifested a lively interest in Trinity commencements, and that occasion was no exception. Dressed in their best store-clothes, which had survived the wear and tear of the war, the crowd presented quite a gay and animated scene. Their kindly greetings and smiling faces dispelled, for a time, the thickening gloom of the storm of war. An army band of twenty-two pieces discoursed the music, the civil and military sweetly blending and coalescing in the thrilling strains. The public verdict on the various exercises of the day pronounced the theme a grand success. The literary part of the program being finished, the honors, lost and won, the youthful mind gladly turned to the evening of festivities to follow. They came and went. Music and mirth flowed in an eddying whirl or a steady stream till 12 o'clock at night. Then the "wild bell rang out to the wild sky," and soon the festive hall was left to silence and to darkness.[85]

This was the last commencement at Trinity College during the Civil War.

Gannaway and the other professors spent the following summer in their homes, "a privilege and a pleasure which few men of military age were permitted to enjoy. Professors of colleges were exempted from military service." They were not always free from the annoyance of recruiting officers, however; Gannaway recorded that every once in a while he was "ordered to report to Asheboro, that

[83] Gannaway, "Trinity College in War Times," pp. 326-327.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[85] *Ibid.*

both my physical and civil status might be investigated by some would-be military *satrap*."[86]

During this summer of 1864 Craven paid the debt of $10,000 that the College had owed the Literary Fund since 1854. On May 28, 1864, the Literary Board directed its secretary to notify "the obligors of the bonds" due the Literary Board that payment of any bond would be acceptable if the principal and interest were offered "in Confederate notes of the new issue on or before the 1st day of August next."[87] At the meeting of the trustees of Trinity on June 9, 1864, the board directed Craven, "the financial agent of the College, . . . to pay the debt to the State in any way he might find it practicable." Acting upon the advice of state officials, on July 30, 1864, Craven paid both the principal and the unpaid interest on the debt. According to the provisions of the Literary Board, the whole sum of $10,986 was paid in Confederate money of the issue specified by the Board. Craven paid the debt, not as the financial agent of Trinity nor as an official of the College, but as the principal security to the bond and with his own personal funds. He thus became the holder of the bond against the corporation just as it was previously held by the state, and the College was now indebted to him for the sum of $10,986.[88]

The Years 1864-1866

During the summer of 1864 Gannaway made provision for as many eventualities as he could foresee for the academic year 1864-1865. He advertised the requirements of the new session: "The next session will commence on the 7th of September next. Tuition from $8 to $10 per month, *in advance*. Board $100 per month, payable *monthly*, in advance; or, about $8 per month, if paid in provisions at peace prices. There are small extra charges for washing and room rent. Students are requested to bring all the text-books they may be able to procure."[89]

[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 327-329.

[87] Noble, *History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, pp. 246-247.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 247; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1870, p. 28; Normal College Bond to Literary Fund, $10,000, March 4, 1854; Brooks, "The Re-opening of Trinity after the War," p. 255; Braxton Craven, Report to the Board of Trustees, 1866.

[89] *Weekly Confederate*, Raleigh, N. C., Sept. 21, 1864.

When the fall session opened, the "number of students in attendance was well-sustained; the faculty remained the same, and the organization and general regulations were but slightly changed." The College and the community however, "began to realize more and more the pressure of war." The stock of textbooks "had become exhausted, and a rigid blockade cut off all outside sources of supply." The problem was somewhat relieved when "many of the students, on entering higher classes, sold their books to their successors, and that supplied much of the demand." "By correspondence, and otherwise," Gannaway canvassed the state, "and in that way procured many books from former students and private libraries."[90]

The two most serious embarrassments to the College were the scarcity of provisions and the depreciated currency. "The country was drained of its supplies to feed the soldiers, and Confederate money had so depreciated in value that it had almost lost its power of purchase." Gannaway described the difficulty of obtaining board in the village and the rapidly advancing prices:

> Board had ceased to be remunerative and was hard to get within the village. My house was taxed, in that respect, beyond its limits; for on their arrival, most of the students stopped with me 'til other arrangements might possibly be made. As money went down, the charges for board went up, finally culminating in $200 per month. Some of my boarders paid in kind;[91] some in specie, that had not seen the light for many years. Only six dollars, specie value, was charged per month for board when payment was paid *in kind*. Salt was then more desirable and harder to obtain than gold or silver, scarce as those metals were. A young man, Mr. John B. Yarborough, a crippled soldier, and a brave and noble fellow paid me for two and a half months board with seven bushels of wheat and two hundred fifty pounds of salt, which was brought all the way from the county of Rockingham to Trinity College. The following items taken from a memorandum of mine will give some idea of the prices I paid for provisions, etc., in February and March, 1864-1865:

1864.	Dec. 4.	forty-five gallons sorghum	$675.00.
1865.	Feb. 9.	One dozen chickens	50.00.
	Feb. 25.	Four dozen eggs	8.00.
	Mar. 4.	Five and one half ponds tallow candles	27.50.
	Mar. 10.	Eighteen and one half bushels of corn	647.50.

[90] Gannaway, "Trinity College in War Times," p. 328.

[91] This was not an unusual practice of the day. See Nora C. Chaffin, "School Expenses Paid in Groceries," Greensboro *Daily News*, July 24, 1932.

Mar. 27.	Two pounds soda	30.00.
Mar. 29.	Pins, four rows	4.00.
Mar. 30.	Three and one half bushels of corn	120.00.[92]

At the meeting of the North Carolina Conference in December, Gannaway reported on Trinity, and the Reverend S. M. Frost, "president of Olin High School, reported on the condition of said institution. . . ." Both of these reports were referred to the Committee on Education, but no record has been found of their contents. There is no indication of the recurrence of attacks on Craven or of the rivalry between Trinity and Olin High School.[93]

Meanwhile events were rushing to a climax both in the Confederacy and at the College. "Ten per cent of the products of the country were absorbed by commissaries to feed the army." According to Gannaway, "This government demand, which was inexorable, so reduced our food resources that I applied to President Davis for a limited exemption from paying the required tithes." Before Gannaway could receive a reply, Grant captured Richmond, and the Confederacy was rapidly "toppling to its fall." Retreating Confederate soldiers encamped upon the College grounds, and in April, 1865, excitement subsequent to the final overthrow of the Confederacy forced the suspension of college activities.[94] Gannaway later wrote a description of the events of those exciting weeks:

General [Joseph E.] Johnston's army in full retreat before General [William T.] Sherman, was moving in this direction, and in a few days the advance division, under General [W. M.] Hardee, arrived at Trinity College, and General Hardee's tent was pitched in a few yards of the college door. His officers' tents were scattered about among the trees on the north side of the college building, and the soldiers were encamped for six or eight miles along the road leading through Archdale in the direction of Freeman's Mills. Up to that time Trinity had forged ahead against wind and tide, never furled her sail till the star of the doomed Confederacy, under which she sailed, slants to rise no more. If a brave and successful struggle deserves commendation, the future chronicles of the college should emphasize this chapter of its history. The presence of the soldiers, the excitement of the students, the anxiety and consternation of the people, rendered further college exercises useless, if not impossible. It was determined to close till the storm should pass, peace be made, and civil

[92] Gannaway, "Trinity College in War Times," pp. 325-328.
[93] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1864.
[94] Gannaway, "Trinity College in War Times," p. 328.

order once more restored. Students and faculty met to receive the closing announcement, and our organization was indefinitely disbanded. We were in the midst of a grave and serious crisis. Our flag no longer waved in triumph, but had gone down in disaster and defeat. We were at the mercy of our foes. An army of more than 20,000 half-clad and half-fed Confederate soldiers, and thousands of perishing horses were quartered in our midst, eating out our substance. But they were not plunderers; they were highminded Southern soldiers, who respected private property and private rights.[95] During the time, which was about a month, that they remained in this vicinity, I had the pleasure of entertaining quite a number of their officers, all chivalrous, high-toned gentlemen, whose fund of incident and anecdote afforded us rare amusement and instruction. We cheerfully gave them what we had, and also fed scores of private soldiers who declined to enter the diningroom, but gladly took their rations in their hands and ate them out of doors. Finally peace negotiations were concluded, and the order came to General Hardee to disband his army. Then a shout of joy resounded throughout the camp, and at once commenced the busy preparation for their departure. Their arms were thrown in piles, their cannon abandoned, and all the paraphernalia of war left to be turned over to the enemy. On breaking camp, they formed a line in marching order, which reached for miles through town and country. Their gladdened shouts at the thought of peace, and home, and friends, made the welkin ring. . . . It was springtime, in the month of May.[96]

The High Point *Enterprise* in 1888 published the following description of the final surrender at Trinity:

Gen. Hardie [Hardee] always claimed that his troops were the last to lower the Southern flag to Northern numbers. It is recorded that he was the last General to receive notice of surrender and orders of disbandment. At this time his headquarters were at Trinity College at the house of Dr. Craven, at whose front gate the official flag was planted. Here on a lovely morning in May, 1865, his daughter, Miss Annie Hardie [Hardee], accompanied by the staff and many weeping and tattered soldiers, while the college bell, nearby, toled [*sic*] the requiem of the Southern Confederacy, and while officers and men stood uncovered, tenderly dismantled and forever furled this last lone emblem of Southern chivalry and Southern bravery. If this flag has been preserved, it should be in the museum at Trinity.[97]

[95] Professor Jerome Dowd's account disagrees with this statement. See Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven: A Biographical Approach to Social Science*, p. 100.

[96] Gannaway, "Trinity College in War Times," pp. 328-329.

[97] *Trinity Archive*, I (March, 1888), 99. See also Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven: A Biographical Approach to Social Science*, p. 101.

There is no available record of the number of Trinity students who served in the Confederate Army or who lost their lives during the Civil War. Craven wrote in 1866 that "a host of Trinity boys . . . sleep in the soldiers' grave."[98] Among those who received degrees from the College, twelve lost their lives.[99]

Although the people of the South, like those at Trinity, were sad in defeat, they were glad that peace had returned to their land. They wished to forget the horrors of war and to rebuild their wasted lands, schools, churches, and industries. Animosities rankled, but in 1865 there were Southerners who wished to eradicate sectional differences by encouraging sincere loyalty to the Union. Such a man was Craven, who in 1865 was willing to concede defeat and to work for a better day by fostering understanding between the North and South.[100]

On July 24, 1865, scarcely three months after the Confederate surrender, Craven wrote to Edward Raymond Ames, one of the "War Bishops" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to suggest as a means of encouraging national loyalty and Christian brotherhood, the reunion of the two branches of Methodism—North and South. In his letter to Bishop Ames he declared:

> There is no necessity for the two organizations of the Methodist Church in the United States; they cannot exist with their organic aggressive policy without friction, strife, and denominational war. The separation *ought not* to continue. The two should be one. Every reason for continuing the separation is a reason fraught with mischief to the Union, enervation to the church on both sides, and infinite harm to the souls of the people. Every reason for reconstruction, is one of enlarged piety, efficiency to the church, safety to the nation, and universal good-will to man.

Craven suggested an outline for the reunion of Methodism:

> Common sense, it seems to me, points out the necessary and only basis of pacification, effective operation, and reconstruction:
> 1. Remove the line and act of separation, all coming under the control

[98] Braxton Craven to Enoch Faw, Dec. 22, 1866 (Private Collection).

[99] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, pp. 5-7.

[100] Braxton Craven to Bishop [Edward R.] Ames, July 24, 1865 (Trinity College Papers); Nora C. Chaffin, "A Southern Advocate of Methodist Unification in 1865," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (Jan., 1941), 38-47.

of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, and all property belonging to that Church as prior to 1844.
2. We thereby take, subscribe, adhere to, and obey the discipline of the M. E. Church, as it now is, conscientiously and in good faith.
3. We thereby go into that church as we now are, including conferences, bishops, appointments, and all other things, except book agents and similar General Conference appointees, whose offices would of necessity expire by reconstruction.

It may be agreed that every man who thus returns to the church as an organic body, shall be loyal, and the test of loyalty be, that he has taken the oath, or oaths required by the civil authority. I have no objection to this, though utterly unnecessary, because I do not believe that any man ought to belong to any church, if he will not yield obedience to the lawful government over him.[101]

Craven stated that some Southerners did not believe that Northern Methodism wanted to reunite with the Southern Church, but he did not share this belief. In closing his letter, Craven declared that there would be opposition to unification in both North and South, but he hoped wise counsels would prevail.

Confusion following the surrender of the Confederate forces did not discourage the friends of Trinity to the point of losing interest in the College. Plans were soon under way for its reopening. The trustees met on August 31, 1865, received the resignation of Professor Lemuel Johnson, and decided to "organize the faculty and commence operations as soon as practicable." A committee was appointed to secure a faculty, and the "college property was placed in charge of Dr. Craven."[102]

In order to make definite plans for the reopening of the College, the trustees met again on October 26, 1865. They decided that "the exercises of the College [should] be resumed on the first Wednesday of January, 1866," and Craven "was unanimously elected President of the College." A treasurer, to be appointed later, was to pay out money as ordered by the president of the College. The president

[101] Braxton Craven to Bishop [Edward R.] Ames, July 24, 1865 (Trinity College Papers); see also *D.A.B.*, I, 242-243; Matthew Simpson (ed.), *Cyclopaedia of Methodism* (Philadelphia, 1878), p. 34; W. W. Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1912), pp. 88-102, 142-143, 151-154, 208-210; W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (New York, Cincinnati, 1933), pp. 219, 267, 294-295; [Appleton's] *Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1864* (New York, 1870), p. 514.

[102] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 30.

and the faculty were to fix "all fees and prices of tuition; fix the rates of pay to the President and Professors and to fix their salaries." The trustees then declared that all professorships were vacant because of the suspension of the College and that it was inadvisable to fill more than "two chairs" at that time. They proceeded immediately to the election of the two professors; the "Reverend Solomon Pool, A.M. of Chapel Hill" was elected "to the chair of mathematics" and W. T. Gannaway "to the chair of languages and history."[103]

Although the trustees elected Craven, he did not decide to accept the presidency until after the meeting of the North Carolina Conference in the following December. At that meeting, opposition appeared silent, and good will for Craven prevailed among the ministers. Moreover, so far as the Conference was concerned, he practically owned Trinity by virtue of the possession of a $10,000 bond, together with $986 in unpaid interest, against the property of the College. The ministers urged Craven to accept the presidency, and so great was their "cordial unanimity" that he finally agreed. The Conference passed a motion resolving "that the Bishop be requested to appoint Dr. Craven to the Presidency of Trinity College."[104] The request was granted, and Craven began plans for rebuilding the school that he had once so carefully tended.

[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

[104] Braxton Craven, Report to the Board of Trustees, 1866; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1865.

CHAPTER VI

Reconstruction (1866-1882)

The Reopening and Renovation of Trinity

WHEN BRAXTON CRAVEN returned to Trinity to resume his duties as President of the College, he found much to discourage him. The college buildings and campus had suffered greatly from neglect and depredation during the Civil War. "Negro thieves" had carried away much property, and the rooms were entirely stripped of furniture. "White persons" had pilfered many valuable books from the libraries, and the college buildings were "in bad condition in every way." These buildings, "resembling tobacco barns," were not more unkempt than the campus, spotted with weeds that grew in scraggy clumps beneath tall oak and elm trees.[1]

To add to Craven's difficulties, there was no money or any available means for repairing the college property. Moreover, the village was as destitute as the College, and "no persons were prepared to board" students. "Distrust and disability rested upon everything."

By the expenditure of his own money and manual labor, Craven with "great difficulty" made temporary repairs on the college buildings, collected sufficient furniture for "present necessity," and "procured sufficient boarding accommodation." In January, 1866, he advertised that the College was "reorganized, refurnished and in every way placed in proper condition" and that it would open its

[1] T. J. W[atson] to "P," Aug. 25, 1866 (Watson Collection); Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page* (New York, 1925), I, 18-20; Johnson, "Sketches of Historic Places in Old Trinity," pp. 200-201; Braxton Craven, President's Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1866; Nora C. Chaffin, "Braxton Craven Reopens Trinity in 1866," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXV (March, 1939), 56. Unless otherwise indicated, the discussion of the reopening of Trinity is drawn from these sources.

first session after the Civil War on January 11. Board was set at "$14 per month in currency; tuition and other expenses at the usual rates"—all to be paid in advance. Students began to wander in; and by the end of the session "fifty matriculations . . . carried on the regular routine pleasantly and successfully."

With the closing of the College in 1865, the faculty had disbanded, and it was necessary for Craven to find help. The Reverend Solomon Pool, a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina, had been elected professor of mathematics, but he was hesitant about accepting the position. Craven explained Pool's position in his report to the trustees:

> I had several conferences with Mr. Pool, and he assured me that he is willing to accept the position if the Trustees and the friends of the Institution think it best. He says that he is a feeble man, and doubts his physical ability to discharge the duties required of that Professorship in this Institution; he further says that he is the only Methodist in the Faculty at the University, and he believes if he should vacate the position there, it would be filled from some other denomination. After frankly and cordially stating the case, he leaves the whole matter in our hands.[2]

Apparently Craven considered Pool's reasons sufficient, for he sought other help. "With great difficulty" he secured the services of two former members of the faculty: O. W. Carr and W. T. Gannaway. Craven persuaded these men to return to Trinity without increasing the liabilities of the College in any way. Craven, Carr, and Gannaway all agreed "to take the income from tuition, much or little." Craven was to receive three sevenths of the income; and the others, two sevenths each. Incidental expenses were met by the income from matriculation and janitor's fees. During this first session after the Civil War, the faculty "labored diligently and severely, and of course with an income utterly inadequate to their support." Craven wrote: "We have managed as best we could, willing as long as we could live at all to make sacrifices for the cause, and especially to sustain Trinity."

[2] In 1868 Pool became the Reconstruction president of the University of North Carolina. He held tenaciously to his office until he was "ejected by a decree of the court in 1875." He was again elected to a professorship in Trinity in 1884, and once more declined. See Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, III, 7-41; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 82, 87.

In regard to the general financial condition of the College, Craven reported to the trustees in 1866: "Altogether Trinity has suffered less of the war in all matters of finance than perhaps any other institution in the country, and in this respect there is no difficulty specially in her way for the future." In the same report he enumerated the liabilities and assets of the College and reminded the board that in 1864 he had paid the debt to the Literary Board:

> I paid it not as President, nor as Trustee, but simply as principal security to the Bond, and paid it exclusively with my own money. I now hold the bond against the Corporation, just as it was held by the State. What I may do with that bond depends upon a variety of events, but for the present, it in no way troubles the Trustees, as I am not claiming any interest.

Other liabilities of the College included $300, with interest, due Chamberlain and Ritchie of Boston as final payment on apparatus costing $1,095.56, secured in 1850. Since the war Craven had heard nothing from the company. The College also owed $1,200 for books in 1860, and the bill would have been paid promptly if communication had been kept open and collections could have been made as usual. Creditors had offered favorable terms since the war. Besides these debts, Trinity owed Craven for "two buildings South of the College, . . . for money advanced to the Reverend J. N. Andrews," and for a few other items. An old account of $50 to James Leach had never been paid. These obligations constituted the total debt of the College. Craven suggested that these liabilities be paid in the following manner: the debt owed to Craven and Leach to be assumed by the trustees; the other to be paid out of the income from accounts for "tuition, books, etc."

As stated by Craven, the resources of Trinity in 1866 were listed as follows:

> 1. The College buildings, grounds, apparatus, libraries, etc., estimated before the war at $30,000.
>
> 2. The Bonds secured by the agents before the war. No part of these have ever been used except $800 paid for apparatus, and a small amount to pay insurance on the property. These bonds are nominally worth from $12,000 to $14,000; what may be realized from them in the future, is altogther uncertain.
>
> 3. Accounts due for books, etc., which ought to be amply sufficient to

pay the accounts due in the North. It may be proper in this place to say, that on my return in December last, I found that certain expenditures were absolutely essential. I endeavored to collect some of the College bonds, but failed in every instance, not from refusal to pay in any case, but from alleged inability. To meet the emergency I borrowed $400, which I intended to repay by collecting the bonds as soon as I could.

Although Craven found it difficult to reopen and reorganize Trinity, he did not appear discouraged:

Taking into consideration our condition in all respects, and the country generally, including all influences that are likely to affect the fortunes of the College, and the work that we ought to accomplish if we pretend to sustain a college at all, I am clearly of the opinion that the time has come for decisive, wise, and united effort.

In the same report he expressed his belief in a great future for education in the South and declared that both state and church must be ready to meet increasing demands for a more progressive system of schools; Trinity must and would adapt its program of education to the changing requirements of society. Craven then presented the following questions for the consideration of the trustees:

1. Is this, all things considered, the most available locality for the College of the North Carolina Conference?
2. If it is, what plans, changes or improvements, should be made as rapidly as we may be able?
3. Would it be better to adopt the University system, embracing departments of Agriculture, and other practical matters?
4. Is it advisable to establish departments of Law and Divinity? These in my opinion, deserve attentive consideration; they involve to a large extent the future character of the Institution in its application to the education of the public, and its influence upon the country.

The minutes of the trustees fail to disclose conclusive action on these questions in 1866, but the board expressed its confidence in the future of the College:

After a careful examination of all matters pertaining to the permanency and success of the College, we are of the opinion that the prospects of Trinity are comparatively flattering. We have suffered a great loss by war, and in common with all the other Institutions in the country, we must feel the effects for some time to come. Our financial resources have been severely injured and the lines of our patronage broken. Our

classes have been scattered and our number of students very greatly diminished; in 1861 we had over two hundred students, now we have only fifty. Still we are neither ruined nor hopeless. We believe we shall rise up again to our former position and perhaps go beyond it. In some respects we have lost, but in others we have gained; various difficulties that once surrounded us are dissipated; and if our facilities are in some respects diminished, the field of our operations is enlarged.

The trustees have adopted such measures as they think will meet the demands of the times and secure to us a fair position and influence in the land.[3]

One of these measures was the renovation of the college property. In 1871 the trustees declared that it was necessary that new buildings be erected as soon as possible and that the board would "endeavor to execute the plan, for which a contract was made prior to the war, with such variations as may be necessary." It was resolved that the Church be requested to give one dollar a member, and that all the preachers be "earnestly requested to act as agents and endeavor to secure the amounts on their several charges."[4] The next year, 1872, Craven reported that the North Carolina Conference had agreed to raise $20,000, and the alumni a like amount, and that there were "some other small resources."[5]

The beginning of actual construction was delayed until legal counsel declared that the North Carolina Conference held a clear title to the property.[6] In April, 1871, Craven advertised for bids for erecting a building such as had been planned before the war. He learned that the cost would be about $20,000, but that the work could be done "about one fourth cheaper by hiring hands than contracting

[3] Trustees Book, No. 12, Minutes for the Year 1866.

[4] Braxton Craven, The President's Annual Reports to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867, June 9, 1869, June 14, 1871, 1872, 1876; N. H. D. Wilson, Report of the Trustees of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1875 (Trinity College Papers); *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 8, 1872, Jan. 15, 1873; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 24, 1874, March 31, 1875, June 23, 1875.

[5] Braxton Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1872; *Episcopal Methodist*, Raleigh, N. C., Aug. 3, 1870; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 71-72; *Minutes . . . of the North Carolina Conference, 1873* (Raleigh, 1873), pp. 23, 57.

[6] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, pp. 167, 214 ff., 236-238; B. Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1873; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 20, 1871, March 13, 1872; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 76.

by the job."[7] Work on the building began early in 1872 and was practically completed in 1876.[8] The old and new buildings, substantially built of brick, three stories high, were united under one iron roof and were arranged in the form of a cross, making an edifice 160 feet long and 90 feet wide at the top of the cross. The whole was "finished in the Ionic order." The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* declared that the "columns, cornice, and gallery are said by judges to be the best specimen of correct architecture in this state. . . ."[9]

This new building could accommodate about 250 students for instructional purposes. The new chapel occupied the whole of the second and third floors.[10] Craven stated that "the chapel is, perhaps, the best auditorium in the country, both for the speaker and the hearer. It will pleasantly seat two thousand persons, and is so perfect in acoustics, ventilation, and arrangement, that a much larger number might be accommodated, each seeing the speaker without obstruction, hearing distinctly, and suffering no inconvenience from impression."[11]

The building included bedrooms for students, a laboratory, a hall for morning prayers, "ample lecture rooms, society halls, libraries, museum, and everything that can be required." The value of "furniture and apparatus" was set at $3,000.[12] The "entire cost of the new building, repairing the old, improving the campus, and some necessary furniture" was estimated as about $13,000. In 1875 Craven stated that cash received and value of "notes etc." were "believed to be $10,000, leaving a probable deficit of $3,800."[13]

Most of the work of caring for the seventeen-acre campus was done by the faculty and the students. Occasionally Craven declared a holiday, and the whole school set to work clearing away debris and laying out walks and flower beds. These activities were usually

[7] Braxton Craven, President's Report, 1871.

[8] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 8, 1872.

[9] *Ibid.*, June 23, 1875; Braxton Craven, Report from Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1875; Braxton Craven, To the Board of Trustees, 1866; Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 187-188.

[10] Braxton Craven, To the Board of Trustees, 1876.

[11] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 188.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Braxton Craven, Report from Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1875.

in the spring in preparation for commencement.[14] Each of the literary societies and fraternities had a special plot on the campus where badges or insignia were worked out in designs of flowers and green turf.[15] "Elm Walk" led to the college post office, and along its borders grew blue iris, violets, and "a variety of the narcissus family." Near the east border of the campus hung the college bell—"looking like some grim sentinel, quiet and majestic in the moonbeams—the old bell that rang up Trinity, rang the students at morning, tapped the recitations for school day; rang out the lives of the people at Trinity!" On the north side of the campus near the college building was the well.[16]

The village of Trinity, like the College, recovered somewhat from the ravages of war. As in earlier years, it advertised its general desirability: ". . . nine hundred feet above the level of the ocean, noted for health, and as free as any place can well be from all sources of immorality." Other desirable features were its location "in a rolling oak country" with good mineral springs near enough to the College for daily use, and its "fine farming country where agriculture with all modern machinery and improved appliances can be seen by the students." The village could be reached by "various lines of stages from all points," and it claimed "all the facilities of the Railroad without its annoyance." Moreover, as a "summer retreat" the little town was most desirable.[17]

By 1880 there were about 350 inhabitants, and the lives of these people revolved about Trinity. When the College prospered, the village flourished; when financial resources shrank, the people found their comfortable rural living threatened. Like Trinity, their struggle to regain their former prosperity was one of desperate effort. They plowed and planted their fields and gardens in order to furnish food for themselves and for the students who boarded in their homes. Merchants in the village gradually replenished their stores as the students began to have a little spending money and as merchandise became more plentiful in the markets of the state.[18]

[14] E. C. Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (July, 1917), 76, 78, 79, 84.

[15] *Observer*, Raleigh, N. C., June 13, 1878.

[16] Johnson, "Sketches of Historic Places in Old Trinity," pp. 200-201.

[17] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1867-1873.

[18] T. J. [Watson] to "Dear Sir," Aug. 8, 1866 (Watson Collection); *Episcopal*

Trinity and Craven in the Rebuilding of the South

The slow recovery of Trinity reflected similar conditions throughout the South, and Craven lent his influence and energy to the rebuilding of his native region. He aided North Carolina in regaining "home rule" and defended the South from accusations of treason by explaining the Southern attitude and the fundamental loyalty of the South to the Union.[19]

When Craven was stationed in Raleigh during the Civil War, "he was brought directly into contact with the governing class of men [in North Carolina], and by the friendships formed there and the knowledge obtained, he thereafter exerted considerable influence in State as well as in Church and educational matters."[20] In 1868 he was selected by the Conservative party of North Carolina as candidate for the office of superintendent of public instruction.[21] Although he had attended a meeting of the Conservative convention in Raleigh a week before, he was surprised at his nomination.[22] After discussing the matter with friends, he decided to permit his name to appear on the Conservative ticket. On March 6, 1868, he recorded in his diary: "I hope to do what is best for myself and family and for my country. Lord! direct me in thine way."[23]

During the next four weeks Craven gave as much time as he could spare from his college duties to the campaign of the Conservatives. Although their cause appeared hopeless, he did not lessen his activity.[24] He organized the Conservatives in Randolph County,

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Methodist, Aug. 19, 1868; E. C. Brooks, "Craven's Reorganization and Management of the College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III, (April, 1917), 5; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1880-1881*; B. Craven, Report to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1872; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 3, 1872, July 21, 1875; Johnson, "Historic Places in Old Trinity," pp. 33-35.

[19] Braxton Craven to Bishop [Edward R.] Ames, July 24, 1865 (Trinity College Papers).

[20] *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Nov. 20, 1882.

[21] *Conservative State Ticket. Against the Constitution* [1868] (in J. R. Bulla, "Scraps, etc., Political"); J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1906), pp. 253-254; Noble, *History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, p. 297; *Daily Sentinel*, Raleigh, N. C., Feb.-April 22, 1868. Speaking of the candidates, the Conservative *Daily Sentinel* declared: "A more able and efficient or a better ticket has never been presented to the people of North Carolina" (March 2, 1868).

[22] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," pp. 73-74.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

[24] Braxton Craven to Jonathan Worth, June 6, 1867 (Jonathan Worth Papers);

distributed handbills for meetings, and made speeches in High Point and at various places in the county. In his addresses he opposed the ratification of the newly formed state constitution and reviewed the cause of education.[25] In 1867, when the people of North Carolina were planning the constitutional convention of 1868 and discussing a new constitution, Craven in his annual report to the trustees suggested "state aid for literary institutions":

> As a new Constitution is to be formed, it may be worth considering, whether an effort is not desirable to have a different law in reference to State aid for Literary Institutions. Nearly all the States, except this, have aided all the colleges to some degree. In this a Constitutional barrier has been urged on all occasions and with some degree of bitterness. An effort might make a change in this respect.[26]

No record has been found of any public or private action of the trustees in this matter. The constitution of 1868 provided means for raising funds for the public schools and for the University of North Carolina, but not for other "Literary Institutions" of the state.[27]

In his activity against the proposed constitution and for the Conservative ticket, Craven did not confine his efforts to the white voters, but also spoke at Negro meetings. He noted on one occasion that the Negroes "were generally Radicals" and "en masse for [the] Constitution and showed some insolence." He found that the Quakers, too, were largely Radical in sentiment, although some of them were "semi-Conservative." On election day Craven recorded in his diary: "The white people of respectability generally voted the Conservative ticket."[28]

The Conservatives were defeated at the election in April, 1868, the new constitution was ratified, and Radical candidates were elected

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J. G. de R. Hamilton, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (*Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, 1909), II, 976.

[25] Braxton Craven, President's Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1866; Nora C. Chaffin, "Braxton Craven Reopens Trinity in 1866," p. 56.

[26] Braxton Craven, The President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867 (Trinity College Papers).

[27] Henry J. Menninger, *Digested Index to the Constitution of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1870), pp. 31-34; *Constitution of the State of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1868), pp. 31-34.

[28] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," pp. 79-80.

to office.[29] Craven saw his opponent, a carpetbagger from Massachusetts, become superintendent of public instruction. Five days after the election he observed in his diary: "The Conservatives are beaten and we are ruined, I fear."[30]

The students at Trinity were much affected by the political excitement of the times. Craven recorded that "things are wild," that he had to lecture "the boys for rocking a negro meeting," and that the students were "disturbed by politics."[31]

According to available records, this was the only time that Craven engaged as an active candidate for political office. He had other opportunity, but refused. He continued, however, to express his opinion publicly and privately on any public matter that he deemed to be for the general welfare of the state.

In 1875 he was nominated by the Conservatives of Randolph County as a delegate to the state constitutional convention.[32] After careful consideration, he declined and sent his reasons to the public press:

> I see it stated in many papers that I have been nominated to represent Randolph County in the State Convention. I was nominated, but declined to accept the nomination. I have decided political opinions, and never fail on proper occasions to assert them; but I believe that no minister of the Gospel, or President of a College should be a politician. The pulpit, the hustings, and the rostrum are united in interest but not in discussion. I think that no man has yet succeeded in doing good work in all of them; and every attempt to combine them has generally destroyed usefulness in either. The citizens of my native county thought I could serve them without specially engaging in political issues; I thought otherwise, and respectfully declined.[33]

[29] Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth*, III, 302-303.

[30] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," p. 80.

[31] B. Craven, The President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867.

[32] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 16, 1875. The *Advocate* declared: "Rev. B. Craven, D.D., LL.D., has been nominated by the Conservatives of Randolph as a delegate for the Constitutional Convention which meets in September. Dr. J. M. Worth, a brother of Gov. Worth, deceased, has been nominated as his colleague. Randolph will be well represented if she sends those men to the Convention. Both have large and sound views upon every subject, and if Dr. Baker, or any other phrenologist, were employed to thump the heads of the delegates, he would not find a bigger brain among them than that of Dr. Craven. We were never his student, but have noticed his work, and heard him talk and preach."

[33] "A Declination," an excerpt from the Raleigh *News*, in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 14, 1875.

Nevertheless, Craven accepted appointment to office in face of opposition. At one time he accepted a directorship of the State Insane Asylum;[34] and some time later, when Governor Thomas J. Jarvis advised him to relinquish his position "because of the severe criticism that directors get" and because his political connections at the asylum reflected upon him "as a Methodist minister," Craven refused.[35]

As in former years, the problem of education attracted Craven's closest interest and most vigorous efforts.[36] The constitutional and legislative provisions of 1868 and 1869 could have served North Carolina well as a framework for a school system adequate for both Negro and white; but because of a feeling of political uncertainty in the state, there was an apparent lack of genuine educational interest.[37] Amid discouraging conditions, the State Board of Education called a convention of friends of education to meet in Raleigh in July, 1873. The purpose of the meeting was to consider and recommend such measures as were deemed advisable "for the promotion of education in the State." The response was encouraging, and representative men "of political parties, of all the leading religious denominations, and of the principal institutions of the State" met and discussed pertinent problems.[38] Addresses were made by state officials and other well-known men. Craven spoke on "The Teacher." The Convention passed resolutions appealing to the people of North Carolina to rally themselves to the cause of education. It formed a permanent organization and, through the influence of Craven, inaugurated a plan for the publication of an educational journal.[39] Craven attended the second meeting of the convention in 1874 and read a paper on "Examinations, Certificates, and Diplomas, Tests of Scholarship."[40]

[34] Braxton Craven to Governor Vance, Aug. 14, 1877 (Vance Papers).

[35] Thomas J. Jarvis to Braxton Craven, Feb. 22, 1879 (Governors' Papers); *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 13, 1878, April 14, 1880.

[36] W. P. Few, "Trinity in the Service of Public Education," *Trinity Alumni Register*, X (March, 1924) 156-157, 162; Walter L. Lingle, "Braxton Craven and Old Trinity College," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXVI (June, 1940), 129.

[37] Knight, *Public Education in North Carolina*, p. 338.

[38] Braxton Craven, President's Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867; Noble, *History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, p. 257.

[39] Knight, *Public Education in North Carolina*, p. 257; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 45.

[40] B. Craven, President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, 1867; Noble, *History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, pp. 374-375.

Continuing his efforts, Craven appealed to the General Assembly to co-ordinate various educational agencies in North Carolina under a single system of education. He addressed this appeal as a memorial to the first General Assembly after "home rule" was restored to North Carolina in 1876. It described specifically the confused state of primary, secondary, and college education in North Carolina, and as a remedy, suggested a unified, state-supported system extending from the primary school through the state university. Although the assembly expressed its interest and ordered the memorial to be printed, it failed to follow Craven's suggestions.[41] After this unsuccessful attempt, he remarked sadly to one of his classes at Trinity: "Only Trinity men in the Legislature were with me; all others opposed the measure I advocated."[42] Regardless of his discouragement, his memorial impressed the United States Commissioner of Education, who quoted from it in his résumé of educational conditions in North Carolina in 1876.[43]

Craven's memorial was especially timely because the University of North Carolina, which had closed under unfortunate circumstances in 1870, had reopened in September, 1875. There had been considerable opposition to the reopening; but by private discussion and printed statement, Craven had supported an increasing public opinion demanding that the University be reopened.[44] In 1875 he had written the following statement, which appeared in the public press:

> The best interests of the State demand that the University should be opened. Not for the rich nor for any class, but for the good of the whole State, embracing all classes. The legislature must not be alarmed at the cry against taxation. A few thousands of dollars are not to be weighed against the quickening, inspiring influence of a great University upon the welfare of the people. Give us the University on a broad,

[41] *Memorial of Dr. B. Craven on the Subject of Education* ("North Carolina Pamphlets," Vol. I, Raleigh, 1876-1877), pp. 1-7; E. C. Brooks, "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education after the War," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV (April, 1918), 1-5.

[42] *Duke Alumni Register*, XVI (April, 1930), 141.

[43] *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the United States* (Washington, 1878), pp. 299-300.

[44] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 41-64, 85; Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776*, chap. ii; Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth*, III, 395, 398; Hope S. Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill* (Chapel Hill, 1926), pp. 142-299; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 6, 1875.

liberal scale, and tax us to pay whatever is necessary. The descendants of the very people who now deter the legislature from a great duty, will pile anathemas upon their memory for their want of courageous statesmanship. We do not want a simple State College, but a great University, an institution that all people can and will respect.[45]

Craven's name had appeared among those of the leaders of the state in memorializing the General Assembly to reopen the University, and Lee S. Overman, a recent graduate of Trinity, had led other Trinity men in supporting this action.[46] Although Craven had advocated the reopening of the University, he did not let that fact keep him from criticizing the institution when he did not favor its policies. The religious denominations in the state mistrusted Chapel Hill, and in 1876 the North Carolina Conference made a strong plea to the Methodists to patronize their own institutions. In July, 1875, a writer who signed his name "Robert" incensed the denominational leaders by alleging narrow sectarianism in churches and colleges.[47] Craven answered "Robert" by a public statement in which he said that no one proposed sectarian schools in North Carolina, denied that Trinity, Davidson, and Wake Forest were sectarian, insisted that "denominationalism" of the state would not quietly tolerate "anonymous . . . misstatements," and declared that such statements were probably intended to build up an educational influence in the state that would substitute "a formal morality for a religion."[48] When Craven was convinced that the power and support of the University gave it an unfair advantage over other institutions or threatened the development of church colleges, he did not hesitate to join other denominational leaders in public protest.[49]

Craven's experience in teaching ill-prepared students at Trinity led him to advocate the establishing of preparatory schools. In a report to the North Carolina Conference in 1875 he pointed out that there were "comparatively few where a student can prepare for col-

[45] An excerpt from an article in the *Trinity Gazette*, published in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 6, 1875.

[46] Brooks, "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education after the War," p. 1.

[47] Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776*, pp. 76-77; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 5, 1875, Aug. 2, 1876.

[48] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 19, 1876.

[49] Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776*, pp. 100-101; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 29, Sept. 12, 19, 26, Oct. 10, 17, 1877, Jan. 23, 1878.

lege," and many that did exist were very inefficient. To help remedy this need, he suggested the establishment of "District Conference Academies and High Schools."[50] Acting upon Craven's suggestion, the Conference opened some of these schools, but their work proved disappointing.[51]

Craven's wide interests, together with his activities in behalf of Trinity, led him into many sections of the South and brought him requests to speak and to engage in various forms of public activity. He spoke at various meetings of the North Carolina Conference, district conferences, and the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and at many other places where he was invited as a special speaker. In March, 1882, at Durham, North Carolina, he preached to the Methodists, who counted among their membership Julian S. Carr and the family of Washington Duke.[52]

In 1869 Craven engaged in an intellectual duel with the Smithsonian Institution over the time of an approaching eclipse of the sun. His calculation proved correct, and the Institution sought "to engage his services," but he declined.[53] In 1876 he took part in a controversy over the time when Easter would occur, and again his calculation proved correct.[54]

Continuing his literary interests, he published articles on many subjects; and in the 1860's and 1870's he contributed data to *Turner's Almanac*.[55] For many years he edited the minutes of the North Carolina Conference; published some of his sermons; wrote articles for periodicals; and in 1875 composed a "Historical Sketch of Trinity College," which was published in *The Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*. In 1882 the trustees authorized him to

[50] Report of the President of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1875 (Trinity College Papers).

[51] Report of the Committee Appointed by the North Carolina Conference, Nov. 28, 1878 (Trinity College Papers).

[52] *Episcopal Methodist*, Aug. 19, 1868; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, p. 95; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 22, 1874, March 25, July 25, 1875, March 29, 1876, March 22, 1882, July 5, 1882.

[53] Farriss, "Braxton Craven—A Man of Letters," p. 351; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 74; A. W. Stamey, "Canaan, Whoa!," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IX (Dec., 1923), 196.

[54] *Trinity Archive*, V (March, 1892) 215-216; clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson, Winston-Salem, N. C.

[55] *Turner's Almanac*, 1868-1875.

write a history of the College, but illness kept him from doing so.[56]

Although Craven was primarily interested in the educational development of his region, he was also concerned with its economic growth. Following the Civil War and political reconstruction, North Carolina began once more to develop its agricultural and industrial resources. In the decade of the seventies renewed interest caused manufacturing to expand throughout the state, and new mills were opened.[57] Craven approved of this development and counted among the friends and officials of Trinity both operators and employees of mills and factories. In 1880 he was invited to dedicate the Naomi Falls Factory at Randleman, North Carolina, a new mill just completed by the Randleman Manufacturing Company.[58] The mill was "put up with a view of allowing employees . . . who desired, to take stock in it," and several did.[59] A correspondent of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* wrote during the construction of the mill: "The machinery for this house is now being put in and in a few months it will be busy in its great work of giving employment and food to the people and throwing its products upon the markets of the world."[60]

On February 15, 1880, Craven "solemnly and religiously dedicated to God" the factory and "its machinery." A correspondent of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* wrote that there was "a vast concourse of people from the town and surrounding country." He continued:

> I never knew such a thing in this country before, but I do hope the example set by this company will be followed by all who succeed them in the bright Southern land. When we, as corporations and business men,

[56] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 159 ff.; *Episcopal Methodist*, Aug. 19, 1868; B. Craven, *Methodism: A Sermon* (Baltimore, 1868); Braxton Craven (ed.), Journal [or Minutes] . . . of the North Carolina Conference, 1872, 1873, 1875, 1881; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 24, Dec. 8, 1875, June 7, 1876, May 8, 1878, April 14, 1880, July 5, 19, 1882; Asheboro *Courier*, Jan. 15, 1924; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 16, 18.

[57] Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth*, III, 358 ff.; Holland Thompson, *From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill* (New York, 1906), pp. 44 ff.; Samuel Huntington Hobbs, Jr., *North Carolina, Economic and Social* (Chapel Hill, 1930), pp. 133-135.

[58] Asheboro *Courier*, Jan. 15, 1924.

[59] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 25, 1880.

[60] *Ibid.*

bring business and religion into daily contact and recognize, formally, our dependence upon divine blessing for success, we are not likely to fail to realize it.[61]

After delivering a sermon, Craven formally dedicated the factory:

By request of the owners and proprietors of this property, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, I dedicate this House and all machinery connected therewith to God, for the purposes and uses of Christian work. May nothing evil be found herein, may everyone connected herewith be blessed in all good and may the blessing of the true God be upon this company, and hence may all people know that God dwelleth in factories as well as churches.[62]

Two years later, and a few months before his death, Craven was invited to dedicate another factory—Mill No. 2 of the Odell Manufacturing Company, Concord, North Carolina. The exercises were held on the first floor of the building. About two thousand people "from town and country . . . and persons from South Carolina, Charlotte, Lexington, Salisbury, Thomasville, Greensboro, and other places" assembled for the ceremony. The services were opened with music, a prayer, and the reading of a Psalm. Craven prefaced his sermon by paying tribute to those who built the mill and by stating his approval of a religious ceremony of dedication regardless of the fact that some people did not approve of such services:

I know that differences of opinion exist as to the propriety of dedications like this, but I favor them. All great improvements or revolutions in opinions, morals, manners, or work, demand new modes, new machinery, and new combinations; and when new methods are prominent in the land, and new applications take the place of routine, we may be sure that the morning dawneth. In North Carolina and among us, something new has appeared, approved and copied already in distant places, and carrying with it an element of great social and civil force. Capital bows to Christ and asks a blessing from the church, work enthrones in her lordly temple the true and mighty God, trade openly and before all men takes the oath of allegiance to the Prince of Peace. This great factory is to be controlled by religious principle, the smoke from the chimney is to be a daily incense to God, and the roar of the machinery will be work's anthems to the Lord. This is the place and these are the

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Quoted in the Asheboro *Courier*, Jan. 15, 1924.

men to make labor walk with God. Good men and true have labored here in the past years, and pleasant memories have lately gone with one of them to the grave. Of the present company, I know three of them well, the Messrs. Odell and Curtis. They personally know every foot in the road from the little boy's first day in the factory up to the full fruition of ownership and control. They have not forgotten the thrill of the first 5c in the little boy's pocket, and in sweetest memory still hear the kind encouraging words, that helped them so much in the long ago. They are the men to teach the boys and girls to respect themselves, to do honest work, to save the pennies, and to look for brighter manhood and womanhood. It is beautiful for these men in the fulness of manhood to bring the gain of their own hard work, and bid it work God's way. These are good, sound, practical men; they are Christian men, and desire their money and efforts to have the blessing of God.[63]

At the conclusion of this sermon, "Mr. J. M. Odell . . . came forward and gave Dr. Craven the building and all its contents to be dedicated to the service of the living God." Craven used the following dedicatory words:

Forasmuch as God blessed the owners of this house in their business life, and by a kind Providence has enabled them to erect this noble building; and forasmuch as he hath put it into the hearts of the proprietors to publicly, and solemnly ask the Lord Jehovah to make this one of his dwelling places, I now, therefore, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, dedicate this house, and all connected therewith, and all the machinery and implements attached thereto or used therein to the uses and purposes of Christian work, in the manufacture of such articles as may be selected and all the employments and forms of business necessary therein.[64]

Because of his many activities Craven became recognized throughout the South as a person of ability, and several institutions sought his services. In 1866 he wrote Enoch Faw that he had been elected "to almost all the Southern Colleges. . . ."[65] So attractive did some of his opportunities become that the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* undertook to quiet fears that he might leave Trinity.[66]

Regardless of the temptation of "flattering" offers of positions elsewhere and the drudgery and mental anxiety of his work at the

[63] The Dedication of the New Cotton Factory at Concord, N. C., by Braxton Craven (Trinity College Papers); *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 5, 1882.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] Dec. 22, 1866 (Private Collection).

[66] March 1, 1871.

College, Craven chose to remain at Trinity until his death in 1882. He seldom revealed to the public the severity of his problems at the College, but he recorded them privately in his diary. In 1868 he wrote:

Things look gloomy . . . shall have a terrible time in the money line this year. . . . Boys have lost much in fervent piety. . . . It will require an effort to bring things up. Help Lord! Without thee we can do nothing. . . . I shall find great difficulty in making collections sufficient to meet my payments. . . . Had a hard time of it. Need more help than I have. . . . O Lord give me the greatness and power of Christian character. I feel that the Lord has answered my prayer in regard to the College. . . . Great difficulty in keeping tone of things. . . . Feel dispirited. So difficult to manage things. . . . Low tone in students and professors. Must raise it. . . . Hope to raise the standard of scholarship at Trinity. . . . Trinity must stand by its sound learning, its noble piety, and the blessing of God. . . . Things occurred that fill my heart with sorrow. . . . How shall we have more religion in college, without it we can do nothing. There is a general dullness among students. Hard to raise them up. . . . The stir of politics and scarcity of money have made every higher aspiration torpid. Lord, breathe life into our hearts. . . . Tone in college only tolerable. I am trying to grow in grace. I believe God will do all things for me, if I will serve and trust Him. . . . Hard work, with endless perplexity. This is a hard life, but I do hope to do good while I live. . . . Do not know how I shall meet my payments due April 1. Lord! help me. Thou canst do all. To thee I look. . . . Hard pressed for money. . . . Boys complain of their grades as usual. . . . Lightness and vanity among the boys. Too little high purpose and earnest ambition. . . . No wood at college. Hard pressed for everything. . . . Working very hard on college life. . . . This is a terribly hard life, I find so little noble ambition, so little energy, so little noble purpose. I want 100 noble young men to wake up North Carolina. . . . Everything exceedingly gloomy. O Lord, come to our help, and give me light in this dark place. . . . The prospect for farmers is very gloomy. Lord thou canst deliver, thou canst turn away the threatened evil. Lord give us plenty this year. . . . It seems that this afflicted country is scourged by man, and that even the Lord has a controversy with us. O Lord, let thine anger pass. . . . Hard bitter work, no rest either of mind or of body. I must work on. . . . The prospects for a crop this year are not very good at present. This will bear heavily upon the interests of the college. Our dependence is chiefly upon men who make money producing. . . . I have bad health. Unfortunately I am worn out. I have worked too hard this spring, have undertaken too much, so much listlessness and indifference that I am compelled to take hold with all the vim

I can command. It wears me out. . . . Students in some things are a generous class, but in others they are miserably cold-hearted and selfish. They always seem to think that they pay very largely for everything they receive. . . . The greatest labor of college life is to hold the tone of life, energy, and effort. Not only the students but even the professors become listless and indifferent. It is about as hard to hold up the faculty as the students. . . . College life most terribly wears out both body and mind. It has less joy, less sympathy, and kind regards than any other pursuit. I have filled different offices, none with more reputation than that of college president, and none with less sympathy.[67]

Students and College Life

Although he was frequently discouraged because it seemed that he was unable to raise the "tone" of students, Craven was admired by each generation of young men. Many who knew him and studied in his classroom were extravagant in their praise of him.[68] Senator F. M. Simmons, who was graduated in the class of 1873, declared: "As a teacher, Dr. Craven made a profound impression on me. . . . I doubt if the South has produced many abler educators, he emphasized character and independent thinking, and I am more indebted to him than to any other man with the sole exception of my father."[69]

Between 1866 and 1882 more than nineteen hundred students enrolled at Trinity. They came from nine of the Southern states, the Cherokee Indian Reservation, and China.[70] Although most of them came from North Carolina, each year after 1867 from two to seven states were represented among the students. The number matriculating from year to year appeared to have been affected by the financial conditions throughout the United States, by the closing and reopening of the University of North Carolina, and by the growing and waning popularity of Craven.

Throughout the history of the institution from 1839 to 1880, the students had been American citizens only. The year 1880-1881 brought twelve "Cherokee Indian boys" and one Chinese. In his

[67] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," pp. 70 ff.

[68] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 89 ff.; A. W. Long, *A Segment of the American Scene: Son of Carolina* (Durham, 1939), pp. 172-173; Stamey, "Canaan, Whoa!," p. 196.

[69] J. Fred Rippy (ed.), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South* (Durham, 1936), p. 6.

[70] In the *Trinity College Catalogue* for 1887-1888 appeared a list of graduates with their vocations in that year.

annual report to the Board of Trustees in 1881, Craven described the Indians at Trinity:

> Very soon after Commencement last year, the government of the United States proposed to us to take twelve Cherokee Indian boys from the Eastern Band of Cherokees in North Carolina. The conditions proposed were that we should board, clothe and instruct them, finding all material of every kind; that they would be required to work as much as two days in the week, and that we should receive $150 per annum for each boy. I immediately sent circular letters to Trustees, preachers, members of Congress, Judges of the Superior and Supreme Courts, and others asking advice in the matter. Nearly all answered and all except two or three advised to take them. I accordingly signed the contract with the Government and the Government Agent brought them here the 28th of September.[71] They have been kept separate from the other students, and have had no trouble with them whatever. When they came, ten of them could speak no English at all, now they all speak English very well, all can spell, read, write etc. Two of them are tolerably well advanced to primary studies. They are obedient, very quick to learn, and are doing well.[72]

Craven's report on the Cherokees did not describe the adjustment difficulties encountered by both Indians and those who were responsible for their training.[73] They ranged in age from about ten to twenty years. The fact that some could neither speak nor understand English, together with their unfamiliarity with American social conventions, made the provision for their living conditions a difficult problem. Some of the boys had to be taught to sleep in beds, to wear conventional clothes, and to eat food prepared for them in the usual Southern manner. For weeks after their arrival Craven feared they would starve. They would not eat, nor would they touch milk. They roamed the fields and woods and ate acorns, wild onions, green or dry maize, and roots. Sometimes they mixed corn meal and water into a thick paste, molded it into oblong hunks to fit

[71] The names and homes of these Cherokees are listed in the *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1880-1881*.

[72] B. Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, June 9, 1881 (Trinity College Papers).

[73] The remainder of the discussion relative to the Cherokees is based on oral information secured from Miss Kate Craven in March, 1940. For a time the Indian boys lived in the home of her brother, who was responsible for their living facilities as well as for their training. Miss Craven knew the Cherokees and observed them at Trinity.

within shucks of corn, and cooked it in hot ashes from fire kindled in the fields or woods. They followed the brooks and creeks and hunted for tiny fish which they caught and either ate raw or cooked on the banks of the streams.

Besides training in speaking, reading, and writing English, the Indians were instructed in farming and certain manual arts. Their unfamiliarity with farm implements and other tools, together with their dislike for such work and their success in being able to slip away from their tasks, added to the difficulty of their instruction. Regardless of discouragements, however, at the end of 1882 Craven felt that the Cherokees had received adequate training in some of the ways of American citizenship.[74]

The *Trinity College Catalogue* for 1880-1881 listed among the "Special and Preparatory" students the name of "Charles J. Soon, Weichau, China."[75] This young Chinese, who at Trinity was known as Charlie Soon but whose Chinese name was Ah Soong or Yao-ju Soong, was destined to become the founder of the great Soong family and fortune of modern China.

Soong's ancestral home was Kuisan, a little village in Hainan off the coast of South Kwangtung. The large clan to which he belonged was composed of farmers and seafaring traders.[76] The youngest of three brothers, he was adopted by his uncle, a properous tea and silk merchant, who moved to Boston and took Soong with him to train in business methods. There his uncle's shop became a center of the first Chinese students sent to America by their government. Because of this, Soong formed friendships with some of his young countrymen who were to become leaders in modern China. These young Chinese were being educated in the ways of the West, and Soong wished to follow their example. He had little interest in learning the tea trade; and his uncle, a keen merchant, had little patience with his desire for an American education. Soong was disconsolate, and in 1880, when he was wandering about the Boston

[74] B. Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, June 9, 1881 (Trinity College Papers).

[75] *Trinity College Catalogue, 1880-1881*, p. 30.

[76] Edna Lee Booker, *News Is My Job: A Correspondent in War-Torn China* (New York, 1940), pp. 31-32; Emily Hahn, *The Soong Sisters* (New York, 1941), pp. 4-10.

harbor, he climbed aboard a boat bound for Wilmington, North Carolina. He was permitted to remain on board and there found a kind and interested friend, Charles Jones.[77]

In Wilmington, Jones discussed the boy's future with a number of friends, and they decided that he should be left ashore to be educated. Soong had no money nor any means of support other than his own efforts; however, Jones's friends agreed to care for his needs.[78] Some of these friends were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and they decided to take Soong to their pastor, the Reverend T. Page Ricaud. The minister became strongly attached to the young Chinese, and after converting him to Christianity, baptized him in the Church. The boy took as his "christian" name "Charles Jones" in honor of his good friend.

Ricaud was deeply concerned about the education of Soong, and sometime during the summer or fall of 1880 he described his problem in a letter to his old friend General Julian S. Carr, a Methodist and a manufacturer of Durham, North Carolina. As a result Charles was sent to Durham to visit General Carr. Ricaud also took the problem of the education of his protégé to Craven; as an outcome, sometime early in 1881, Soong was entered as a "preparatory or special" student at Trinity. In his annual report to the Board of

[77] *Ibid.;* Elmer T. Clark, *The Chiangs of China* (Nashville, 1943), pp. 13-18.

[78] Unless otherwise indicated, the discussion of Charles J. Soong is based on the following selections from the *News and Observer:* Mike Bradshaw, Jr., "Chinese Lad Left Trinity College to Found Own Dynasty," June 28, 1936; A. A. Wilkinson, "Link North Carolinians to China's Great Leader," Nov. 28, 1937; "Trinity Recalls Chinese Student," Dec. 23, 1930; the following selections from the *North Carolina Christian Advocate:* "The Debt of the President of China to America," Jan. 29, 1931; "Charles J. Soon Once More," July 6, 1933; "Another First for North Carolina," Feb. 6, 1936; "Brother Fink Writes Interestingly of C. J. Soon," Feb. 13, 1936; the following selections from the Durham *Morning Herald:* "Mirrors and Memories," Aug. 20, 1931; "Madame Soong's Death in China of Local Interest," Aug. 20, 1931; "Late General Carr Had Part in Conversion of China's Leader," Nov. 16, 1930; the following newspaper and periodical articles: "Trinity College Student Father of Modern China," Durham *Sun*, Dec. 26, 1936; Jos. C. Fink, "The Soong Dynasty," *Daily Herald*, Concord, N. C., Sept. 8, 1937; "Father of First Family of China Was Trinity Student," *Duke Chronicle*, Feb. 8, 1938; *Morning Star*, Wilmington, N. C., Nov. 7, 9, 1880, June 20, 1885; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Oct. 1, 1885; *Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference . . .* , 1885, pp. 14, 59, 1886, p. 10; Fred T. Barnett, "The Romance of Charlie Soong," *Duke Divinity School Bulletin*, IV (Jan., 1942), 73-81; Louise Hall to author, Dec. 24, 1940; and the following books: Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven: A Biographical Approach to Social Science*, chap. xxv; Booker, *News Is My Job*, pp. 31 ff.; Clark, *The Chiangs of China*, pp. 13 ff.

Trustees in June, 1881, Craven described the circumstances of Soong's coming to Trinity, his progress, and how the expenses of his education were met:

> At our last Conference, Rev. T. P. Ricaud made a proposition to me to take and educate a Chinese boy, then at Wilmington. Complete arrangements were finally made, and he arrived here some two months ago. He is doing very well in every way, studies closely and will be successful. The Durham Sunday School pays his board, and the College gives the rest.[79]

Soong remained at Trinity about a year; and while he was there, his expenses were borne by his friends at the College, by Carr and friends in Durham, and by his own efforts. Somewhere he had learned to make hammocks by tying stout cord into a strong netlike material. He sold some of these to help defray his expenses, and some he gave as gifts to special friends.[80]

At Trinity Soong lived in the home of Professor Gannaway. He was quick to make friends, quick to tease, and occasionally quick-tempered. After becoming accustomed to the novelty of a foreign student, the boys at Trinity often plagued the good-humored Chinese with tricks, and he retaliated in kind. Responding to Soong's interest in their activities, they taught him to play hop-scotch and other games. One of his favorite puns amused his contemporaries: "I'd radder be Soon den too late."[81]

Soong did much of his studying in the home of Craven. He had learned to understand the English language before he came to Trinity, but he had much difficulty in preparing his studies. In Mrs. Craven he found both an excellent tutor and devoted friend, and he spent many evenings studying under her guidance.

At Trinity it was generally understood that Soong was preparing for a career as a missionary, and the professors took special pains to equip him for his "high calling." On Sunday before Christmas in 1881, he joined the Methodist Church at Trinity. It was a great day for the village and for the College. Craven, who was the village pastor as well as President of the College, preached from the

[79] Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 9, 1881 (Trinity College Papers).

[80] Miss Kate Craven, Durham, N. C., owned one of these. Soong gave it to her mother, Mrs. Braxton Craven, when he left Trinity.

[81] J. C. Fink, "The Soong Dynasty," *Daily Herald*, Sept. 8, 1937.

text "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel." It was an impressive service, and Soong was devoutly certain that he was called of God to be a missionary to his own people. From that morning his one ambition was to complete his course as quickly as possible so that he could return to China and begin his ministry.[82]

It was this ambition which led Soong to transfer from Trinity to Vanderbilt University in 1882. "Dr. Craven [,] with whom he had many long talks about his missionary career, took the matter up with the members of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church and they advised him that the young Chinese would make more progress at Vanderbilt, where he could at the same time continue his education and receive training for the mission fields through contacts with members of the board and returned missionaries in Nashville."[83]

Acting upon the advice of his friends, Charles J. Soong left Trinity in 1882. His subsequent career is well known. After receiving a certificate in theology from Vanderbilt in 1885, aiding in revivals in North Carolina, and joining the North Carolina Conference, he returned as a missionary to China.[84] He retired from the ministry in 1890 and entered business. During the succeeding years he became one of the great financial figures of China. He was a firm supporter of the practical modernization of China and lent his money and influence to that end. He married and established a family which some writers have called "the first family of China." His six children,[85] all educated in America, have continued their efforts for China since their father's death in 1918.

[82] Mike Bradshaw, Jr., "Chinese Lad Left Trinity College to Found Own Dynasty," *News and Observer*, June 28, 1936.

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] "C. J. Soong entered service 1885; admitted into full connection 1888; located 1890" (*North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Feb. 6, 1936). "Charlie Soon, the Chinese Preacher, who attended Trinity College two years ago but graduated at Vanderbilt University last year, with honor, is assisting in a protracted meeting near Clinton, Sampson County. He will soon return to China where he will devote himself to the great cause of preaching the gospel to his native people" (*North Carolina Educational Journal*, Oct. 1, 1885).

[85] His sons, Tsu-wên, T. L., and T. A. Soong, were educated at Harvard University; his daughters, Ai-ling (wife of Dr. H. H. Kung), Ch'ing-Ling (wife of Sun Yat-Sen), and Mei-ling (wife of Chiang Kai-shek), were sent to Wesleyan, Macon, Georgia. Mei-ling also attended Wellesley College, where she was graduated in 1917.

Almost as small in number as the foreign representation were the women students during this period. Although young women had been officially admitted during the closing months of the Civil War, they were not accepted as regular students when the College was reopened in 1866.[86] One concession, however, was made: they were permitted to study as private pupils with the regularly employed faculty of the College.[87] This practice finally led to the conferring of degrees upon women at Trinity.

In 1853 E. S. F. Giles was a farmer and public-spirited citizen of Jones County, where he was a member of the local public-school committee.[88] Sometime between that date and 1873 Giles died, leaving a wife and large family of children. In 1873 his widow, Mrs. Nancy White Giles, moved from Onslow County, North Carolina, to the village of Trinity to educate her only son, E. S. F. Giles.[89] There were also four daughters, three of whom, Mary Z., Theresa, and Persis P., were older than their brother. When the family moved to Trinity, these three sisters were teaching school and did not go to their new home until their brother had entered college. When they finally reached Trinity, they expressed the desire to study at the College. Many years later in a letter to their old friend Professor W. H. Pegram they described their efforts and success:

> We three sisters had been teaching. But on our arrival at Trinity . . . we saw what a fine thing it would be to take the same course he [E. S. F. Giles] was taking and thus really and truly fit ourselves for teaching, intending to do the work ourselves, *unaided*, of course. We soon saw how much better it would be to have a teacher, this we found in Professor L. Johnson, who was a whole faculty within himself. He, kind soul that he was, agreed to take us in the afternoon. Vacations were a special busy time, for when school was taken up we frequently had to stop and teach for the where-with-all to continue our studies. In speaking to us of our work, Dr. Craven said pleasantly "I guess I shall have to take you to the

[86] Alice M. Baldwin, "Trinity Granted First Degrees to Women in 1878," Durham *Morning Herald*, Nov. 28, 1938; Chaffin, "First Women at Trinity College," pp. 81-83.

[87] Mamie E. Jenkins, "Pioneer Women at Trinity," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (Oct., 1915), 209 ff.

[88] E. S. F. Giles to Calvin H. Wiley, Dec. 1, 1853 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers).

[89] Clipping in the Alumni Office of Duke University (Alumni Records).

college and graduate you." We took him at his word and asked him pointedly, "If we complete the course will you give us diplomas?" His reply was "Why certainly I will." From that moment the goal was set. Every professor kindly consented to teach us their part of the course.[90]

Until their senior year the Giles sisters had all their classes privately with the professors "either in the afternoons, or at vacant periods, which [the professors] might have in school hours, when they could take our class of three." When the young women reached their senior year, Craven permitted them "to attend his lectures on metaphysics with the class." This was the only instruction that the three women had from Craven.[91]

In the spring of 1878, when the senior class was recommended to the trustees for degrees, the "faculty recommended for full and regular graduation to the degree of Bachelor of Arts: Miss Theresa Giles, Miss Persis P. Giles, and Miss Mary Z. Giles," and "On motion of Reverend I. T. Wyche the degree of A. B. was conferred upon the three ladies."[92]

The Giles sisters were not usually considered as regular members of the class of 1878; their names were listed separately under "Ladies";[93] however, they were present and honored as regular seniors at all the exercises of commencement week in 1878. Many guests were present, and the governor of Georgia was the main speaker.[94] Before handing diplomas to the three young women, "Dr. Craven stated that they had passed a creditable examination and were as much entitled to a degree as the young men were. This announcement was received with applause." A reporter to the Wilmington *Morning Star* stated that this action of Trinity in conferring degrees upon women was "unprecedented in the history of North Carolina colleges."[95]

In 1885 Trinity conferred the degree of Master of Arts upon the three Giles sisters; thus Mary Z., Persis P., and Theresa Giles had

[90] Theresa and Mary Giles, to Professor W. H. Pegram, Sept. 7, 1925 (Alumni Records).

[91] The Misses Giles to Richard Thigpen, Sept. 21, 1925 (Alumni Records).

[92] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 119.

[93] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 19, 1878.

[94] *Morning Star*, June 20, 1878.

[95] *Ibid.*

the further distinction of becoming the first women to receive that higher academic degree from Trinity College.[96]

After teaching in North Carolina and Virginia until 1885, the Giles sisters went to Greenwood, South Carolina, where their brother "had married and settled down." There they opened a school for girls, the Greenwood Female College; but after six years they sold their private institution to the town of Greenwood for a graded school. Following a few years of teaching in Dayton, Tennessee, they returned to Greenwood in 1898, and "Finding that the graded school did not meet every need of the town," again opened a school for girls. Four years later Lander College moved to Greenwood, and the Giles sisters closed their school permanently. Afterward they lived in retirement in Greenwood.[97]

Including the three Giles sisters, there were 180 graduates of Trinity from 1866 through 1882.[98] In 1888 their occupations were as follows: teachers, 42; lawyers, 38; farmers, 16; physicians, 14; ministers in the North Carolina Conference, 11; other ministers, 4; editors, 9; merchants, 9; college professors, 5; manufacturers, 4; college presidents, 2; state solicitors, 2; and of the following one each: dentist, teacher in the institute of the deaf and dumb, tobacco dealer, banker, officer in the United States Army, clerk, mechanic, salesman, clerk of superior court, railroad agent, and private secretary to the governor of the state. Occupations were not listed for ten men graduates.[99]

Although the college catalogue declared that these statistics were not wholly reliable, they show certain trends. From 1853 to 1866 the College had produced more teachers and preachers than members of any other profession or occupation.[100] After the Civil War, however, the total number of preachers trained was less than half that of lawyers. It is evident also that Trinity men were gradually making their way into a larger variety of occupations.

[96] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 98; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 17, 1885.

[97] *Trinity Archive*, II, 17-18 (Nov. 1887); Nora C. Chaffin, "The Giles Sisters and the Education of Women," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXVII (Aug., 1941), 199.

[98] See Appendix, Tables 1 and 2.

[99] *Catalogue of Trinity College for 1887-1888*, pp. 66-71. This catalogue states that this information is "imperfect in several particulars."

[100] See chaps. iii-v.

Many of the students between 1866 and 1882 later became distinguished leaders in their occupations. F. M. Simmons and Lee S. Overman, after years of service in North Carolina, represented the state in the Senate of the United States. William D. Turner, L. Terry, and E. T. Boykin were elected lieutenant-governors of North Carolina. Many served in the General Assembly; among them were J. R. Webster, H. B. Adams, I. B. Watson, M. A. Gray, J. T. LeGrand, E. B. Everett, J. A. Barringer, J. M. Brown, N. C. English, J. J. White, and M. Mial. A few former students became superior court judges, among whom were O. H. Allen, D. E. Bryant, B. H. Palmer, E. T. Boykin, B. F. Long, and James A. Lockhart. Some became well-known educators: G. D. Hines, F. L. Reid, W. W. Staley, W. K. Gibbs, J. K. Tucker and J. M. Rhodes (college presidents), Wilbur F. Tillett (Dean of Vanderbilt University), W. G. Gaither and J. D. Hodges (county superintendents of public instruction), and a number of college professors and public-school teachers. Four manufacturers were W. R. Odell, A. H. Stokes, A. J. Ellington, and C. P. Frazier; and well-known bankers were Joseph G. Brown and W. T. Swann. Among the ministers were N. M. Jurney, W. C. Norman, B. R. Hall, W. B. Maness, P. L. Groome, J. T. Gibbs, Shadrak Simpson, Mike Bradshaw, C. F. Emory, N. E. Coltrane.[101]

Among the students who entered Trinity but who transferred to other colleges to continue their academic training was Walter Hines Page. He entered Trinity in the fall of 1871 and left in December, 1872.[102] Because of youthful homesickness and personal incompatibility with some of the students and faculty, his stay at Trinity was not very pleasant.[103] Although he wrote home that he was not

[101] For references to Trinity students of this period, see *Methodist Advance*, Greensboro, N. C., Jan. 20, 1887; editorials, *Trinity Archive*, II, 5, 140, VI, 161-162; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 14, 1870; *Duke Alumni Register*, XII, 166, XVI, 76, XI, 264-267; Minutes of the Alumni Association, 1868-1882; B. F. Bynum, Letters and Papers, 1800-1882 (Duke University Library); L. T. Hartsell, "Hon. F. M. Simmons," *Trinity Archive*, VII (April-May, 1894), 25-27.

[102] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1872-1873*, p. 11.

[103] Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page*, I, 18-20; Burton J. Hendrick, *The Training of an American: The Early Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page, 1855-1913* (New York, 1928), pp. 42-50; Stamey, "Canaan, Whoa!," pp. 195-196; Walter H. Page to the Rev. C. F. Heitman, Dec. 21, 1883 (Trinity College Papers).

likely to pass his work, he had the honor of winning "Second Distinction" in the freshman class. Retaining a keen interest in Trinity, he later befriended the College.

In order to foster the interest of graduates and friends, Craven revived the "Society of the Alumni." The first reference to this society after the Civil War appeared in the Trinity catalogue for 1868: "This is composed of the graduates of the Institution and is intended to promote higher literary culture, as well as to renew the Association of Academic life. The Society has an Annual Meeting, and an Address on the day preceding Commencement."[104] Since each succeeding year added more members to the Society, the organization begain to express a widening interest in the affairs of the College.[105] During the first two years after its reorganization, the members spent their time at annual meetings in renewal of old fellowships and in locating the first minutes and constitution of the Society. These records were finally acquired "after a long chase, being captured and rescued from oblivion on the northern frontier of the Great State of Texas."[106] After 1871 the members of the Society busied themselves in helping to raise money for the College, in protesting to the board of trustees against electing as members men who were unfriendly to the policies of the College, and by pledging themselves to persuade prospective students to enter Trinity.[107]

So important did the influences and work of the alumni become that in 1881 as a part of his last annual report to the trustees, Craven declared:

> I think it proper to allude to the immense influence now exerted by the alumni upon the reputation of the College. We are young compared not only with the great colleges of the country, but even with the other principal colleges of the State, and are just now beginning to attract attention by our fruits. In the last legislature Trinity men composed over one-fifth of the entire body, held twelve chairmanships of committees,

[104] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1868-1869*, p. 21.

[105] B. Craven, Report from Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1875 (Trinity College Papers).

[106] Record of the Society of the Alumni, June 15, 1870.

[107] *Ibid.*, 1869-1882; "Minutes of the First Alumni Association Meetings," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VI, 197-202, VII, 1-10, 166-170; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1874; Minutes of the Society of the Alumni, 1858-1921.

and won a good reputation for themselves and their *Alma Mater*. In all departments of life we have reason to be well satisfied with the practical and effective results obtained.[108]

Seizing an opportunity to impress both alumni and students with their civic duties, at one time Craven piloted a group on a tour to Washington. This group, including the senior class, a few other students, Professor Carr, and the Reverend C. C. Dodson, numbered twenty-two.[109] On February 17, 1880, they boarded a train in High Point for Washington.[110] Arriving in the Capital at night, they were met at the depot by a delegation of North Carolina congressmen. The students were impressed with their distinguished welcoming committee even though they realized "that it was election year and our great men knew there were lots of Methodist votes behind us." The North Carolina representatives in the Capital arranged a daily program for their visitors to include practically everything dear to the sightseer.[111]

As in previous years, Trinity required serious work and stern discipline of its students. The college catalogue carried a statement of the policy in regard to "Discipline" and enumerated the "general laws" for all students. While these regulations were not so numerous as those of former years, their content varied little. The College carefully explained the penalty that a student must expect, should his "deportment" be unsatisfactory: "Every student must observe such propriety of language, form in manners, and gentlemanly deportment, as are proper for cultured, Christian people; any departure therefrom will be cause for reprimand, suspension, or dismission."[112]

Although Craven was frequently discouraged at the behavior of the students, his reports to the board of trustees were usually favorable. In June, 1867, he stated: "In good order, propriety of conduct, attention to duty, and successful study, our students have surpassed all I have ever seen. No student during the entire year

[108] Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, 1881.

[109] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 85.

[110] C. C. Dodson, "A Trip to the National Capital" (Feb. 23, 1880), written for the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* (clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson, Winston-Salem, N. C.); Braxton Craven, a letter to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* written March 28, 1866 (clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson).

[111] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 85-86.

[112] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, p. 18; see also catalogues for 1868 through 1882.

has been reprimanded, suspended, or expelled; no violations of College Law have occurred, but all have been obedient, correct in deportment and diligent in labor."[113] In 1878 Craven reported to the trustees that two seniors had been expelled from college during the year and that this action "had fine effect on college life."[114]

Regardless of strict requirements, the students indulged their youthful tastes in pranks played upon each other and upon the faculty. New students were submitted to various forms of hazing,[115] as old students released their surplus energies by devising ways of embarrassing their fellows.[116] Although they enjoyed playing tricks on one another, their favorite target was the faculty. They nicknamed their instructors and plagued them good-naturedly. Craven was known as "Old Brack"; and as he did not approve of wasting time, he had little patience with mischief-makers. Professor Pegram

[113] Craven, The President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867.

[114] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 118.

[115] A new student wrote of his first experience at Trinity:

"Seeing the need of mental improvement and not having access to preparatory schools as our young people now have, I decided to go to Trinity College. Accordingly, I left my home in Stanley County, North Carolina, and made my way in an old rickety wagon to Salisbury, North Carolina, spending the night at a hotel in the city. The next morning I boarded the train for High Point.

"My first experience on the train was quite a revelation to me that people could ride fast as well as slow and not be hurt. . . . I felt thankful to God that I was put down at High Point unhurt.

"Boarding the mail hack I was soon at Old Trinity. Professor O. W. Carr met me at the gate. I quickly handed the professor my recommendation, and he gave me a word of encouragement, carried me into Dr. Craven's office and gave me an introduction to the president. It is needless for me to add here that I found these two, indeed all the faculty, unusually kind and ready to help me in every possible way. I am persuaded that many of Dr. Craven's pupils, myself for one, have always felt that our beloved Southland, and other lands as well, have had but few equals to Dr. Craven, in church, state, and the schoolroom; he was always equal to the emergency.

"Being transferred from the plow handles to college halls and classrooms was quite an experience for me. Doubtless seeing me a little nonplussed, one of the professors told me, 'The young men wearing square cornered caps are our Seniors.' Having arrived during revival services, I escaped the hazing that was often practiced at that time. A young man coming in shortly after I arrived was not so fortunate as I. One of the Juniors took charge of him and showed him the roll of the student body, and frankly told him he would be expected to commit the whole list of names to memory. The credulous student went into it with a zeal worthy of a better cause, but complained of so many outlandish names so terribly hard to remember" (J. M. Lowder, "My School Days at Trinity College Forty Years Ago," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV, April, 1918, 25-26).

[116] For examples, see *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 155-157.

Invitation to Commencement Party, 1876

The College Bell, 1876-1892

was called "Bones" because he lectured for hours on anatomy. The name "Prexy" was given to Professor Frasier, whom the students liked to tease. Most of the pranks were directed at Professor Johnson, whom the boys affectionately called "Nape." Johnson seemed to enjoy the tricks almost as much as the boys and often beat them at their own game.[117]

Extracurricular activities included other less surreptitious affairs. Under the leadership of Craven in 1868 the students joined with the young people of High Point and surrounding communities in celebration of the crowning of a May queen.[118] Almost as unusual as this crowning of a May queen by the president of a college was the activity of the senior who in 1876 was engaged in raising cotton seed for sale.[119] All the students joined in the annual religious revivals which sometimes forced every other interest to the background, and Craven officially reported many conversions.[120]

Interest in college publications revived. A magazine started in 1861 had been quickly smothered by the war.[121] A new effort was now made, and on August 24, 1874, the first issue of the *Trinity Gazette* appeared. It was printed quarterly by L. Branson, of Raleigh, and was under the "exclusive management and control of the President of the College."[122] Its object as stated in its first issue was "to promote the interest of Trinity College, and thereby of sound Christian culture, by making the College more fully and definitely known to the public." Moreover, it discussed "theories and modes of education, science, literature, and any subjects pertain-

[117] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 81; Stamey, "Canaan, Whoa!," p. 195.

[118] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," p. 81. For an able enumeration and discussion of extracurricular activities from the days of Union Institute to 1942, see Ben M. Patrick, "The Front Line: Materials for a Study of Leadership in College and After" (Duke University, 1942).

[119] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 26, 1876.

[120] A letter from Craven to the editor of the *Episcopal Methodist* described a revival in 1870: "The Lord has blessed us with a great revival. I have never witnessed more powerful convictions, or more brilliant conversions. Many students and a number of persons from the town and country have been converted, and still we have crowds of penitents" (*Episcopal Methodist*, Oct. 12, 1870). See also *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 22, 1880; Braxton Craven, Annual Reports to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1886-1882.

[121] Braxton Craven recorded in his diary on March 16, 1861: "Arranged several commencement speakers. Magazine established. . . ." See Brooks, "Captain Craven and the Trinity Guard," p. 170.

[122] *Trinity Magazine*, I (March, 1883), 25 ff.

ing to higher education." The *Trinity Gazette* survived "with some irregularity during the space of three years." For five years thereafter "no paper or periodical of any kind was published by the College. . . ."[123]

With the beginning of the academic year 1881-1882 came a renewed demand for a publication. The Columbian and Hesperian literary societies sponsored the movement and finally assumed the responsibility for the publication of a monthly magazine to be called the *College Herald*.[124] A constitution which defined its name, object, officers, terms, etc., was drawn up and passed by the Columbian Literary Society.[125] After much discussion and delay, in October, 1882, "a complete corps of editors and managers was elected, and the work of prosecuting the enterprise was intrusted to their hands."[126]

Besides the inauguration of publications, the students became interested in fostering new organizations. For years Craven had opposed "secret clubs" at Trinity, but in the early 1870's he was persuaded to accept them. Although it was stated that he did not approve of "social fraternities," he finally consented to the installation of chapters of three national fraternities: Chi Phi was installed on November 28, 1871; Alpha Tau Omega, March 2, 1872; and Kappa Sigma, February 13, 1873.[127]

In giving his consent, Craven reminded these organizations that the charter of Trinity gave the College absolute control over all "societies, etc." Among the students who were active in securing fraternities for Trinity were F. M. Simmons and Walter Hines Page, and Craven's "mild opposition" to fraternities "caused some friction with young Walter Page."[128]

[123] *Ibid.*; Sophia Ryman, "Ancient History," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VII (Jan., 1922), 234-235.

[124] *Ibid.* Volume 1, number 11, June, 1882, the only available copy of the *College Herald*, is filed among the Trinity College Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Duke University Library.

[125] Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society, Oct. 30, 1881.

[126] "Editorial," *Trinity Magazine*, I (March, 1883), 25 ff.; Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," pp. 171-172.

[127] *Duke University Chanticleer*, 1940, pp. 164, 168, 176; Stamey, "Canaan, Whoa!," pp. 195-196.

[128] Stamey, "Canaan, Whoa!," pp. 195-196.

Craven listed the following conditions of installation for the organizers of Alpha Tau Omega:

1. The chapter must in no way prosecute . . . any immoralities or improprieties.

2. The chapter must sustain college law and discipline and as a chapter must not in any case, interfere in any question on those subjects.

3. If it is adjudged at any time that the chapter is acting or proposing to act contrary to the interest of the college, when notified by the president it shall promptly desist from such action or be at once dissolved and cease as a chapter.

4. It must not violate any college law or meet at any place not authorized by the president.[129]

There is no evidence that the fraternities had any marked influence upon the development of the College during this period. Their social activities during each year culminated in elaborate banquets given for their guests during commencement week.[130]

Craven was never wholly in favor of fraternities; and when they caused "disorders, strife, and dissipation," he did not hesitate to hold them rigidly to his prescribed conditions. He finally became convinced that they were "evil influences" and forced them "to abandon" the College.[131]

Although the students were interested in developing new organizations, traditional ones claimed their major interest. The old Fletcheronian Society was revived as the Theological Society, which finally established itself in an "elegantly furnished" hall with a "good library."[132] There was also organized in the village on January 30, 1866, a branch of the American Bible Society.[133]

As in former years, the most influential organizations were the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies. Every student was a member of one or the other, and intense rivalry developed between the two groups. Since the Columbian was older and more firmly established, it enjoyed a greater prestige among the students. Craven sought to counteract this favored position by joining the Hesperian and laboring to raise its standard. This brought him severe criticism

[129] Brooks, "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education after the War," pp. 9-10.

[130] *Observer*, June 16, 1878.

[131] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 81.

[132] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, p. 20.

[133] Minutes of Trinity Bible Society, 1866 (Trinity College Papers); Minutes of the Theological Society, 1870-1882 (Duke University Library).

from such students as Walter Hines Page.[134] On one occasion the Columbian Literary Society resolved: "Whereas we have been under considerable inconveniences in getting a settlement from Dr. Craven, therefore, we will not receive any more orders on or from Dr. Craven."[135]

The activities of the societies were varied. They helped to raise funds for the College, redecorated their society halls, solicited books for their libraries, offered prizes to members who obtained the greatest number, arranged for the care and maintenance of the libraries, and lent influence to the extension of college projects in general.[136] At regular weekly meetings they attended to the business of the moment, read essays, and heard declamations, orations, and debates. Resuming its former policy of electing well-known men to honorary membership, in 1867 the Columbian Literary Society elected Marquis L. Wood; and in 1880, R. T. Gray, of Raleigh, and Julian S. Carr, of Durham.[137]

Subjects for weekly debate reflected the opinion of students on various questions:[138]

Columbian

Has the Congress of the United States a right to enact laws for the Southerners without representation? [No record of decision.]

Should the blacks of the five states be allowed to vote? [Yes.]

Are [*sic*] the mental capacity of the sexes equal? [No.]

Ought a student in college to direct his studies with reference to a particular profession? [Yes.]

Ought the system of common schools in North Carolina [to] be revised? [Yes.]

Will the emancipation of slaves prove beneficial to the South? [Yes.]

Does the present [1868] condition of our country indicate future prosperity and happiness? [No.]

Is it a moral sin to live an old bachelor? [Yes.]

Should the greatest good to the greatest number of people of the United States be the policy of the present president? [Yes.]

Should property qualifications be required to entitle one to suffrage in the United States? [Yes.]

[134] Stamey, "Canaan, Whoa!," pp. 195-196.

[135] Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society, April 12, 1878.

[136] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 26, 1873; Minutes of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies, 1866-1882.

[137] Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society, 1866-1882.

[138] Minutes of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies, 1866-1882.

Should the capital of the U. S. be removed to the Mississippi Valley? [No.]

Ought the U. S. [to] establish a national system of education? [Yes.]

Would the other powers of Europe be justifiable in interfering in behalf of France [1870]? [Yes.]

Ought the sexes to be educated together? [No.]

Will the South ever become as prosperous as before the abolition of slavery? [No.]

Would the colonization of the negro race be beneficial to them? [Yes.]

Is dancing an innocent amusement? [No.]

Are the negroes benefited by their freedom? [Yes.]

Is democracy after all a true form of government? [Yes.]

Should the army be used at the polls in any general election? [Yes.]

Were the deeds of A. Lincoln as well worthy of a monument as G. Washington? [No.]

Ought Mexico to be annexed to the U. S.? [Yes.]

Should women be allowed to vote? [No.]

Do free schools aid in educating the youth of the land? [Yes.]

Should the North and the South be two separate nations? [No.]

Hesperian

Should North Carolina appropriate money to re-open her schools [1867]? [Yes.]

Which does the South stand most in need of at present, education, or agriculture and manufacturing? [Education.]

Should the U. S. acknowledge the independence of Cuba [1874]? [Yes.]

Will the emancipation of slavery result in good to the South? [Yes.]

Should the use of malt liquor as a beverage be abolished? [Yes.]

Is war ever justifiable? [No.]

Should the North be an independent nation? [Yes.]

Should North Carolina have a compulsory school law? [Yes.]

Was Hayes justified in vetoing the Chinese imigration law [1879]? [No.]

Would the negro exodus be beneficial to the South? [No.]

Is the moral tendency of the age downward? [No.]

Should there be a fence law in North Carolina? [No.]

Besides their regular meetings, the two societies held special anniversary occasions which were planned weeks in advance. Elaborate programs with well-known speakers were presented for the college community and invited guests. Other special meetings were held at the annual commencements, when former students returned to help honor the societies.[139]

[139] *Ibid.*

Commencements gradually regained their former prominence. Speakers from the preparatory and college classes were chosen by contests in the early spring at the "April Speaking." All students took part in these occasions, which lasted from about the first of March until early May. The boys either memorized famous literary selections or wrote their own speeches or persuaded some relative or friend to write them. Spectators at one of the "April Speakings" described the affair as a gala time for the community.[140] These occasions were preliminary to the larger celebration at commencement.[141]

At the College every detail of commencement week was carefully planned. Notices were sent to the public press, and marshals chosen by the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies were given the responsibility for making arrangements for the care of guests.[142]

With the help of the two literary societies guest speakers were chosen. The Reverend T. DeWitt Talmage preached in 1876 and again in 1882.[143] Although there was unfavorable comment about inviting this Northern Presbyterian divine to a Southern Methodist institution, he was invited and the invitation was accepted.[144] Great crowds came to hear him and went way pleased with his speeches.[145] After his first visit, Talmage wrote of the conditions that he found in the South and paid high tribute to Trinity:

> Notwithstanding what some of the politicians say, we believe the feeling of cordiality on the part of the South toward the North is almost universal. There are more bitter and bloodthirsty men at the North who need reconstruction than at the South. Before the next presidential campaign is done this fact will be demonstrated. In Congress and in some of our Northern ecclesiastical courts there are men determined to

[140] Rose L. Johnson, "April Speaking at Old Trinity," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (Jan., 1918), 243-246; Lowder, "My School Days at Trinity College Forty Years Ago," pp. 26-27; Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," p. 83.

[141] Rose L. Johnson, "The Commencement of 1871," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VI (April, 1920), 1-3.

[142] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 24, 1871, June 19, 1872, June 18, 1873, June 17, 1874, May 24, June 14, 1876, June 18, 1879, June 8, 1882; Johnson, "Sketches of Old Trinity," pp. 254-255.

[143] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 14, 1876, June 8, 1882.

[144] Johnson, "Sketches of Old Trinity," pp. 254-255.

[145] *Ibid.*; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 14, 1876, June 3 to June 8, 1882; J. M. Downum, "A Sketch of My College Days," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VII (July, 1921), 93-94.

drag forth their war speeches of 1862. For Christ's sake, let us have peace!

Here among the hills of central North Carolina stands Trinity College, an honor to its indefatigable President and the State. Its graduates already adorn every profession, and take influential part in the politics of the land. High moral and religious influences accompany the intellectual, and a career of usefulness spreads out before it such as invites but few of the literary institutions of the country. With a heart full of gratitude for extraordinary hospitalities extended, we bid North Carolina hail and farewell.[146]

Among other commencement speakers were the governors of Georgia and North and South Carolina, other statesmen, noted writers, and churchmen.[147]

The culmination of commencement week was the graduation exercises followed by the traditional "commencement party" in the evening.[148] These exercises included music, orations by each member of the graduating class, an address by some well-known speaker, and the presentation of honors and diplomas.[149] The three main orations by the seniors were the valedictory, which was delivered in English by the best all-round scholar in the class; the salutatory, in "ornate Ciceronian Latin," by the second best scholar; and the "philosophical oration" in "elegant Demosthenian Greek," by the third "best scholar."[150] The subjects of the orations were well diversified, as the following selections indicate:

1871—"The Ideal," "Pencilings of Aesthetics," "When the Sense of Beauty Dies, All is Lost," "There's More Beyond," "Progress of Materialism."

1872—"Slow Growth," "Concede With Grace, or Resist with Cannon," "Fast Living," "Wisdom Does Not Always Speak in Greek and Latin," "The Bar," "Soul-Force."

1873—"Science Interprets Nature," "Acts Interpret Ideas," "Legal Reform," "The Mystic Symbolizes the Real," "The Cup of Soc-

[146] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 5, 1876.

[147] Printed commencement programs, 1868-1882 (Trinity College Papers); *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 19, 1873, May 24, June 28, 1876, June 19, 1878; *North State*, Greensboro, N. C., June 20, 1878.

[148] Chaffin, "First Women at Trinity College," pp. 81-83.

[149] Printed programs of annual commencements 1866-1883.

[150] *Ibid.*; J. D. Hodges, "Dr. Craven and His Boys," *Trinity Alumni Register*, X (Feb., 1924), 71; Salutatory of the Class of '72 by C. B. Townsend (Trinity College Papers).

rates," "Scholarship upon the Destiny of America."

1875—"Distinction Marks," "True Manhood the Demand of the Age," "Higher Statesmanship," "The Maximum Point of Culture," "Free Thought."

1876—"Internationalism," "The Talent of Evil-doing," "The Past Lives in the Conscious Present," "The Politician," "The Statesman," "Methodism Then and Now," "The Secret of Power."

1877—"Who Shall Govern the Nation," "The Few Immortals," "The Pleasure of Incompleteness," "Prophets of the Millennium."

1878—"State of Civilization," "The Science of Thinking," "Every Man Must Build for Himself," "Progress Possible," "The Women of the Future," "Science and Religion."

1879—"Greatness Dwells Alone," "The Church," "He That Cannot Paint Must Grind the Colors," "Turn on the Light," "Success the Criterion of Talent," "Reform," "Graduation, What?"

1880—"Dead Legislation," "The Successful Man of the Future," "The Force of Organization," "Time is Measured by Thought, Not by Seconds," "Nihilism and Communism," "The Morning Seems to Dawn," "The South, A Confederacy," "The Last Fifteen Years."

1882—"Self-Government," "Assassination as a Political Remedy," "The Massive Grandeur of Integrity," "Grit," "Today," "Arctic Exploration," "The Passing Century," "The New South."[151]

The orations were usually praised, but occasionally were criticized. Once they were attacked for their strong stand against "radical-Negro Supremacy." Craven answered this criticism by stating that Trinity was a "White man's College," and that "nothing was said that was not eminently proper." He declared further that "Trinity deserves praise for her manly independence; kind and courteous to all, she makes no concessions, and asks no favors of the powers that are to be."[152]

At the final exercises of commencement the President of the College usually made a report of the year's work as a preliminary to conferring degrees and diplomas.[153] His report was followed by a few words of inspiration to the graduating class.[154]

[151] Printed commencement programs, 1871-1882; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 18, 1873, June 14, 1876.

[152] Undated MS written by Braxton Craven after the Civil War (Trinity College Papers).

[153] *Ibid.*

[154] Braxton Craven, Report No. 2 to the Board of Trustees, 1877 (Trinity College Papers).

TRINITY COLLEGE,

North Carolina.

GRADE OF

[illegible]

[illegible] 6 to Jan. '0 , 1876.

STUDIES.	Recitation Grade.	Examina'n Grade.
Latin	78	18
Greek		
Arithmetic		
English Grammar		
Algebra		
Geometry		
Trigonometry	18	15
Higher Mathematics		
Natural Science	11	17½
Rhetoric		
Logic		
Elocution		
Metaphysic		
History	11	21

STUDIES.	Recitation Grade.	Examina'n Grade.
Book-Keeping		
French	11	11
German	11	1
Writing		
Theology		
Law		
Composition	11	
Declamation		
Sabbath School		
Absence from Church, excused		
Absence from Church, not excused		
Absence from Prayers, excused		
Absence from Prayers, not excused		
Absence from Recitation, excused		
Absence from Recitation, not excused		
Department	1	
Demerits		
Honor	1	

GRADE REPORTS:

Four reports are made during the year; the highest attainable number is 100; first honor requires an average of 95; second honor 90; third honor 85.

B. CRAVEN, President.

STUDENT'S REPORT, 1876

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT

JUNE 5TH SATURDAY EVENING

Declamation by Members of the Freshman Class

1. TO-DAY—By W. A. Pierce, of Halifax County.
2. THE RUINS OF TIME—By H. B. Kroncke, of Onslow County.
3. POLITICAL CONSERVATISM—By A. Anderson, of Wake County.
4. THE LONE STAR OF TEXAS—By J. D. Monn, of Gotham County.
5. REMEDY FOR SECTIONAL HOSTILITY—By F. F. Wakefield, of Lenoir.
6. ALL THINGS BRIGHT MUST FADE—By F. M. Shamberger, of Moore County.
7. ACT CÆSAR, ACT NULLIS—By F. F. Finch, of Davidson County.

JUNE 6TH—SUNDAY

Sermon before the Theological Society, by Rev. J. R. BROOKS, of Newberne.

JUNE 7TH—MONDAY EVENING.

Declamation by Members of the Sophomore Class.

1. THE ART OF DEPARTURE—By J. L. White, of Trinity.
2. CONTRIVED ACCIDENTS—By R. A. Whitaker, of Trenton.
3. PAINT ME A FLAG—By K. F. Foscue, of Jones County.
4. EVER ONWARD—By J. M. Ashley, of Surry County.
5. SOPHOMORE SPLENDOR—By J. Hines, of Pender County.
6. LABOR AND ITS REWARD—By B. F. Lane, of Wayne County.
7. FIRST LOVE—By Eugene C. Branson, of Raleigh.

JUNE 8TH—TUESDAY EVENING

Orations by Members of the Junior Class.

1. BEAUTY IS SIMPLE—By R. M. Bo[illegible], [illegible], N. C.
2. THE PATH OF DUTY, THE PATH OF SAFETY—By R. H. Broom, M[illegible], N. C.
3. OMNES MUTANTUR ET NOS MUTAMUR—By B. N. Bodie, [illegible], N. C.
4. NO FLOWERS NO FRUIT—By C. A. Pyle, [illegible] County, N. C.
5. ALL ARE NOT POETS—By P. Holland, of Newberne, N. C.

JUNE 9TH WEDNESDAY

AT 10:30 A. M.

Annual Sermon by Rev. A. R. Winfield, D. D., of Arkansas.

AT 2:30 P. M.

Literary Address by Col. Walter Clark, of Raleigh, N. C.

AT 8 P. M.

Address before the Alumni by Prof. J. D. Hodges.

COMMENCEMENT DAY.

June 10th, 1880—10:30 A. M.

I. ANTHEM—By the Choir.
II. PRAYER.

MUSIC BY THE BAND.

III. TRIFLES—By William Albert Jones, Randolph County.
IV. DEAD LEGISLATION—By Girondin Thomas Sikes, Granville County.

MUSIC.

V. THE SUCCESSFUL MAN OF THE FUTURE—By Rufus Thomas Crews, Granville County.
VI. FARCE OF ORGANIZATION—By Daniel Elijah Perry, Kinston.

MUSIC.

VII. MUSIC—By James Alonzo Edwards, Greene County.
VIII. TIME IS MEASURED BY THOUGHT NOT BY SECONDS—By Nathan Fletcher Loftin, Thomasville.

MUSIC.

IX. THE TIDE TAKEN AT THE FLOOD—By William Davis Griffin, Franklin County.
X. NIHILISM AND COMMUNISM—By Edwin Gibbons Moore, Wilson County.

MUSIC.

XI. THE MORNING SEEMS TO DAWN—By Charles Henry Armfield, Statesville.
XII. HUMAN ANTAGONISM—By Fletcher Reid Dearnith, Stokes County.

MUSIC.

XIII. THE SOUTH, A CONFEDERACY—By Willis Brore Dowd, Charlotte.
XIV. VITAL MAGNETISM—By Goodwin Davis Ellsworth, Duplin.
XV. THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS—By George Washington Holmes, Alamance County.

MUSIC.

XVI. REPORTS—DEGREES CONFERRED.
XVII. SOCIETY MEDALS { R. H. Broom. / B. N. Bodie.

MUSIC.

XVIII. BIBLES PRESENTED.
XIX. VALEDICTORY ADDRESSES—By Edward Hill Davis, Louisburg.

MUSIC.

XX. PRESENTATION OF THE SCHOLARSHIP MEDAL.
XXI. PRESENTATION OF THE WILEY GRAY PRIZE MEDAL.
XXII. BENEDICTION.

PROGRAM OF ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT WEEK, 1880

Trinity continued its former practice of presenting a Bible to each member of the graduating class. Besides this, from time to time various honors were given, and the following medals were offered: the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies presented a gold medal to each graduating class; besides, each society presented a gold medal to the member who secured the greatest number of books for the libraries; the best debater also received a gold medal; a "Law Medal" was given by the law department; a scholarship medal was presented by a "friend" of the College to "the student in any regular class who obtains the highest grade during the year"; and in 1879 and thereafter the "Wiley Gray Medal, worth $25," was established and presented to "the Senior who is adjudged to speak best on Commencement Day."[155]

Of all the honors given, the Wiley Gray Medal came to be the most coveted. It was established by Robert T. Gray, of Raleigh, in honor of his brother, Captain Samuel Wiley Gray, who was killed at the Battle of Gettysburg.[156] The medal was presented for the first time at the graduation exercises in 1879 and was won by G. W. Koonce. At that time F. H. Busbee described the circumstances surrounding the establishing of the medal and handed it to Governor Thomas J. Jarvis to be presented to the winning student.[157]

Besides the academic and literary exercises connected with the commencement, there were social gatherings of students, faculty, alumni, and other friends. The Theological Society, the Alumni Association, the literary societies, and the fraternities held meetings and banquets.[158] As in former days, the final social occasion of commencement week was the commencement party, which was held in the evening after the graduation exercises. Much time and thought were given to its planning, preparation, and execution; and it was considered the most brilliant social occasion of the year.[159] At

[155] Printed commencement programs, 1868-1882; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1879-1880*, p. 27.

[156] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 18, July 2, 1879; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1879-1880*, p. 2.

[157] An account of the annual commencement of 1879 and the Wiley Gray Medal with the circumstances of its founding may be found in "Wiley Gray Medal," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 2, 1878.

[158] *Observer*, June 16, 1878.

[159] For a detailed description of one of these parties, see the *Morning Star*, June 20, 1878.

these parties there were an abundance of decorations and food, much friendly discourse, and leisurely strolling about the buildings and grounds. Though music was furnished by bands from near-by towns, no dancing was permitted. Because this form of entertainment was forbidden, some friend of the College occasionally pointed out the superiority of the social affairs at Trinity over those of the University of North Carolina.[160]

The Administration

As the years passed, an occasional graduate or former student was added to the board of trustees, but that body was made up largely of Methodists or influential friends who had never been students at Trinity. Some of the men who had served on the board since the days of Union Institute and Normal College continued their services. With these, the board was comprised of preachers about equal in number to business and professional men from every section of the state.[161]

Although some of the alumni felt that an occasional member of the board was unfriendly to Trinity, there is little evidence of enmity to the College; but there is considerable record of disagreement with Craven. The majority of the trustees had been Craven's friends for many years and had loyally supported his management of Trinity; but the few who did not, hampered him in his work.[162]

A minority composed largely of ministers questioned his selection and organization of the faculty and curriculum. In 1874 they succeeded in having a minority report of their disagreement recorded in the minutes of the board of trustees. This report declared that Trinity was not receiving the patronage and money it should because of its "organization and pay of the faculty and disparity between

[160] Braxton Craven wrote vigorously against the dance. See Braxton Craven, "The Dance—No!," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 3, 1875.

[161] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1867-1882; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, pp. 69, 207, 1874-1881, pp. 141, 290; B. Craven, Annual Report of the President to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 13, 1870; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 68-69; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 27, March 6, 1878.

[162] E. A. Yates, *An Address on the Life and Labors of Reverend William Closs (Historical Papers* published by the Historical Society of the North Carolina Conference, 1901), p. 26; A. D. Betts to Braxton Craven, July 20, 1874 (Trinity College Papers); Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," p. 320.

the number of schools and the professors therefor." The report then called for a thorough reorganization of the College at the end of the ensuing year. The report was suppressed, and no decided change was made. After this date, however, a defensive note occasionally appeared in Craven's reports to the trustees.[163]

Intrusted with the general care of the College, the trustees delegated most of their responsibility to the executive and other committees, the president, and the faculty. As in former years, Craven assumed active leadership both in policy-forming and in the details of administration. The members of the faculty, appointed upon his recommendation, were devoted helpers.

Of these members, W. T. Gannaway, O. W. Carr, and Lemuel Johnson continued their services from former years; the others included Peter Doub, W. C. Doub, R. S. Andrews, J. K. Tucker, W. H. Pegram, John W. Young, C. P. Frazier, J. D. Hodges, and J. M. Ashby. Of these twelve members of the faculty, eight had been graduated from Trinity, and seven also held master's degrees from the College. Frazier and Hodges engaged in further study at Northern institutions before they returned to Trinity. Of those who had attended the College, all were from rural North Carolina except Tucker, who came from South Carolina. The Reverend Peter Doub and Young had never attended college, and W. C. Doub was a graduate of Randolph-Macon College.[164]

The work and personalities of the faculty were both praised and criticized. Walter Hines Page, then a homesick boy, accused his teachers of being partial and declared that students who received high grades were either "humbugs" or "bootlickers."[165] The personal appearance of the professors gave rise to the comment that they

[163] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 92-93 ff.

[164] Braxton Craven, Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees, 1866, 1867; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1866-1882; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1866-1882; *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 147-153; *Episcopal Methodist*, Feb. 27, 1867; William Trigg Gannaway, "A Sketch of Professor William Trigg Gannaway," *Trinity Archive*, VI (April, 1893), 279-280; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 70-71; Alumni Records, 1860-1928; M. T. Plyler and Alva Washington Plyler, *Men of the Burning Heart: Ivey-Dow-Doub* (Raleigh, 1918); M. T. Plyler, "Peter Doub, Itinerant of Heroic Days" (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, published by the Trinity College Historical Society and the North Carolina Conference Historical Society, Series IX, Durham, 1912), pp. 33-50.

[165] Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page*, I, 19.

looked as if "they ought to be worming tobacco."[166] Their scholarship was occasionally subject to attack, and the *North Carolina Christian Advocate* allowed a controversy on this subject to be carried in its columns.

Friends were often extravagant in their praise of the professors.[167] Senator F. M. Simmons wrote of them: "We had able teachers, men of considerable learning and strong personalities."[168] Another writer stated that in appearance they were "as well dressed and as personable as any other group of men in North Carolina" at this "dismal time."[169] It was claimed further that one of the reasons why Trinity was bound to succeed as a college was the fact that its faculty was "second to none in the whole country."[170] Perhaps the truth about the ability of the faculty lies between the claims of friends and critics.

Salaries were meager and seldom paid in full. The professors were supposed to receive $1,000 annually, but they were rarely paid this amount; in fact, W. T. Gannaway stated that "gross receipts were too meager to pay more than one fourth of a living salary."[171]

In 1870 the trustees decided that "we as a Board assume the payment of salaries" and announced salaries as follows: President of the College, $1,500; professors, $1,000; Treasurer, $200 to $250; all to be paid in three installments.[172] The President of the College was also the treasurer, and his actual salary, therefore, was about $1,700. From 1870 through 1873 the faculty received their stipulated amounts, but for some years thereafter they usually received between $700 and $800.[173] Occasionally some professor petitioned the board for an increase in pay, but the petition was always denied because of lack of funds.[174] Although Craven frequently urged the

[166] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 8, 1874.

[167] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 21, 1871; Hodges, "Dr. Craven and His Boys," pp. 70 ff.; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 76 ff.; "'Old Trinity' Faculty Many Years Ago," *Duke Alumni Register*, XVI (May, 1930), 157-158.

[168] Rippy (ed.), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South*, p. 6.

[169] Long, *A Segment of the American Scene*, p. 172.

[170] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 21, 1871, Aug. 20, 1873.

[171] Gannaway, "A Sketch of Professor William Trigg Gannaway," pp. 279-280; Settlement with Faculty, 1869 (Trinity College Papers).

[172] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 63-64; B. Craven to the board of trustees, 1876.

[173] Braxton Craven, Final Statement, 1879; President's Report, 1880; General Statement of Receipts, Disbursements, 1870-1878 (Trinity College Papers).

[174] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 115-116.

trustees to change their "nominal" responsibility for the payment of the faculty into a "real" responsibility, he was unable to persuade them to such action.[175]

While the Reverend Peter Doub was a member of the faculty he was to be paid by the North Carolina Conference according to an agreement made in 1866 when he was appointed Professor of Biblical Literature. Doub's salary was set at $1,000 a year and payment of it apportioned among the eight presiding elders' districts of the North Carolina Conference. In June, 1867, Craven reported to the trustees: "Thus far Dr. Doub has received very little pay; and now owes the entire board bill for himself and Sister Doub."[176] Doub's salary was never paid in full, even though collections were taken at each meeting of the Conference.[177]

In 1876 Craven paid the following tribute to the faculty:

> . . . the financial policy of the College has been a safe one, but it has borne heavily upon hard-working, faithful men—the policy that all current expenses must be met by income from tuition. Trinity has never had any other resources and the Faculty have never received a dollar from any other source. With the exception of one year, this rule has from the first been rigidly executed. About half the time since the War, the Professors received a stated salary of respectable magnitude that was promptly paid, but during those years the President received very little. During the other years, the income after deducting contingent expenses, has been divided pro rata among all, and for much of the time the amount has been too little for comfortable living, and less than such ability commands in all places and pursuits. We have a full faculty of competent men, and less than 150 students will not pay them adequately.[178]

The Curriculum and Encouragements to Scholarship

In 1866 entrance requirements as well as the curriculum were the same as those prior to 1862. Allowed to join any classification for which they were prepared, students might enter the preparatory department or any special course or college class.[179] Admission to

[175] B. Craven to the board of trustees, 1876 (Trinity College Papers).

[176] Braxton Craven, The President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867. See also Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1873, pp. 29, 71, 81, 90, 109; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, Nov. 9, 10, 1866.

[177] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1874, p. 81.

[178] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 6, 1876.

[179] *Minutes of the Thirty-sixth Annual Session of the North Carolina Conference*

college classes was by examination only.[180] From 1866 to 1871 the number of students in the preparatory and special courses outnumbered those in the collegiate classes; but after that time, although the variation was slight, the college students outnumbered other classifications.[181]

Because he found students poorly prepared for college and because he was committed to the policy of a preparatory department in connection with Trinity, Craven emphasized the work of that department. He advised parents to send their sons to Trinity if there were no good preparatory schools near their homes.[182] In 1881 he declared that scholarship in all college classes was seriously affected by the "very poor preparation for college, now very general throughout the State."[183]

At the end of the first academic session after the Civil War, Craven suggested to the trustees that a "Military Department" might be established at Trinity by the War Department of the United States.[184] No record has been discovered of any action by the trustees in this matter, and no record has been found of a "Military Department" at the College after the Civil War.

Meanwhile other plans for the curriculum were formulated. In 1867 Craven wrote of the general educational policy of the College:

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of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Held at Fayetteville, N. C., December 4-9, 1872 (Raleigh, 1873), p. 1.

[180] *Journal of the Thirtieth Session of the North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Fayetteville, N. C., November 7-12, 1866* (Raleigh, 1866), Appendix, pp. v-ix.

[181] Appendix, tables 1 and 2. "A great change has occurred in the status of the students. Formerly we had many irregulars, and a large preparatory; now we have a very few pursuing an irregular course and very few in the preparatory department. This is a change in the right direction, but it is more rapid than is desirable. Until large numbers are able to pay for thorough education, and desire to obtain it, an unendowed college cannot well dispense with any kind of patronage for which she has the means of instruction. Nearly all the great institutions in America have recently taken action for the benefit of such as desire a special course, and invite them with the offer of the very best facilities. Trinity has good accomodations [*sic*] for such students, and desires to increase the patronage of that kind" (B. Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference of the M. E. Church, South [1872 ?].

[182] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 5, 1876.

[183] B. Craven, Annual Report to Board of Trustees, 1881.

[184] Braxton Craven, The President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867.

It was suited to Methodism in North Carolina in its transition stage from foreign and domestic servitude to distinct independent literary freedom. It was easy to see that the change would be effected by preachers and teachers. Normal first became a home for teachers and at Salisbury asked for preachers. The literary spirit of Methodism now asks for conditions that in 1850 it did not want. Trinity is organized to meet these requisitions; the navigation is slow and difficult, because public opinion is broken into a thousand eddies. If Trinity precisely suited public opinion now, it would be unsuited next year, and we should re-enact the unfortunate history of nearly every Methodist College in the Union, viz., having to be made over again three or four times with immense lapses and useless vexation.[185]

What should be included in college curricula was a much debated question among college officials, and students did not hesitate to join in the discussion.[186] Out of the discussion came a partial change and readjustment of the curriculum. The college catalogue in 1874 stated that Trinity "intended to promote good morals and personal piety, as well as thorough scholarship and liberal culture"; moreover, the institution was "not sectarian in any sense." In fact, "All denominations have equal advantage in care and culture of their sons at Trinity; no distinctions are made in any way." The intention was "to communicate sound Christian culture to all who may apply, and are qualified to receive it."[187]

Although Trinity disclaimed any sectarianism, the College was definitely committed to the promotion of piety. In 1868 Craven recorded in his diary: "Without religion a college is a curse to society."[188] Since he attempted to fit the program of studies at Trinity to the demands of society, he could not neglect the requirements of the denomination which controlled the College.

The question of the "establishment of a Professor of Biblical Literature" was considered first by the board of trustees and then by the North Carolina Conference. "The design in organizing the

[185] MS by Braxton Craven (Trinity College Papers).

[186] B. Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1872; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 24, 1874.

[187] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1873-1874*, p. 3. Regardless of this statement, Benjamin Moffitt, Treasurer of Randolph, wrote in 1869 that Trinity was "patronized mainly by members of the Methodist Church. . . ." See Cox, "Development of Education in Randolph County."

[188] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," p. 74.

department was to meet fully the idea of the General Conference" in reference to the training of ministers.[189] In June, 1866, the trustees refused to permit the organization of a department of theology; but in October of the same year they reconsidered, voted for such a department, and proposed the name of the Reverend Peter Doub as Professor of Biblical Literature.[190] This action was considered by the North Carolina Conference in November, 1866, and that body resolved to establish a theological school at Trinity with Doub as its professor.[191]

The theological department was at once organized, and Doub assumed his duties at Trinity. A fragment of manuscript among Craven's papers describes the "School of Biblical Literature" late in 1866 or early in 1867:

Faculty
Rev. B. Craven, D.D., President
Rev. Peter Doub, D.D., Professor
W. T. Gannaway, A.M., Professor
O. W. Carr, A.M., Professor

Two courses of instruction have been established. One is the same as that prescribed by the Bishops, and is intended for those who can devote only a short time to study; the other contemplates all things necessary to thorough ministerial education. This course, the same in general literature, Science, and Philosophy as the College curriculum, will require four years, and those who complete it, will be regularly graduated in the School of Biblical Literature. Students can enter exclusively as Biblical students and take either course; or any student in the College may attend the Biblical Department at the option of himself or friends.

Students in this department pay matriculation $5, Janitors fee $3, per annum, but no tuition fee. . . .[192]

During its first term the School of Theology was in an experimental state, but it proved its value to the Conference and to the College.[193] In June, 1867, Craven reported on its success to the board of trustees:[194]

[189] School of Biblical Literature (Trinity College Papers).

[190] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 38, 40.

[191] *Journal of the Thirtieth Session of the North Carolina Annual Conference, November, 1866*, Appendices 5-9, pp. 14, 29.

[192] School of Biblical Literature (Trinity College Papers).

[193] *Episcopal Methodist*, Feb. 27, 1867; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, p. 26; *Sentinel*, June 19, 1867.

[194] B. Craven, President's Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867.

> The Biblical Chair, is, I think, a decided success. We have eight in that department. Young men of great promise, and all delighted with the Professor and the course of study. At the present time we have the largest class and the most thoroughly organized Department in the Southern Church. . . .
>
> I think this Chair immensely important both to the College and the Church, and I am confident the appointment of Dr. Doub is very popular with other Conferences as well as our own people generally. He not only knows the whole subject, but is a very good instructor.

By its second year (1867-1868), the theological department had been thoroughly organized with a prescribed course of study which remained substantially the same throughout this period. The number of students enrolled annually ranged from twelve to twenty-seven.[195]

Craven suggested to the trustees in June, 1868, that efforts be made to endow the Biblical Department; and a committee was appointed to present the matter to the North Carolina Conference. Nothing was done that year, and in 1870 the Conference resolved that it could not support even a Professor of Biblical Literature.[196]

Meanwhile, Doub, who was both elderly and ill, had died, and the Committee on Education of the North Carolina Conference announced in 1869 "that the important duties of that Department [Biblical]" had been "promptly assumed and will continue to be discharged by the indefatigable President, until a suitable successor can be appointed." Although Craven frequently recommended action, nothing further was done.[197]

To meet another growing demand for specialized training, a School of Law was organized in 1868. Using both "lecture and textbooks," Craven taught the first few sessions. In 1870 after he had urged the trustees to give their attention to the needs of this department "at the earliest practicable time," the board resolved that since there was no means to pay a professor of law, Craven himself should assume the duties or make any suitable arrangement for filling the professorship in some other way. Craven continued to

[195] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, pp. 16-17; see also catalogues for 1868-1882, and Appendix, tables 1 and 2.

[196] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 49; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, p. 174.

[197] B. Craven, Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 13, 1870; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 62-63; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, p. 120.

carry the work alone until 1873, when a regular instructor in law was appointed.[198] In that year the College catalogue carried this notice:

> Rev. B. Craven, D.D., LL.D., President and Professor of National and Constitutional Law.
>
> John W. Young, Esq., Instructor of Common and Statute Law.
>
> Complete instruction is given in daily lectures, examinations, etc. Students are fully prepared to obtain license.
>
> Terms
>
> College students $20 per annum
>
> Law Students exclusively, $60 per annum
>
> Young men, who desire to study law, will find many advantages at Trinity, not usually found at Law Schools.[199]

Although descriptions of the department of law continued to appear in the college catalogues, this particular notice did not appear in any catalogue after 1874. It appears that after that date, Craven carried the work of that department alone. From 1869 to 1882 from six to thirty-seven students studied law each year.[200]

In order to meet the requirements of students who could not afford four years in college or who were not interested in a liberal-arts course, Trinity again evolved an elastic curriculum to be modified as the need arose. The "Partial Course" provided for one group:

> We have all necessary arrangements for such as wish to spend some time in a good school, but are unable to obtain a finished education. They can enter at any time, select such studies as they may desire, enjoy all the privileges of the Societies, Libraries, etc., and on leaving will receive certificates of Scholarship according to studies and proficiency. This arrangement is especially valuable to those who wish to study Arithmetic, English Grammar, and other ordinary branches of an English education. Such students receive careful attention and are thoroughly instructed.[201]

[198] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1868-1869; Journal of the Thirty-third Session of the North Carolina Annual Conference, November 24-30, 1869* (Raleigh, 1869), Advertisement; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 62-63; Braxton Craven, Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 13, 1870 (Trinity College Papers); W. G. Sheppard, "The Trinity College Law School," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (Jan., 1916), 265-266; W. B. Bolich (comp.), *Alumni Directory, Duke University School of Law*, 1935 (Durham, 1935), Preface; Braxton Craven, Law Lectures (Braxton Craven Papers).

[199] *Trinity College Catalogue, 1873-1874*, p. 17.

[200] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1867-1882.

[201] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, pp. 14-15.

Courses were offered in commerce, business, engineering, architecture, and other subjects which required "practical instruction."[202] Beginning in 1873 "telegraphy" was taught at Trinity.[203] A normal course in teaching was offered for the first time after the Civil War in 1876.[204] Although physical training was not listed as a part of the collegiate curriculum, it was required after 1868.[205] In 1880 a Department of Medicine was organized with Craven in charge. This department offered studies preliminary to courses offered in medical schools.[206] If a student could not find what he wanted among the officially listed subjects, a "special course" could be arranged for him.[207]

These courses were offered as an addition to, and sometimes as a part of, the regular college curriculum. Although in 1865 the "University System" was adopted by the College, the curriculum officially remained in form and content practically unchanged until 1869.[208] In that year Craven asked the trustees that the proposed "University System" be introduced in order to conform to public demand for the best current practices in college curricula. He proposed that all instruction be organized into "schools and that the following schools be adopted: (1) Latin, (2) Greek, (3) Mathematics, (4) English Literature, (5) Natural Science, (6) Biblical Literature, (7) Modern Languages, (8) Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Logic, (9) Engineering and Architecture, (10) Analytical Chemistry, (11) Law." In making this proposal Craven pointed out: "This would in fact be no more than has been taught for some years; but this distinct arrangement would satisfy the public demand and promote the classification of students."[209] At the same time, Craven

[202] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, p. 15. See also catalogues from 1868 to 1882.

[203] *Ibid., 1873-1874*, p. 17.

[204] *Ibid., 1876-1877*, p. 26.

[205] *Ibid., 1867-1868*, p. 19; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1874-1881, pp. 181-189.

[206] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 22, 1880.

[207] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1868-1869*, p. 17. See also catalogues from 1870 to 1882.

[208] B. Craven, Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 8, 1869; *Journal of the Thirtieth Session of the North Carolina Conference, Fayetteville, November 7-12, 1866*, pp. v-ix.

[209] B. Craven, Annual Report of the President to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 8, 1869.

suggested that some adjustment be made in regard to requirements for degrees or graduation because of the demands of the times:

> I would also earnestly invite your attention to the Studies that should be prescribed as a requisite to the usual Collegiate degrees. There is a very general desire that less attention should be given to Ancient Languages and more to the Natural Sciences, Mathematics and English Literature. The general opinion, so far as I can ascertain, is that a change must be made: while all Scholars regret to yield anything in Ancient Languages, yet all seem to think that the force of public opinion will inevitably effect a change. I, therefore, suggest to you the following program of studies and degrees.[210]

After considering these proposals, the trustees resolved that the system be adopted.[211] The collegiate curriculum which was organized as a result of this action remained substantially unchanged as long as Craven was president. There were minor changes in the names of two of the schools; that of English Literature became English Literature and Rhetoric; and that of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Logic became Mental and Moral Philosophy. As a rule, students were free to make their own choice of studies or combination of studies, with the requirement that they must include subjects in three different schools.[212]

It seems impossible that the numerous courses outlined in the curriculum could have been taught by the small instructional staff of limited training. Perhaps courses were listed in the catalogue from year to year even though they were not taught. Some evidence of this practice appears in the records of the College.[213]

The requirements for diplomas, certificates, and degrees were modified from time to time. In 1867-1868 these requirements were the same as those for 1860-1861, but during the succeeding years they were somewhat changed. "Certificates of Proficiency" were given for "satisfactory attainment" in any school. Graduation in a

[210] *Ibid.*

[211] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 54.

[212] *Journal of the Thirty-third Session of the North Carolina Conference, November 24-30, 1869*, Advertisement; *Episcopal Methodist*, Feb. 27, 1867; *Minutes of the Thirty-sixth Annual Session of the North Carolina Conference, December 4-9, 1872*, Advertisement; Brooks, "Craven's Reorganization and Management of the College," pp. 1-2; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1868-1869*, pp. 11-17; see also catalogues from 1870 to 1882.

[213] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 192-193.

school, which carried with it a diploma, was conferred upon those who had completed all the studies in any school and had passed a satisfactory examination.[214] In addition to the usual honorary degrees conferred by colleges and universities, the following academic degrees were given: Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Philosophy, Bachelor of Science, and Master of Arts. The required studies for each of these degrees were as follows:

Bachelor of Arts—English Literature, Latin, French, Greek or German, Mathematics, Natural Science, Rhetoric and Logic, Metaphysics.
Bachelor of Philosophy—English Literature, Natural Science, Mathematics, Metaphysics, French, German, or Latin.
Bachelor of Science—English Literature, Natural Science and Mathematics.
Master of Arts—The same as Bachelor of Arts with an extension in all schools, and usually a thesis.[215]

As the courses of study developed, the four libraries—the Columbian, Hesperian, Theological, and College—usually shelved in separate rooms, became more important. Assembled through the efforts of students and other friends of Trinity, these libraries together totaled more than ten thousand volumes valued at more than ten thousand dollars.[216]

The growing number of "fossils, Indian relics, and rare and curious minerals" in the museum were welcome adjuncts to classroom teaching. Other aids were "Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, Maps, Charts, Models" and "necessary means for Chemical Analysis, Surveys, Practical Engineering, etc." Lectures on various subjects were given by the faculty and guest speakers.[217]

Examinations, both oral and written, were held at the end of each term. Honors were based on the daily grade given by the professor and on the final examination. At commencement students

[214] See catalogues of Trinity College from 1867 to 1882.

[215] *Ibid.;* B. Craven, *Trinity College* (pamphlet, 1872-1873, Trinity College Papers).

[216] B. Craven, Trinity College Report to the North Carolina Conference, Nov. 27, 1876; Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 187-188; "Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 6, 1876, Jan. 28, 1880.

[217] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1868-1882; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 24, 1874, Dec. 6, 1876. In his reports and public addresses Craven usually called attention to these aids to instruction.

whose records showed the highest grades in each class were given the usual "Distinctions."[218]

Reports of the progress of students were made to parents from four to six times during the year. These reports were "made with care" and included an estimate of "scholarship, attention to duty, punctuality at prayers, preaching and Sabbath School," and information about "expenses, manners and character generally." The college catalogue stated that they "neither flatter nor palliate," but give "very complete information on everything especially interesting to our patrons."[219]

Following the lead of the University of North Carolina, which on authority of the General Assembly conducted a summer school for teachers in 1877, Craven organized a "Summer Normal School" at Trinity.[220] Financially, the school at the University was partly supported by an appropriation from the state and partly by another from the Peabody Education Fund.[221] Upon the establishment of the Peabody Fund, Craven had proposed to the trustees that application for an appropriation be made.[222] If such an application was made, it was refused along with others from private academies and colleges in the South. The General Agent for the Peabody Fund thought their "sectarian character would render the selection of any one distasteful to the friends of all the rest."[223] Nevertheless, in 1878 Craven was determined to organize a "Summer Normal" at Trinity. Public statement of the aims and plans of the summer school appeared in the press of the state.[224] Craven sent the following

[218] Catalogues of Trinity College from 1868 to 1882; "Trinity College—President's Report," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 26, 1872.

[219] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1868-1880; B. Craven, Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 13, 1870.

[220] Knight, *Public Education in North Carolina*, pp. 290-302; Hay Taylor, *An Interpretation of the Early Administration of the Peabody Education Fund* (Nashville, 1933), p. 113; "Normal School at Chapel Hill," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 25, 1877; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 142-150.

[221] Taylor, *Interpretation of the Early Administration of the Peabody Education Fund*, p. 113; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 142.

[222] B. Craven, The President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867.

[223] Taylor, *Interpretation of the Early Administration of the Peabody Fund*, p. 106.

[224] Brooks, "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education after the War," pp. 5-6; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 6, 1878; B. Craven, "Trinity Normal School," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 17, 24, 1878. This periodical, encouraging

announcement of the dates of the summer school, its length of term, expenses, equipment, and other information to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*:

A Normal School will begin at Trinity College, June 20, and continue four weeks. We shall have all the elements of a first-class Normal; various kinds of apparatus; helps for teachers, improved methods of teaching, instruction in music, management of Sunday schools, etc.

We cordially invite all teachers, all who desire to teach, and all who feel an interest in the subject. Our accommodations are good, and the month spent here will be pleasant. Abundant accommodations for ladies will be provided.

Board with furnished rooms $1.50 to $2.50 per week; no charge for instruction; return tickets for one fare on the Railroads.[225]

The summer school opened as announced and ran its full course of four weeks. At the end of the third week, a correspondent to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* wrote a detailed description of the school:

Three weeks of the School have now passed, and a fair estimate can be made of the school as members, work, grade, and influence. Two hundred have been enrolled, representing 25 counties; of these, 125 are teachers, and many of the remainder probably will be. Several of these teachers have achieved considerable distinction in different parts of the State. . . . There are connected with the school about 20 children, who have regular lessons daily, and in the instruction of these, theories of teaching are tested, and teachers show their skill and efficiency. This is regarded by all as one of the most interesting and profitable exercises of the School. The attendance represents all ages from the gray-haired teacher down to the boy and girl; as to advancement there are about 30 graduates of different colleges, and thence through all graduations. The occasion is pleasant, the general manner remarkably fine, and the tone excellent; but the work is decisive, earnest and somewhat heavy. It is not a time of idleness, relaxation, or gaiety; but rather, stern labor, diligence and dispatch. A large number of visitors are present every day; sometimes they come by rail, sometimes in carriages. They add largely to the general interest without incommoding any of the School work.

The Debating Club is a decided success, the attendance being very large, and debate full of interest.

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teachers to attend "Trinity Normal School," printed a brief account of the rise and development of the normal-school idea.

[225] Braxton Craven, "Trinity Normal School," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 1, 17, 24, 1878.

Next week Mrs. and Miss Pollock of Washington, D. C. will teach Kindergarten. They are not simply teachers of object lessons, as are most of those who profess to be teachers in this department, but are thorough Kindergarteners, graduates from the best school in Prussia, and highly accomplished.

The School is clearly developing several things:

1. That many teachers never teach at all; they are no more than a species of overseer.
2. That many have no correct idea of school organization, and have no concept of discipline beyond mere brute force.
3. That many good scholars are poor teachers.
4. That much that is written about scholars, government, modes, etc., in the Northern States is not only inapplicable, but mischievous when applied here.[226]

There are only hints relative to the financing of the Summer Normal. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* stated in July, 1878, that "Dr. Craven, the faculty, and others are giving their entire time" to the school.[227] The "faculty" was probably the regular winter teaching staff at Trinity, but there were two exceptions—Mrs. Louise Pollock, who in 1880 was "head of a Kindergarten School, Washington, D. C.," and Miss Susie Pollock, also from Washington.[228] These ladies had been trained in "the best theoretical instruction to be had in America and Europe" and had "long and varied experience as practical teachers."[229] It is doubtful that these women contributed their services free. In 1880 the two ladies became members of the summer-school faculty at the University of North Carolina.[230]

A second summer school was held at Trinity in 1879, and the following "Laws and Regulations for Trinity Normal School" were formulated:

1. The school may begin at such time in June or July each year as the faculty may determine and continue not less than four weeks.

2. The principal object shall be to train teachers and those who wish to become teachers in the theory and practice of teaching, governing and managing schools, and as connected therewith to impart instruction in any and all branches that properly pertain to common schools.

[226] "Trinity Normal School," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 24, 1878.
[227] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 17, 1878.
[228] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 199.
[229] Knight, *Public Education in North Carolina*, pp. 302-303.
[230] *Ibid.*; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 199.

3. The control and management of the school subject to these regulations is placed in the President of the College and those [who] may assist in the school.

4. Certificates issued to teachers according to the act of the General Assembly shall be of two classes and shall be so marked on the certificate.

5. To obtain a certificate of the first class, the applicant shall stand approved examination upon spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, elements of algebra, history of the United States, and natural philosophy. The second class shall require the same as the first, except algebra, history, and philosophy.

6. The certificate shall be signed by the President of the Board of Education, the superintendent of schools, and two or more teachers.[231]

In June, 1879, Craven published a notice about the opening of the Normal School.[232] The school began on June 20; and the "normal board consisted of B. Craven, L. Johnson, W. H. Pegram, J. M. Weatherly, W. A. Welborn, Lorena Reynolds, N. C. English, and Mary Giles."[233] Instruction was given in "English grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Spelling, Reading, Writing, History, Algebra, Latin, lectures on teaching and school government and all matters pertaining to common schools according to the recent act of the General Assembly." The arrangement for instruction was termed superb.[234] The large hall in which the sessions of the school were held was "neatly arranged with tables and chairs . . . well ventilated and in every way comfortable."

The summer-school students were serious in their work:

> The students commenced in earnest from the first hour, and are very busily engaged. These teachers clearly mean business; hence we may expect beneficial results to be seen in the primary schools. The lectures delivered every day are receiving unusual attention and exerting great influence. Several of the most influential teachers in the country are here.[235]

Of the total number of 184 students in attendance, 105 were teachers. At the close of the session certificates were issued to thirty-eight teachers.[236]

[231] Brooks, "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education after the War," pp. 6-7.
[232] Braxton Craven, "Trinity Normal School," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 18, 1879.
[233] Brooks, "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education after the War," p. 6.
[234] *Ibid.; Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 9, 1879.
[235] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 9, 1879.
[236] *Ibid.*

No record has been found of summer schools at Trinity during the next two years of Craven's administration, but in 1880 the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* referred in an editorial to the fact that Trinity and the University of North Carolina "have inaugurated Normal Schools which are carried on during the Summer vacations."[237]

Financial Affairs

Of all the problems of the College, that of finance was perhaps the most persistent. The income derived from fees varied with the years because of changes in the amount of money required and because of fluctuation in the number of students. Charges for tuition were gauged according to courses taken—preparatory, special, or college. Tuition ranged from $40 to $70 for the school year of ten months. Other charges paid by students once a year were matriculation, $5.00; and janitor's fee, $3.00 to $4.00. Moreover, students paid $10.00 to $20.00 for books; $2.00 to $11.00 for annual literary society and commencement dues, and fifty to seventy-five cents a month for washing. The cost of board, including furnished room and servants, was $6.00 to $16.00 a month, depending upon the distance of the boardinghouse from the College. Students who combined in "boarding clubs" found that board and room cost them $4.00 to $10.00 a month. The whole expense per annum, except for books and clothing, ranged from $175.00 to $200.00.[238]

All payment was required in currency, "board monthly in advance, tuition half in advance; the remainder at the middle of the term." Any departure from this general rule was by special arrangement between the President of the College and the student. Regardless of the efforts of the administration to keep expenses at a minimum, students and others sometimes declared that the cost of a college education could be further lowered.[239]

[237] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1880.

[238] "T. J. W." to "Dear Sir," Aug. 8, 1866 (Trinity College Papers); catalogues of Trinity College, 1867-1882; *Episcopal Methodist*, Feb. 19, Aug. 19, 1868; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 12, 1870, July 31, 1872, July 29, 1874, July 21, 1875, Jan., 1876, Sept. 12, 1877, Oct. 1, 1879, July 12, 1882; Braxton Craven, Annual Reports to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1872-1877.

[239] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," pp. 69 ff.; Ryman, "Ancient History," p. 234; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1876-1877*, p. 29.

Bad crops adversely affected both the enrollment and the payment of fees, and the financial debacle in the seventies severely strained the resources of the College.[240] In explaining to the trustees the loss in the number of students for the year 1870-1871, Craven wrote: "This diminution [thirty-seven fewer than the previous year] in number is to be accounted for in the stringency of financial affairs, the unusually high curriculum of the College, the strictness of our examinations, and perhaps other causes."[241] In 1876 he again reported to the trustees and to the members of the North Carolina Conference: "The finances of the College are very adversely affected by the stringency of the times."[242] The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* commented editorially: "Trinity must have great merit or very active friends to hold her own so well in the face of sharp competition and in the midst of hard times."[243] The Committee on Education of the North Carolina Conference paid further tribute to the tenacity of the College: "Notwithstanding the long protracted stringency in the financial condition of the country and the formidable rivalry of other prominent institutions, Trinity College continues to enjoy a liberal patronage and is self-sustaining."[244]

Even though Trinity was hard-pressed financially, it did not change its policy toward needy students and sons of ministers. There were no tuition charges to sons of the members of the North Carolina Conference and to "maimed soldiers." Moreover, ministers of other denominations were "favored," and arrangements were made for students who could not meet the financial requirements of the College.[245] In 1876 Craven compiled the following statistics of Trinity:

From 1866 to 1876, the average number of matriculations was one hundred and fifty-six; gross annual income, six thousand dollars; gratui-

[240] Brooks, "Braxton Craven's Diary," pp. 69 ff.; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, November 26, 1873.

[241] Braxton Craven, President's Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, June 14, 1871.

[242] Braxton Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, Nov. 27, 1876; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 6, 1876.

[243] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 20, 1876.

[244] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1874-1881, pp. 245-246.

[245] Braxton Craven, The President's Annual Report to the Trustees of Trinity College, June 12, 1867; catalogues of Trinity College, 1875-1882; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 8, 1874, July 5, 1876.

tous tuition, six hundred and twenty; for the whole time, deaths, four; expulsions, four; conversions, three hundred and thirty-two.

From the first [from 1842 to 1876], a period of thirty-four years, the statistics are as follows: losses, six thousand and sixty dollars; gratuitous tuition, eleven thousand three hundred dollars; deaths at College, thirteen; expulsions, twenty-five; conversions, eleven hundred and fifty-seven.[246]

These statistics extend to 1876, and from that year until 1882 the records are so fragmentary that no accurate statement can be compiled. From available records, however, a few general statements may be made relative to both periods.

The years between 1866 and 1876 were a time of enthusiastic rebuilding of the College. During these years Trinity had fewer students than such Methodist colleges as Wesleyan University, Indiana, Asbury University, and Emory College, Georgia; but it had more than Pacific College, Dickinson College, Wofford, and Emory and Henry. In 1873 Craven reported to the trustees: "Compared with nearly all other Colleges, we have had a considerable gain, they having lost 10 to 30." In 1877 Craven reported further that the number of matriculates was sixteen more than that at any other "male institution in the State," and was only a little behind the best in Virginia. Apparently this was the last time that Craven could make such claims; from that time until 1882 there was a steady decline in the number of students at Trinity.[247] This decline meant a lessening of income and financial hardship for those dependent upon Trinity for their livelihood. The total annual income of the college probably ranged from about $4,000 to $7,000. The Committee on Education of the North Carolina Conference reported in 1880: "Doubtless the pecuniary difficulties which have for years environed the Institution, may be chargeable with much of its slow and unsatisfactory advancement."[248]

These "pecuniary difficulties" had reference not only to the shrinking income of the College, but also to its increasing debt.

[246] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 186.

[247] Braxton Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1871 [?]; Braxton Craven, The President's Annual Reports to the Trustees of Trinity College, 1873, 1877; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 7, 1877; Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, pp. 183-184.

[248] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1874-1881, p. 445; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879.

During this period the assets grew from $30,000 to about $45,000, while the debt increased from about $2500 to $12,477.87.[249] The increase in debt was due to loans made for the repair and remodeling of the old college building, to obligations to Braxton Craven for the payment of the old $10,000 debt to the Literary Fund, and to a few other loans, together with the accumulation of interest on all debts.[250] These obligations had been contracted in good faith and with ample security. When the North Carolina Conference pledged itself to raise $20,000 and increase the patronage of the College, when the alumni of the College proposed to raise $10,000, and when students in Trinity and friends of the College elsewhere pledged substantial sums, the administration felt safe in negotiating loans for the building program which would entail considerably less expense than the sums pledged to the College.[251] Loans were secured from various individuals, including Craven, and from business concerns, chiefly the Wachovia National Bank of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Finally it became necessary to negotiate a mortgage upon the property of the College.[252] In 1880, when the pressure of the debt became so serious as to threaten the selling of the College property, Julian S. Carr and R. T. Gray signed a note for the relief of the College.[253]

There were three main reasons why the financial obligations of the College were not met promptly: (1) the economic depression of the seventies made it impossible for many of those who had made pledges to meet their obligations; (2) besides feeling the pinch of hard times, the North Carolina Conference felt that it could not

[249] Braxton Craven, Reports to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1866, 1880; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 16, 28, 1880; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, p. 141.

[250] Braxton Craven, Reports to the Trustees of Trinity College, 1866, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1881; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1874-1881, pp. 329, 372, 437, 445, 524, Journal for 1882-1885, pp. 10, 37; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 128; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 18, 1868, Dec. 10, 24, 1879, Jan. 7, April 21, June 16, Aug. 4, 11, 25, Sept. 15, 22, Dec. 15, 22, 1880; Braxton Craven, History of the Trinity College Debt (Braxton Craven Papers).

[251] Journal of the North Carolina Conference 1867-1873, pp. 236-238, 243-274; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 13, 1872, Dec. 11, 1872; July 1, 1874; *Episcopal Methodist*, Aug. 31, 1870.

[252] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 5, July 6, 1881; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 128; Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, 1877.

[253] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 4.

concentrate its financial strength upon Trinity when its other educational institutions were in need of money; and (3) personal animosity toward Craven and mistrust of the administration of Trinity discouraged the collection of funds.[254]

Although in the early seventies the North Carolina Conference appointed agents for the collection of monetary pledges for all its colleges, it was not until the latter part of the decade and the first year of the next that the Conference concentrated its efforts toward paying the debt of Trinity.[255] By 1877 it had become increasingly evident that if relief did not come, the College would soon go under the hammer. From that time until 1882 special efforts were made to raise funds. As a result, money was collected, pledges were made in excess of the face value of the debt, and more than half of the total debt was paid.[256] This result was due to the efforts of the financial agents appointed by the Conference, of the trustees, Craven, and such friends as Colonel J. W. Alspaugh, R. T. Gray, and Julian S. Carr.[257] There were many individual donors, large and small, whose names were printed in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, and of these, the largest individual contributors were Colonel J. W. Alspaugh, "Mr. Finch of Randolph," and "Mr. Ferree of Randleman."[258] In March, 1881, R. T. Gray, treasurer of the Advisory Committee, showed that the debt had been greatly reduced but not yet paid in full.[259] This statement was required because the public press was loudly acclaiming the payment of the debt when in reality the funds had been merely pledged. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* lent its influence to all efforts to liquidate the debt.[260] By the combined efforts of officials and friends of Trinity, the debt had been reduced to about $5,000 by 1882.

[254] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1874-1881, pp. 83-84, 181-189; Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, p. 182; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 12, 1872.

[255] For a discussion of the attempts and failures of the representatives of the North Carolina Conference to secure funds for its educational institutions, see "Shall We Have A College" (an editorial), *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 10, 1873.

[256] For a statement of the debt in 1881, see "Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 5, 1881.

[257] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 28, 1880.

[258] *Ibid.*, 1880, *passim*, March 16, 1881.

[259] *Ibid.*, March 16, 1881.

[260] *Ibid.*, 1871-1882, *passim*.

An obligation of the College never pressed by the creditor was the debt to Craven for his payment of the old $10,000 bond to the Literary Fund. The matter was reviewed at each meeting of the trustees, and in 1871 an agreement was made whereby Craven agreed to accept in settlement from the trustees $700 with interest from July 31, 1864. The next year the trustees ordered that a bond be issued Craven, but nothing further was done in payment of the debt during Craven's lifetime.[261]

At this time when Trinity was experiencing financial difficulty, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* pleaded for some wealthy man to come to the support of the Conference schools:

> [We wish] . . . to ask if we have no brethren of large means that can be moved upon by the spirit to come to the aid of our languishing institutions of learning? We, the Conference, have two Colleges that might be made a great benefaction to this and to succeeding generations, if they were only relieved from the burden of debt upon them. Trinity College ought to be freed from all embarrassments, and helped on with ample endowment, so as to keep pace with the first Colleges in the land. She has an agent in the field struggling to raise $7,000 to keep off a threatening suit and consequent sale of property. Is there no one that has the means, liberal enough to lift this loan off her shoulders? Are there not *2* or *3*, or *5*, or *10* men that will shoulder the responsibility and make this struggling institution rejoice in absolute freedom from debt? Can we not go up to the next Conference with the joyful tidings that the debt has been all cancelled?[262]

During this period it became increasingly evident that Trinity must be endowed. Continuing his earlier efforts, Craven brought the subject to the attention of the officials of the College.[263] So long as the officials were harassed by the college debt, nothing was done; but when this pressure was partly relieved, the *Raleigh Chris-*

[261] Receipt of N. F. Reid and John Lewis (Braxton Craven Papers); Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 72-75. In his annual report to the Board of Trustees in 1880 Craven stated: "It will be remembered that I paid nearly all the old debt to the State. At the annual meeting in 1871, a committee was appointed to examine the whole matter. The Committee men were J. W. Lewis, N. F. Reid, and on their recommendation a resolution was passed directing the Trustees to pay me $700 with interest from July 31, 1864. Nothing further has been done in this case."

[262] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 17, 1880.

[263] Braxton Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1872; Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1877.

tian Advocate declared that a "liberal endowment can be secured and Trinity College will then be placed in a position to accomplish its grand mission in North Carolina."[264] In reference to this subject, as well as to the other needs of Trinity, Alspaugh, then president of the board of trustees, wrote an open letter to the members of the North Carolina Conference and the "Public Generally":

Three things must be done for Trinity, and they can be done without any grievous burden to any; they are necessary; they are possible; they ought to be done.

I. Increase of patronage: The necessities of the College demand a large increase in patronage. We ought to have at least 200 paying students. We say "paying students" because it is well known that no member of the Conference pays any tuition, and that many others are indulged. No worthy young man is ever turned away, because he has no money to pay tuition. From 15 to 20 students from other States is the usual number, leaving, say, 180 from the great territory of the N. C. Conference, only a fraction over one student from each circuit and station. We appeal to the preachers in behalf of the College to move in this matter promptly and vigorously. . . .

II. The Debt must be Paid: We still owe about $6,500. We have pledges and notes more than equal to that amount, but in many cases payment is delayed. Some claim that they were not to pay until the whole sum was secured; to all such we propose that they shall pay at once and that what they pay shall be deposited in the First National Bank of Winston until the whole is secured; and if a sufficient sum to pay the whole debt is not secured, the money shall be returned to them. This we do to fulfill all promises and at the same time to hurry up the collections, so that the debt may be paid quickly. Let there be no further delay in payment. . . .

III. The College Must be Endowed: We cannot maintain the College at its present status without endowment. Our facilities must be equal to others; our young men must have advantages inferior to none; and this is impossible without endowment. You may think this difficult or impossible; but we know whereof we speak, and we know it can be done. We need your active, outspoken cooperation. As Trustees of this great institution of the Church, we are preparing to move firmly to the work before us. We rely upon loyalty and zeal in the Church, and hearty sympathy from all the people.[265]

Perhaps Colonel Alspaugh's letter was prompted by an action of the board of trustees at their annual meeting a few weeks before.

[264] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 15, 1881.
[265] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1882.

Craven had proposed that some definite action be taken looking to the establishment of an endowment:

> I respectfully invite attention to the urgent necessity of an endowment of the College. The time has come when less than $100,000 endowment is an equipment too small to hold equality with the activities set forth by other institutions and churches. In my opinion the time is favorable for a grand determined movement in this direction. It is constantly suggested to me not only by friends but by gentlemen of means, and various propositions have been made, which if put together and set in motion by proper authority would probably result in a handsome sum. I beg leave to suggest that the Trustees resolve to do whatever can be done to raise $100,000 endowment, that they authorize me in a proper formal way under seal, to act as agent, raise and receive money as funds for endowment. I am willing to spend all the time that I can be absent from the College, in that work, without any charge.[266]

Craven then suggested the advisability of "selling scholarships as a source of endowment"; at the same time he pointed out that this was an "old custom among colleges, in some cases productive of harm and in other instances doing great good."[267] The trustees considered Craven's proposals, but decided that it would be unwise to appeal to the public for further funds at that time.[268]

Many times during the difficulties of the seventies, it was pointed out that the College had "financially founded itself and paid its bills."[269] In his report in 1872 to the North Carolina Conference, Craven declared that Trinity had always been self-supporting.[270] During this year it was asserted that up to that time not more than $700 had ever been given the College.[271] Four years later Craven described for Methodism in North Carolina the accomplishments of the College and its financial self-sufficiency during the past:

[266] Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, 1881.

[267] *Ibid.*

[268] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, June 8, 1881.

[269] *Observer*, June 13, 1870; Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 188-189; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 17, 1872, June 11, 1873; Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees of Trinity College, 1877.

[270] *Minutes of the Thirty-sixth Annual Session of the North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1872*, pp. 57-58.

[271] A contributor to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* made this claim in a letter in which he listed the advantages of Trinity (*Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 17, 1872).

Trinity presents a phenomenon in the history of colleges. It has financially founded itself and paid its bills. The Conference did not receive it as a pauper or a bankrupt; it came asking favor and recognition from its own church, but at the same time, able and willing to confer favors in return. Over and above all liabilities, the College has earned and paid at least some thirty thousand dollars of this amount. . . . Hence, in some way, by its own unaided efforts and skill in finance, the College has earned the above sum. This it has not done with the breeze of universal favor, but, in the face of storms adverse and persistent from all points of the compass. Its organic theory, methods of work, and ideals sought to be realized, have differed to some extent from the accepted and supposed infallible collegiate traditions and doctrine of the State and the church; hence, both sneers and anathemas were to be expected, yet certainly not with a zeal beyond reason, and a venom implacable. With slender financial resources among its active friends, and a very little aid from others, it has attempted what was deemed possible only on a large pecuniary basis, and hence the perpetual antagonism of honest doubt and bigoted depreciation, and from the first, by merit alone, Trinity has had to compete for popular favor with other institutions that had an abundance of money, the whole force of tradition, the eclat of distinguished alumni, and the sanction of history.[272]

In 1877 Craven told the board of trustees that no satisfactory explanation could be made for the many accomplishments of Trinity College on so little money:

Compared with the average Collegiate Standards of the United States, and with the detailed study obtained from reliable statistics, Trinity ranks well with the other First Class Colleges of the Union and among the very first in the Southern States. In one respect Trinity stands unique and alone; no college on the continent has done so much, achieved such a reputation with an expenditure so small. Innumerable inquiries have been received, as to how the work has been done: to such inquiries no satisfactory answer can be given.[273]

Although Craven would not vouchsafe an explanation, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* did not hesitate to say that the "energy, tact, and talent of Dr. Craven has [*sic*] kept Trinity on foot, amid the severe trials which have attended all such institutions throughout the South these latter years."[274] At the time when Craven offered Trinity to the North Carolina Conference, Alspaugh advised him not to

[272] Burkhead (ed.), *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, pp. 188-189.
[273] Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, 1877.
[274] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 11, 1873.

give the property to the Conference. Alspaugh declared that it was the product of Craven's own labor and should be retained for him and his family.[275] Craven refused to follow the advice of his friend, and in the years that followed contributed more of his own money to Trinity.[276]

Rivalries and Criticisms

Financial hardship was not the only trouble that faced Trinity during this period. Old difficulties with Olin High School and Randolph-Macon College along with bitter opposition to Trinity and personal antagonism to Craven added to the worries of the College.

It will be recalled that during the Civil War the North Carolina Conference had pledged itself to support and develop Olin as its sole college for young men in North Carolina. At the close of the war, Olin's resources had disappeared, and James Southgate sent a report of its condition to the Conference. Charles F. Deems read the report, and on motion of R. S. Moran the Conference voted to return to the original owners any interest in the property that the Conference might hold.[277] In this way Trinity was relieved of one of its most troublesome rivals.

Although this question was settled, the old faction that had sponsored Olin High School still remained in the Conference and once more turned its attacks upon Trinity and Craven. As in earlier years, these men were led by Deems and Moran. They sought either to drive Craven from the presidency of Trinity or to destroy the College. Craven was convinced that they wished to do both.[278]

Their first opportunity came in 1866, when the trustees of Randolph-Macon College were authorized to make overtures to the North Carolina Conference with a view to restoring former official relations and to securing the patronage of the Conference. A strong group of ministers favored Randolph-Macon: members of the Conference were among its trustees, some had been students there, and North Carolinians had the right to participate in free scholarships in

[275] Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 62.

[276] Braxton Craven, Annual Report to the Board of Trustees, 1877.

[277] Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, Nov. 9, 1866.

[278] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," p. 319; N. M. Jurney, "Reverend Braxton Craven," *Methodist Advance*, Nov. 8, 1882 (clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson).

the College. Moreover, a large section of the state was nearer geographically to Randolph-Macon than to Trinity, and many loyal alumni had always opposed the action of the Conference in severing relations with their alma mater. Furthermore, President Smith, whose feud with Deems was influential in causing the separation of the North Carolina Conference from Randolph-Macon, had been succeeded by James A. Duncan, an intimate friend of Deems and other ministers in North Carolina.[279]

The time seemed propitious for an attack upon Trinity. In 1866 efforts were made at the North Carolina Conference to restore the former relationship with Randolph-Macon, but that body remained loyal to Trinity. The next year the title of the Conference to Trinity was questioned, and a committee was appointed to investigate. At the annual meeting the following year, the committee reported that according to reputable legal opinion, the title of the Conference was secure. At this session Charles F. Deems resigned as trustee of the College.[280]

The opponents of Trinity had been met and vanquished, but they did not give up the fight. Deems and Moran, ably assisted by the Reverend William Closs, continued to be active and outspoken in their criticism of Trinity and Craven.[281] Although they could force no official action against the College, by their continuous criticism they were able to sow distrust and increase dissension in the Conference and dissatisfaction with the management of Trinity. As a result, Craven lost influence with North Carolina Methodism, and from 1878 until his death in 1882 there was a steady decline in the number of students at Trinity. The continual bickering in the Church was one of the contributing causes.[282]

[279] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," p. 312; John F. Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1894* (Durham, 1939), *passim; Journal of the Thirty-seventh Session of the North Carolina Annual Conference . . . 1873* (Raleigh, 1874), pp. 26, 43, 96-100.

[280] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1867-1873, pp. 167, 214-215, 236-238; B. Craven, Report of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1873 [?]; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 20, 1871; Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, p. 76.

[281] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," p. 312; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 22, 1872; Yates, *An Address on the Life and Labors of Reverend William Closs*, p. 26.

[282] Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, p. 184.

Refusing to confine their remarks to the meeting of the Conference, critics pursued their attacks through the columns of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate.* In an open letter to the Reverend L. S. Burkhead, the Reverend William Closs stated that Methodists in the state would never support Trinity as it was then administered.[283] A friend of the College was quick to come to the defense of Trinity and its administration in an article which reviewed the development of the College under Craven.[284] A minority of the trustees of the College agreed with Closs and stated that Trinity would never win increased patronage and financial support as long as it maintained its present faculty and curriculum.[285] Amid this criticism, Craven visited and studied a number of other colleges. After paying tribute to such institutions as the University of North Carolina and Yale, Craven stated that he would rank Trinity with them in every respect except in equipment.[286] When both friends and foes offered suggestions concerning the management of Trinity, Craven wrote:

> Many can show lucidly what a College ought to be and to do, but not many have been found who can take hold of the College and fill their own program; many can build an aircastle Trinity, but that aircastle and what Trinity can now actually be, may be different things. But Trinity is eminently and grievously defective. We need one or two more professors, better rooms, more means for refined association, and better boarding arrangements.[287]

Trinity, along with Davidson and Wake Forest, was sometimes spoken of disparagingly by contributors to the public press. There were answers, hotly refuting critical statements. One critic, in urging the rebuilding of the University of North Carolina, stated that the denominational colleges had made no educational contribution to the state. He was indignantly taken to task:[288]

> I say nothing of the rehabilitating the University of North Carolina, but I do enter solemn protest against the ignorant insinuation that our

[283] *Raleigh Christian Advocate,* Jan. 23, 1878.
[284] *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1878.
[285] Trustees Book, No. 12, 1860-1879, pp. 92-93.
[286] Undated MS by Braxton Craven (Trinity College Papers); *Raleigh Christian Advocate,* Feb. 4, 1874.
[287] Undated MS by Braxton Craven (Trinity College Papers).
[288] "Our Colleges" (clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson).

best institutions, who labor to elevate the mental and moral worth of the good old State, have no record. . . .

Trinity is a young institution and despite all that croakers and enemies may say, she has an enviable record. Since 1852, she has graduated nearly two hundred young men. Trinity has fought her way without endowment and won success, and today she has a curriculum equal to Harvard, Yale, and good enough to command the "aristocracy of Edgecomb."

There are a few indications of the personal motives that actuated the attacks upon Trinity and its president. Some of "his fellow-churchmen were very jealous of his [Craven's] noble work and influence," and Craven himself in all probability made some mistakes.[289] During the early stages of the attacks Craven tried to learn the specific charges that his enemies had against him; later he merely presented facts to refute the charges of mismanagement of Trinity and ignored all personal criticism.[290] Every attack upon his background, training, and character he met in silence, nor could he be budged from this policy by his friends or his enemies.[291]

The culmination of the personal attacks on Craven came at the meeting of the North Carolina Conference in December, 1873. At that time Deems made a "bitter speech in which he denounced Craven, personally and his mismanagement of the College."[292] Deems said, among other things, that *"he would rather for his child to die without knowing the alphabet than to be educated"* by Craven.[293] At the time of this speech, Craven, as secretary of the Conference, sat silently by his desk, and did not vouchsafe an answer. There is among his papers, however, an outline of a speech that appears to have been prepared as an answer to Deem's denunciation:[294]

Incompetency

I. It was said of a Lord Chatham, I think, that those who fiercely assailed his talent and acquirements were composed of two classes.

[289] Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, p. 184.

[290] Braxton Craven to "Brother Moran," June 18, 1874 (Trinity College Papers).

[291] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," p. 317; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 105.

[292] *Ibid.*

[293] A. D. Betts to Braxton Craven, July 29, 1874 (Trinity College Papers).

[294] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," pp. 317-318; undated MS in the handwriting of Braxton Craven (Trinity College Papers).

1. Those who envied what Lord Chatham had.

2. Those who had not ability enough to comprehend what Lord Chatham did have.

II. Depreciating ability is the slated political trick, and one that North Carolina decides for herself without regard to New Jersey, Ohio, or Virginia.

III. They know nothing of my scholarship and are fairly open to suspicion of trying to increase their own reputation in that respect by depreciating mine.

IV. In manner and polish, I boast not; but I do hope I am not worse than these self-appointed models of the Conference.

V. Early disadvantages: All true who know their record.

VI. As to effective ability. Built the College, $25,000. Paid everything. 300 boys without charge. Gave on an average of $500 to preachers' sons.

VII. Work to and for the Conference. General Conference.

VIII. Texas, California, and a dozen other places.

IX. Grade of patronage.

So personally derogatory was Deems's speech in 1873 that Craven was urged to bring official charges against Deems in the Conference.[295] Craven refused to take such a step, and in a letter to his good friend, A. D. Betts, explained his position:

I do so despise all fusses and all confusion. You may know that Deems and Moran said at Fayetteville that they had nothing whatever against my moral character. Dr. Burkhead can tell you fully about the matter. If they or any other man have ever had anything against my moral character, I never knew it and never suspected it. I have nothing to fear but a perpetual fuss. That has damaged me seriously already. I have tried to avoid it. There is no such disposition in me. I have tried to do my own work and let everybody alone. Your plan is in my opinion precisely what Deems wants. It will give him opportunity to talk. I hope you will let the matter alone. We must have peace.[296]

The wisdom of Craven's policy of silence was soon apparent. The rage of his enemies was spent at the session of Conference in 1873. By the manner in which he received taunts, Craven won the support of many Methodists; and Deems found himself championing a losing fight. The majority of the Conference supported Craven; and although his enemies continued to snipe at him and

[295] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," p. 320.
[296] July 20, 1874.

abuse Trinity, they never again repeated the performance of 1873.[297]

There were personal motives that may have influenced the attack of Deems upon Craven. Perhaps both had ambitions to become bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and each frustrated the ambitions of the other. Both had been delegates from the North Carolina Conference to the General Conference, and both had been discussed for the office of bishop. Their names were presented as candidates, and both received a number of votes. Neither received the election, and each may have blamed the other for undermining his influence at the General Conference.[298]

Although Craven's foes attacked him bitterly so long as he lived and even after his death, his influence in the North Carolina Conference appeared greater than that of his enemies. This may have been due partially to the fact that, although a member of the Conference until 1875, Deems did not live in North Carolina after 1865. The same Conference (1865) that returned Craven to the presidency of Trinity granted Deems permission to go to New York

[297] Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, p. 184; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 106; Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," pp. 310 ff.

[298] Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, p. 184; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, p. 106; Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," pp. 310 ff.; Minutes of the North Carolina Conference, 1846-1866, Dec. 11, 1865; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1866-1873, p. 102; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 8, 15, 1878; Deems, *Autobiography*, p.194; *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. . . . 1854*, p. 224; *ibid., 1870*, pp. 147, 308.

Some unknown person wrote the following sketch of Craven as a candidate for bishop: "Dr. Craven received eight votes for the episcopacy, which under the circumstances was much more than a compliment. The Doctor entered the Conference a stranger to most of the members; but the firmness, ability, and success with which he resisted radicalism at all points made him at once a leader among the conservatives, and a general favorite with the Conference. The North Carolina delegation brought forward a worthy and proper man [Deems] for Bishop and they certainly advocated their nominee with all proper zeal. Not from any objection to Dr. Craven, but for other reasons, as they said. Some of them, including the Doctor himself, were active in dissuading members from voting for Dr. Craven. Still he received eight votes, and of course not one from his own delegation. Genial, gentlemanly and pleasant; not speaking frequently, nor long; thoroughly informed, yet not dogmatic; highly educated, yet not pedantic; he is a parliamentarian of first ability and a debater of the highest order. [Here a part of the letter is torn off.] Some of the best positions in the Church have been offered him, and I am sure he will find genial atmosphere and a better field in the great vigorous West than in quiet old North Carolina" (MS dated May, 1866, Trinity College Papers).

City to establish the *Watchman*, a newspaper the purpose of which was the "promotion of the spirit of unity between the North and the South."[299]

This newspaper, edited and published by Deems, survived for only a year. In 1866 he organized the Church of the Strangers, primarily for the benefit of Southerners who might be living or staying in the city. The new church attracted the interest of Cornelius Vanderbilt, who became a lifelong friend of Deems and donated to him the money for the purchase of the Church of the Strangers.[300] Deems became Vanderbilt's spiritual adviser and friend; he prayed at the bedside of the dying financier and preached his funeral sermon.[301] In his will Vanderbilt bequeathed him $20,000.[302]

During this period when Trinity and the other colleges of the North Carolina Conference were struggling to raise funds and to regain their former position in the South, some of the Southern Methodist conferences decided to establish a central university for the Church. There was considerable opposition, but the decision was made. Perhaps the influence of Deems upon Cornelius Vanderbilt resulted in Vanderbilt's donation of large sums of money to this institution, which became Vanderbilt University.[303]

In 1875 Deems withdrew his membership from the North Carolina Conference. In a letter read before the Conference he explained

[299] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," pp. 311 ff.; Deems, *Autobiography*, pp. 191 ff.

[300] *Ibid.*; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 7, 1872. Deems later wrote an account of how Vanderbilt gave him the money for his church. Under the title "How Doctor Deems Became Owner of the Church of the Strangers," the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* on Dec. 15, 1880, repeated the account.

[301] Wayne Andrews, *The Vanderbilt Legend* (New York, 1941), pp. 145, 169-172, 175-179; Wheaton J. Lane, *Commodore Vanderbilt: An Epic of the Steam Age* (New York, 1942), pp. 309, 312-325.

[302] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 10, 17, 1877; Deems, *Autobiography*, pp. 194 ff.; Arthur D. H. Smith, *Commodore Vanderbilt* (New York, 1927), pp. 311-312, 336.

[303] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 9, 1873, Feb., 1876; *Proceedings of the Semi-Centennial of Vanderbilt University, 1875-1925* (Vanderbilt University, 1925); *Dedication and Inauguration of the Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, Oct. 3, 4, 1875* (Nashville, Tenn., 1875). The *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, quoting from a letter in the New York *Sun*, stated: "In the famous Vanderbilt will trial Judge Spencer testified that the Commodore had told him it was Dr. Deems who had induced him to found a university. And those who know both parties know that it was Dr. Deems who found, in an intimate Southern Friend, an able president to whom Commodore Vanderbilt could subject so great an undertaking" (*Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 5, 1884).

the reasons for his withdrawal. After reviewing his long and happy association with the Conference and assuring its membership of his continued devotion, he stated that his reason for withdrawal could be found in the fact that some of the members of the North Carolina Conference seemed to believe that he "ought to abandon the Church of the Strangers or withdraw from the Conference." He stated further that he was "called of God to the office of pastor of the Church of the Strangers" and could not abandon it; therefore he felt that he must sever his connection with the Conference. He spoke feelingly of his decision and of his love of North Carolina and his friends. The Conference granted Deems withdrawal and expressed regret at the severing of such a profitable and happy connection.[304] The reputation and influence of Deems continued to grow in New York and in the North, but he never lost interest in the affairs of the South, and his influence continued to be strong in North Carolina.[305]

At the time when Trinity was straining every effort to meet its financial obligations and to prevent the College from being sold, Deems began the Deems Fund at the University of North Carolina. In 1879 he donated "$400 as the beginning of a fund to be lent to students on good security with interest." He wrote "I wish the sons of the members of the North Carolina Conference to be preferred." The fund was established as a memorial to his son who fell at Gettysburg. Later Deems added $400 to the fund; and in 1881-1882, through Deems's influence, William H. Vanderbilt added $10,000 more.[306]

Deems returned occasionally to visit friends in North Carolina, and the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* noted his visits and accomplishments. He never relaxed his enmity toward Craven. After Craven's death, Colonel Alspaugh wrote to Professor Heitman:

I despise Dr. Deems and his thrusts at the grave of Dr. Craven. He writes like an angel of light, but harbors in his heart the malice of a devil,

[304] Deems, *Autobiography*, pp. 261-262; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, Dec., 1875. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* on Feb. 2, 1876, printed resolutions by the Conference.

[305] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 4, 1882, March 5, 1884, May 20, 1885, April 28, 1886.

[306] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 191-192; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1882.

and he would hold from the page of memory every vestige of the name of the man he could not conquer. Away with all such.[307]

There is one indication that in his old age Deems's attitude toward Trinity softened. In 1892, when urgent appeals were being made through the columns of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* for donations to help furnish the new college buildings in Durham, Deems wrote to the editor of the *Advocate* and enclosed a contribution.[308]

His friend, the Reverend R. S. Moran, had withdrawn from the North Carolina Conference in 1874. After the Civil War he had served some of the best stations in the Conference. He had long been regarded as one of the most intelligent ministers in the state, and he was recognized as being "powerful with pen and tongue." With all his gifts and accomplishments, he was regarded as "peculiar," with "his own view of persons and things. . . ." The editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* observed that he had greatly "impaired his usefulness . . . by arraying himself against some of our Conference's enterprises, namely our Conference College and our Conference organ [the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*]." As a result, he had "frittered away much of his time and strength, and made himself very unpopular opposing these enterprises."[309]

When he left North Carolina, Moran joined Deems in New York. He became a member of the Church of the Strangers, and for fifteen years he was engaged "in literary work." For years before his death in 1892 he lived the life of an invalid. When his will was read, it was found that he had again approached Trinity as a friend. He had bequeathed his library to the College—"one of the most valuable donations to education in the history of the State."[310]

[307] J. W. Alspaugh to Professor Heitman, Nov. 6, 1883 (Trinity College Papers).

[308] With a few editorial remarks, the *Advocate* published the letter:

"The readers of the *Advocate* will join us in sincere thanks to the Rev. Dr. Deems, Pastor of the Church of Strangers, New York City, for the timely response indicated in the letter below. His kind remembrance of us at this time is refreshing to us and most gratefully received. Here is his letter.

"'Dear Dr. Reid: As I gave Trinity College its name, it would seem that I ought to do something toward furnishing the new halls. In response to your appeal, please find enclosed my check for $50. As I do not know what apartments are still unfurnished, I leave it to your good judgment how to apply this remittance, which should be larger if my resources held a different proportion to the demands upon me'" (*Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 28, 1892).

[309] April 13, 1892.

[310] *Ibid.*, May 4, 1892.

Although Craven refused to answer the accusations of his enemies and maintained a dignified silence, the assaults were too deadly not to do permanent injury to his spirit. "The shafts of his detractors penetrated his soul." He could see that the hostility of his enemies was seriously affecting the influence of Trinity with the Conference and that as a result the patronage of the College was declining. "All these things caused him to withdraw more and more from society, shut himself away from his friends, and lead almost a solitary life in the midst of devoted friends who believed in him, and students who almost worshipped him."[311]

Along with this malady of spirit, there developed disease of body. Craven's sons took him to Johns Hopkins Hospital for treatment, and it soon became evident to his family that he could not live long.[312] In August, 1882, he wrote to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, explaining the neglect of some of his duties:

> I have just returned from Baltimore where I was examined by Drs. Opie and Lynch of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and my health is improving rapidly. Our session begins Sept. 6th, and I hope to be fully able to direct all affairs as usual. None need delay at all; all matters will be in order in all respects. Some of my correspondence has been neglected during the summer; I regret that but could not help it. I shall repair the neglect as far as possible. For numerous letters, District Conference resolutions, and other tokens of regard, I am profoundly grateful and hope yet to show my appreciation in a proper manner.[313]

Again the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* came to Craven's aid and urged the support of Trinity, now especially since its president was ill.[314]

In September, 1882, Craven opened the College for the academic year 1882-1883. In November of the same year he died suddenly in his home at Trinity. The college community was in despair, and many friends throughout the United States vied with one another in paying tribute to his memory.[315] The Reverend N. M. Jurney,

[311] Brooks, "Charles Force Deems vs. Braxton Craven," p. 321.

[312] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 30, 1882; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 106-109.

[313] Aug 30, 1882.

[314] *Ibid.*

[315] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 21-22; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 11, 15, 29, Dec. 6, 8, 1882; Dowd, *Life of Braxton Craven*, pp. 112-125; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Nov. 20, 1882; Journal of the

one of his old friends and a staunch supporter through numerous trials, was one of many who wrote and published tributes to Craven immediately after his death. In a sketch written for the *Methodist Advance*, Jurney reviewed Craven's life in relationship to Trinity and pointed out the difficulties that he had overcome and the belated appreciation that would now come to him:

> But Trinity College has been his chief life work. He founded it, and his head and heart alone have directed its fortunes. Whatever rank Trinity has as an institution of learning, she has obtained it through storm and tempest.
>
> It was a sudden close of a long and useful life—a life marked with brilliant achievements through great obstacles—a life great because of the good accomplished, rising up unknown and sitting down immortal. But Dr. Craven had his enemies as well as friends, as all other great men have. Even in the rank and file of Israel's host, the dagger was not wanting, and was often drawn when he could not see it. There is a hand to strike the head that rises above the level, and his superior head and heart provoked opposition. But he is gone, and his like will not be seen in our day.
>
> The telegram announcing his death affects me as it would hurt few men. Not many days ago I had written him a letter of cheer, and invited him to come and spend a week with me at the seashore. A letter which I received this morning announced his purpose to come in a few days. We had long been intimate friends. I loved him. I know much of his anxiety for Trinity and her welfare, and her embarrassments helped to kill him. Not long ago I wrote him that there were some men in the Conference who wanted some one else to be president of Trinity College. I begged him to resign. I knew he was killing himself at hard work, without the sympathy, appreciation, and co-operation of Methodism in North Carolina. In reply to that letter he closed thus: "I know not what trials await me nor what reverses may make my gray hairs tingle with sorrow, but I shall endeavor to stand fast in faith and truth. Thank you for your words of cheer, the sentiments and all you intend. Such letters help or else I might fall down and die in these days of hardness." The burdens that he has borne, the sorrows and troubles endured, and the work done will have their reward. Now that he is gone he will be appreciated.[316]

North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, Dec. 6-12, 1882; Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, p. 180; Bulla, "Dr. Braxton Craven," pp. 215-216.

[316] N. M. Jurney, "Reverend Braxton Craven," *Methodist Advance*, Nov. 8, 1882 (clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson).

Craven had kept Trinity continuously struggling to equip itself for a place in the commonwealth. How difficult and slow this was, he fully understood; even amid severe reverses, however, he could see the College advancing to a position of greater usefulness. In 1875 he had written:

> Colleges grow slowly at best, and are best when their growth is slow, continuous and well directed. They cannot have a history 'til they exist and measure some time in their calendar, and yet they can scarcely be said to exist in real collegiate vitality 'til they have a history. They must be somewhat artificial, and depend upon the external for their living force, 'til by age and service they have forces of their own, and have become a part of the public life. They must reap from fields which they have sown before their harvests will be sure in return, amply abundant.
>
> Trinity begins to have history, customs, traditions and powers of association; her statutory laws and routine regulations have become fixed in the actions and thoughts of several generations of students; her culture has touched the life force, and visibly affected the thought and directive functions of duties and offices. Her Alumni have a proud record of integrity, position and usefulness; they preside over the highest branch of the General Assembly, in recent years have made nearly one-fifth of the Legislature; they practice in the courts; heal the sick, deal in weightiest matters of commerce; devise or direct profitable manufacturers; farm with skill and success; teach in all grades of schools; and preach the gospel in nearly all positions. From all these fields, public, private, social, industrial and professional, harvests are beginning to be reaped. The alumni have sons in nearly all classes, their influence from all directions come naturally and usefully. Hence there is continuous growth, a more thorough culture, greater or more active capacity for culture, a tone of thought and life more original and more highly finished; and a grasp of life better directed and more strongly felt.[317]

[317] Braxton Craven, Report from Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1875 (Trinity College Papers).

CHAPTER VII

Transition (1882-1887)

The Administration of W. H. Pegram (1882-1883)

UPON THE DEATH of Braxton Craven many people believed that Trinity would close its doors. Students talked of leaving school or of not returning at the end of the fall term. During this uncertainty, the executive committee of the trustees met and decided not only that the College would remain open but also that vigorous action would be taken for Trinity. Professor W. H. Pegram was elected chairman of the faculty, and Professor W. T. Gannaway, treasurer; and these men were charged with the administration of the College until some other arrangement could be made.[1]

No additions were made to the teaching or administrative staff, and the former instructional duties of Craven were assumed by the faculty. Pegram reported at the end of the academic year 1882-1883 that because of the added responsibilities "the work of the faculty has been exceedingly heavy, and, in many respects, new." He stated further that the "hope that the Board of Trustees would at an early date provide liberal measures for the success of the College" had sustained them in their work.[2]

The students decided that their best contribution to the College in the immediate crisis was loyalty to Trinity and attention to their

[1] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 19-29 (Office of the Treasurer, Duke University); M. L. Wood, Diary, Nov. 10, 1882; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 3, 1883; G. B. Marsh to R. L. Flowers, in *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (July, 1915), 132; "Trinity Commencement, June 9-14, 1883" (clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson).

[2] W. H. Pegram, To the President and Members of the Board of Trustees, June 14, 1883 (Trinity College Papers).

duties and responsibilities. In commenting upon the one hundred matriculates for the year 1882-1883, Pegram stated:

> The good order and manly conduct of the students under the trying circumstances of the year has [*sic*] been the subject of remark by all with whom they have come in contact. Too much cannot be said in commendation of the hearty cooperation of the students with the faculty in bearing the College through the crisis precipitated by the death of the President.[3]

In regard to the physical equipment of the College, Pegram reported that the buildings and campus were "in a fair degree of preservation and neatness," but that much was needed "in the way of Philosophical and Chemical apparatus, maps, charts, and other appliances essential to the running of a first class institution."[4]

It was the purpose of Pegram and the faculty to keep the College functioning in its usual way until the trustees and the North Carolina Conference could make better provision for Trinity. At the meeting of the North Carolina Conference in December, 1882, the crisis was discussed by both ministers and trustees. After giving the matter of selecting a new president thoughtful consideration, the board decided not to be hasty in filling the position because "upon the choice of this officer depends the future usefulness and prosperity of the College."[5] It was decided to leave the problem in the hands of the executive committee. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* stated that this committee was "wise, discreet, able" and would not "do anything hastily or unwisely, and just as soon as possible" would secure the "best possible man for the position."[6]

The trustees and Conference were concerned about the finances of the College. The debt was $6,000, and there was a pressing mortgage against the College property. Colonel J. W. Alspaugh, president of the board, and members of the Conference appealed for payment of the debt, and the sum of $4,020 was pledged. The Conference Committee on Education urged that the patronage of the College be increased and declared that the relief and upbuilding of Trinity would be the greatest memorial that could be erected to Craven.[7]

[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 23-24.
[6] Dec. 13, 1882, Jan. 3, 1883.
[7] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, p. 26; *Raleigh Chris-*

The following new members of the board were nominated and elected: Professor O. W. Carr, John H. Ferree, Governor Thomas J. Jarvis, R. T. Gray, Julian S. Carr, W. F. Kornegay, and the Reverends E. A. Yates and C. C. Dodson.[8]

The trustees felt that in view of the uncertainty of the general public about Trinity some statement should be made relative to its condition and prospects; consequently, they authorized a committee to prepare and send the following statement to the press:

> The death of the efficient and lamented former President, Dr. Craven, together with the pecuniary embarrassments surrounding the institution had very much depressed and saddened many of its friends, and even put in peril a continuation of its present patronage. The recent session of the Annual Conference was therefore trustfully looked forward to as to the occasion when light would break over the surrounding darkness, and find expression in some plan that would relieve the indebtedness of the College, and place it again, where the people of the State desire it to be, in the front rank of her educational institutions.
>
> The Committee esteem it a pleasant privilege to state that such arrangements have been made. A plan was adopted by the Board, and put in process of execution, by which it is confidently believed that the College will be relieved of the incumbrance of debt. The amount of indebtedness was comparatively so small, that the friends of the institution responded at once to the proposed plan, with an assured feeling that a scheme so feasible, and carrying so small a burden to the whole church could and would be easily executed.
>
> If the friends of the College throughout the State will give their usual favor to the proposition, and we are fully satisfied that they will, there is every reasonable prospect of speedy and final success. . . .
>
> The Committee take pleasure in saying, moreover, that those who are in a position to know, confidently believe that the prospects of the College were never fairer than at present. The death of the great worker, its late President, whose bright light seemed to go out in mid-heaven, instead of paralyzing with despair the friends of the College, has only sprung the necessity on their part for greater effort and the reaction from their former depression, under the outlook of the the present plan, is deep and marked. The Alumni, the Board of Trustees, and the numerous well-wishers of the Institution were never more cheerful and hopeful than now. The main difficulties have been met and surmounted, and there is now no reasonable ground for fear.

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tian Advocate, Dec. 13, 20, 1882, Jan. 3, 1883; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 18.

[8] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, pp. 14, 20.

The Committee would also state that the Board of Trustees have placed in charge of an efficient Executive Committee the matter of recommending to the Board a suitable President to take the place of the late Dr. Craven. They desire to move carefully and cautiously in a matter of so much importance; feeling that most mistakes must be made at this point by hasty action. In the meantime ample provision is made for thorough instruction to be given the students at the College, *ad interim*, with the assurance that the right man for president will, in good time, be placed in position.

Let there be then no fear for Trinity College. Let her patrons take good heart, and let the church and friends respond heartily to the easy plan proposed, and under the divine blessing the College enters upon a career of usefulness and prosperity not hitherto attained.[9]

During the spring of 1882 efforts were made by officials and friends to arouse support for Trinity and to collect money pledged to the College. Regardless of these efforts, however, little success had been attained by the close of the year 1882-1883.[10]

In the spring of 1883 the trustees became convinced that Trinity must have a president. In May they advertised that an election would be made at their annual meeting during commencement.[11] The *Trinity Magazine*, a student publication, stipulated the kind of president that it would like to see at Trinity:

The action of Tuesday, . . . will decide, in a large measure the destiny of this Institution. This fact is doubtless recognized by the Trustees and all the friends of the College. To elect as President of Trinity College a man who is any other than a live, progressive man would prove sadly disastrous and fatal. To elect a man who has not the magnetism and popularity sufficient to guarantee a large, extensive patronage would also be a great calamity to the Institution. Trinity is yet very poor; any kind of man could be secured if she only had the money. There is one way by which this lack of means may be compensated; viz: by choosing for President a man whose selection itself would create a "boom" and an enthusiasm for the College. We believe there is such a man in this State and also one in the adjoining State.[12]

This editorial appeared a few weeks before commencement and the meeting of the trustees. At this time visitors admitted that they

[9] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 13, 1882.
[10] *Ibid.*, Jan.-June, 1883.
[11] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1883; *Trinity Magazine*, I (May, 1883), 8.
[12] I (May, 1883), 78.

had held grave misgivings about the future of Trinity until Pegram had demonstrated the inherent strength of the College.[13]

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MARQUIS L. WOOD (1883-1884)

According to plan, the trustees met to elect a new president, and on June 13, 1883, the following men were nominated: J. F. Heitman, M. L. Wood, W. M. Robbins, J. T. Bagwell, W. H. Pegram, W. G. Starr, and Governor Thomas J. Jarvis. Of these men, all were ministers and members of the North Carolina Conference except Governor Jarvis and W. M. Robbins, both prominent in affairs of state. In the balloting all were eliminated except Wood and Bagwell. When Wood finally received fourteen votes to Bagwell's nine, Governor Jarvis moved that the election of Wood be made unanimous; and Marquis L. Wood was unanimously chosen president of Trinity College.[14]

The new president, an honor graduate of the class of 1855, had returned to North Carolina from China in 1867. Because of the Civil War and his resulting isolation from America, he had experienced many hardships in establishing the first "China Mission" of the North Carolina Conference. Immediately upon his return he traveled and lectured on China in various sections of his native county of Randolph. In 1868 he re-entered the active ministry and had served both as pastor and presiding elder before he was elected to the presidency of Trinity.[15]

For many years he had been a loyal alumnus. He was elected to the board of trustees in 1873 and served as secretary to that body.

[13] "Trinity College Commencement, June 9-14, 1883" (clipping in the scrapbook of Miss Nora Dodson).

[14] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, June 13, 1883, p. 39; M. L. Wood, Diary, June 13-16, 1883; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 13, 1883.

[15] *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, Oct. 30, 1860; Oct. 28, Nov. 11, 1863; *Episcopal Methodist*, Feb. 27, 1867; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 18, 1874; Journal of the North Carolina Conference 1890-1893, pp. 261-264; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 447.

In 1866 the Committee on Missions of the North Carolina Conference reported on the work of Marquis L. Wood in China: "This church has only one Foreign Mission out of America, that in China. It should be specially dear to North Carolina, and should draw from our people liberal contribution for its support. The devotion, zeal, and skillful management of Brother Wood has kept up the mission in the long and painful silence which the late war imposed upon the church at home. The committee earnestly hope that the time may come when the Board may be able to make a very great enlargement to our foreign operations" (Journal of the North Carolina Conference for 1866).

He attended the commencements at Trinity, kept himself informed about the activities of the College, and was alive to its needs and difficulties. In the months immediately following the death of Craven, he was so concerned about Trinity that he wrote that he could "scarcely think of anything else."[16]

His primary interests were religious and educational. A careful student of the Bible, he "pursued the critical study of the Scriptures in their original tongues throughout his life." He had "little patience with parents who neglected to give their children all possible advantages of education." As a presiding elder, he held special meetings for the promotion of the educational projects of the church.[17] At various times he was a member of the Board of Foreign Missions of the North Carolina Conference, a trustee of Davenport College, a member of Olin High School Committee, and a trustee of Greensboro College. As a leader in the movement for public schools, he published articles and addresses on this and related subjects. An active supporter of other humanitarian interests, he was called an "ardent prohibitionist." In 1884 in recognition of his influence and accomplishments both Rutherford College and the University of North Carolina conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Since Wood was especially interested in the education and training of ministers, it seemed to friends of Trinity that he was the right man for the presidency at the critical time following the death of Craven.[18]

The selection of Wood appeared to be popular with Methodism in North Carolina. A resolution endorsing his election and pledging support to Trinity was passed by a quarterly conference in the Charlotte District, from which he was retiring. In commenting upon this resolution, W. C. Norman, a member of the North Carolina Conference, urged enthusiastic support of the College under its new regime.[19]

[16] M. L. Wood, Diary, 1867-1883; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 261-264; Historical Sketch of Marquis L. Wood (Trinity College Papers); Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1873-1883; M. W. Lawrence, "The Life of Marquis Lafayette Wood as Shown by His Diary" (Bachelor of Divinity thesis in the Duke University Library, 1930).

[17] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1893, pp. 261-262.

[18] *Ibid.*; Historical Sketch of Marquis L. Wood (Trinity College Papers).

[19] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 18, Aug. 8, 1883.

Meanwhile Wood and the trustees were making plans for Trinity. At the meeting during which the new president was chosen, the board stated that its purpose was to place the "institution upon the highest practicable plans of ability, influence, and usefulness." The trustees, therefore, called for increased patronage and liberal financial donations.[20]

The salary of the president was set at $1,500 and that of the professors at $1,000 a year. In regard to payment of salaries the trustees stated that in view of the financial condition of the College, it was unwise to incur further debt "in order to meet the salaries of President, Professors, and expenses of the Institution." Such expenses must be raised as formerly from tuition fees and proceeds from the sale of books and stationery. After all other expenses were paid, the board provided that the remaining funds be divided "pro rata" among the president and professors; however, they were not to receive more than their fixed salaries. If these funds were insufficient to meet the stated salaries, the President and the professors must take the loss.[21]

At this meeting the board decided to ask the North Carolina Conference for a donation of $2,500 "for indigent young men." Donors of not less than $60 were to be permitted to name their beneficiary; others were to be selected by the faculty.[22]

At the time of Wood's election, the trustees chose two new members of the faculty, the Reverends J. T. Bagwell and J. F. Heitman. Bagwell, a popular member of the North Carolina Conference, declined his appointment; but Heitman accepted the position of Professor of Greek and German. To this position was added the office of treasurer of the faculty, while W. H. Pegram was made secretary.[23]

The selection of Heitman brought the services of an able man to Trinity. A North Carolinian, he was born in Davidson County on April 17, 1840. He entered Trinity College as a student in 1861 but left the following year to join the Confederate Army. From

[20] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 39 ff.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*; M. L. Wood, Diary, June 14, 1883; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1883-1884*, p. 5; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, p. 121.

private he rose in rank to captain before he was taken prisoner near Appomattox in April, 1865. He was held at Johnson's Island until June, when he was released. Upon returning home, he taught school for a year before he again entered Trinity as a student. After graduating in 1868 he again taught school before he joined the North Carolina Conference. He filled regular appointments until 1881, when he entered business. During this time he began the publication of the *North Carolina Educational Journal* and continued to edit this magazine until it was suspended in 1885. For several months before the *Journal's* suspension it was published at Trinity, and both students and faculty contributed to its columns. Heitman had prominent family and professional connections in North Carolina. His wife was the sister of Julian S. Carr, a member of the board of trustees and one of the state's wealthiest manufacturers and philanthropists.[24]

The faculty were assisted by two students: Bonner G. Marsh, "Tutor in Mathematics"; and Marcus M. Lemmond, "Instructor." Marsh, from Bath, North Carolina, was a member of the senior class during the academic year 1883-1884; and Lemmond was a freshman from Monroe.[25] In a letter to Heitman in November, 1883, Colonel Alspaugh expressed his anxiety about Trinity and his opinion of the responsible part that the faculty should play in the support of the College:

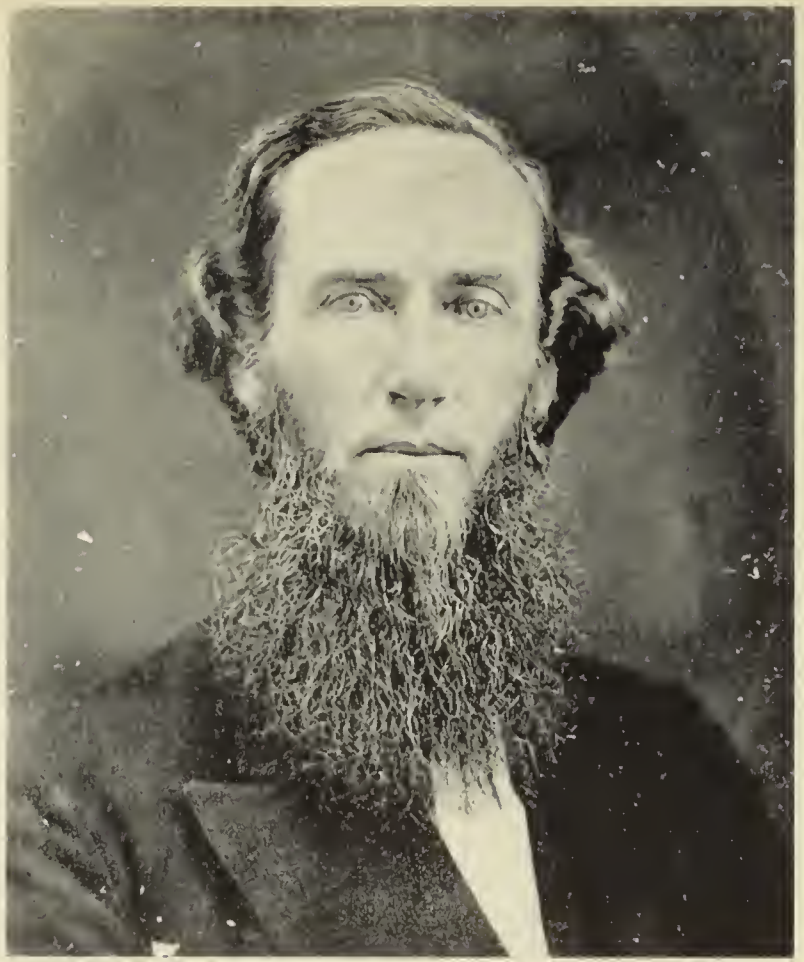
> I have long been of the opinion that the Faculty at Trinity ought to work in the highway and the hedges as well as in the recitation rooms, and unless they do this there is not force enough in the Conference and the Church to push the College along. . . .
>
> If the Faculty, and the Trustees and the Conference would all work together, and work when they are determined, the College would move forward.[26]

The new administration set to work immediately. Wood found that the college community looked to him not only for leadership

[24] *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 447; W. K. Boyd, "General Julian S. Carr and Trinity," *Trinity Alumni Register*, X (June, 1924), 252; J. F. Heitman, "Autobiographical," *Carolina Wesleyan*, I (Jan., 1892), 1.

[25] *Catalogue of Trinity College*, 1883-1884, pp. 5, 15, 16.

[26] J. W. Alspaugh to Professor Heitman, Nov. 16, 1883 (Trinity College Papers).



W. T. Gannaway

W. H. Pegram

President Marquis L. Wood

The Rev. John F. Heitman

but also for the execution of many details of administration, teaching, and civic affairs. Besides his executive duties, Wood taught classes in metaphysics, logic, and theology, edited and supervised the printing of the college catalogue, aided in the upkeep of the campus, attended to all correspondence, tried to raise money for the College, took disciplinary measures against obstreperous boys, and lectured and preached throughout North Carolina.[27]

Realizing that Methodism in North Carolina wanted news about the new administration at Trinity, Heitman wrote a series of letters to the editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*. In his first letter he described the opening of the new academic year 1883-1884 and outlined the prospects of the College:

> President Wood and myself are new men in the Faculty of the College, but we have been very kindly received by the other members, and while in our meeting we discuss every question with candor, shake it to the bottom, and look on it at all sides, yet the most perfect harmony prevails when a decision is made; and I may say in passing, that a great many questions have arisen, and been disposed of, and there are many more to be discussed and acted upon. Our work so far has been mainly arranging the internal work of the College, and we have reached a point when we may say that the machinery is in operation, and working smoothly and effectively.
>
> We propose to make Trinity a College, a Methodist College, thorough as far as we go, and a safe place for boys socially and morally.
>
> The present Faculty, the President working some in the line of hearing recitations, can do all the work and do it well. The government of the College is in the Faculty, the President being the executive officer. The secretary keeps a record of all things of any importance, determined upon by the Faculty in meeting assembled. I may say here that our executive officer so far has proved himself to be the right man in the right place. I think I may safely promise that the present status being maintained, the internal work of the College will be well and satisfactorily performed. The main external work to be done is to gather up young men and boys and send them here. The present number enrolled is about sixty, all but a very few of whom are in the regular college classes. We ought to have more and must have more, in order to perpetuate the present arrangement.[28]

[27] M. L. Wood, Diary, 1883-1884; Lawrence, "The Life of Marquis Lafayette Wood as Shown by His Diary," pp. 363 ff.; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 15, Sept. 5, 1883; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, pp. 104, 108.

[28] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 10, 1883.

In another letter in November, 1883, Heitman described a ceremony in memory of Braxton Craven, the failing health of Professor Johnson, the small pay of the faculty, and the preparation of students for their future responsibilities.[29]

During the fall of 1883 there appeared to be some feeling of satisfaction with the course of events at Trinity. Further encouragement was given by a legacy to the College. In November, Wood was notified that Dr. C. G. Siddell had willed all his estate, valued at from $7,000 to $10,000, as an endowment to be divided equally between Trinity and Greensboro Female College. Regardless of this legacy some people felt grave concern for the permanent welfare of the College. It seemed to them that Trinity was making little progress in increasing its patronage and solving its financial difficulties. Through the columns of their magazine the students made a strong appeal to the members of the North Carolina Conference to do something constructive for the College at their annual meeting in December, 1883.[30]

When the Conference met, Wood and Alspaugh reported upon the condition of Trinity at the close of the fall term and made specific recommendations to the Conference. The President reported "faithful and successful work up to the present time and diligence and commendable decorum on the part of the students." He declared that "with the present amount of patronage the income of the institution" was "altogether insufficient to meet" the wants of the College; and as a result the trustees "were compelled to look in some other direction for means to supplement this deficiency." For that reason the trustees presented resolutions to the Conference embodying their request for $2,500 to be raised by apportionment among the "several pastoral charges." This sum was "to pay the tuition of worthy and needy young men," and money was "to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Faculty and by him distributed pro rata among the President and Professors of the College in part payment of their salaries."[31]

[29] *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1883.

[30] *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, Oct. 17, 1883; M. L. Wood, Diary, 1883; *Trinity Magazine*, II (Nov., 1883), 82.

[31] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, pp. 104, 108, 121-123, 141; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 52 ff.; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 12, 1883.

In an itemized statement the trustees presented the debt of the College for the consideration of the Conference. The total was $6,786.00, and "assets supposed to be good" were only $1,903.60. Of the sums immediately pressing, $2,496.40 was needed. After considering the financial condition of Trinity, the Conference agreed to raise the proposed $2,500.00 to be apportioned "among the Presiding Elder's Districts, taking as a basis the apportionment of the Conference Collection." In regard to the debt and other financial obligations of Trinity, the Conference Committee on Education frankly declared that it was "at loss to know what to recommend," and begged "leave to refer the difficult task of discovering ways and means to the wisdom" of the Conference.[32]

In a letter to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* immediately following this meeting, Heitman answered critics of Trinity, reviewed the contribution of the last Conference to the College, expressed appreciation of the work of that body, and stated some of the immediate needs of Trinity. In order to meet the demands for payment of part of the debt, $600 was required at once. Furthermore, an iron safe in which to keep important books, papers, and money was much needed, and Heitman asked: "Will not somebody make us a present of one?"[33]

Walter Hines Page, editor of the *State Chronicle*, took exception at Heitman's request for an iron safe. In an editorial the young man criticized Trinity for begging; among other things, he said: "If Trinity College needs a safe and can buy one, let it buy it. If it cannot afford to buy one, let it do without it until it can afford it. This is better far than begging for one; and better for this reason if for no other. It is not manly to beg. . . ."[34]

In an answer to this editorial, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* retorted that such statements were characteristic of the *Chronicle* and declared:

> The *Chronicle's* editorial is about as clear a case of making "a mountain out of a molehill" as we remember to have seen. All our male colleges have "to beg"; if it is "unmanly," Trinity, Wake Forest and the

[32] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 52 ff.; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, pp. 121 ff.

[33] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 19, 1883.

[34] *Ibid.*

University have all been at it. Wake Forest has just completed a $100,000 endowment by "begging." Our Annual Conference ordered a large amount to be "begged" for Trinity during our Centenary year. It is a great pity, however, that it did not have the benefit of the view of the *Chronicle* before arranging to do this.[35]

Page himself finally closed the discussion by procuring a safe, but his criticism was an articulate expression of the low opinion that other people in North Carolina held of Trinity. Despite urgent appeals, pledges to the College were unpaid. The administration was accused of laxness, and the bitterness of former days revived. Although officials advertised strict discipline and stated precise college laws, Colonel Alspaugh wrote in January, 1884, that he had "heard a good deal of complaint of the laxity in discipline" at Trinity. He stated later that he had been the recipient of many complaints as well as suggestions for a further change in the administration of the College.[36]

Regardless of criticism and discouragement, the officials at Trinity continued their efforts for the College. In February, 1884, Heitman revealed his ideas about the development of the institution in a communication to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*. He also stated that the spring term of the academic year 1883-1884 was a "decided improvement" over the fall term. Most of the students had returned, and fourteen new ones had entered.[37] This modest increase was due in a measure to the efforts of Professor Pegram in conjunction with the North Carolina Conference. He had sent the following form letter to each member and had received a number of responses: "Please send me, on the form below, a directory of those Methodists in your charge who are, or ought to be interested in the higher education of their sons or wards. Fill the other side if necessary. A full directory is desired, and will be highly appreciated."[38]

Although some of the ministers sent lists of names, they expressed little hope of persuading their pastorates to send students to Trinity.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, Feb. 27, 1884; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1883-1884*, pp. 13-14; J. W. Alspaugh to J. F. Heitman, Jan. 10, March 22, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).

[37] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 27, 1884.

[38] Copies of printed form letters sent by W. H. Pegram, Secretary of the Faculty of Trinity College, to the members of the North Carolina Conference, and answers (Trinity College Papers).

The people were either uninterested in higher education or had no money for that purpose. In some sections the influence of the "Hard-shells" accounted for the educational unconcern of some people, and easy accessibility to the University of North Carolina affected others.[39]

While the patronage of Trinity was slowly but steadily improving during the spring of 1884, part of the debt was paid and discussion of an endowment was revived. On these subjects, Heitman wrote:

> I may here repeat what has often been said, that if those who have given notes and pledges to Trinity College, would meet their obligations like business men, the debt would be a thing of the past; for Dr. Burkhead, the Treasurer, holds ready for cancellation almost, if not quite enough, of such notes and pledges to pay the debt. . . . Let the roll gradually lengthen until the aggregate shall be sufficient to remove this perplexing difficulty, and then we shall be ready for the next important move on this same line—endowment.[40]

Alspaugh had written Heitman the month before that at the "close of another term we will have things in a first class condition," and he could "now see how all our financial troubles can be fully overcome." He stated further that he had spent "much more" than $1,200 for the College, and was unable to contribute more to Trinity at that time.[41]

The tone of this letter, written in January, 1884, revealed that Alspaugh felt encouraged at the progress of the College. Two months later his attitude had changed. He had been receiving criticisms of Trinity, suggestions concerning a change in administration, evidences of disloyalty at the College, and information about the diminution in educational interest of the Methodists throughout the state.[42] His resulting discouragement was caused in some measure by the lack of public response to his own efforts for Trinity. He was much interested in raising an endowment for the College; and through the columns of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* in January, 1884, he had made the following proposition to the Methodists of North Carolina:

> I will be one of twenty to give $1000 to endow Trinity College.
> I will be one of fifty to give $500 each.

[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 27, 1884.
[41] J. W. Alspaugh to J. F. Heitman, Jan. 10, 1884.
[42] Alspaugh to Heitman, March 22, 1884.

I will be one of one hundred to give $250.

And if $100,000 are raised and invested as I will suggest, I will give $5,000.[43]

A week after this offer, Julian S. Carr duplicated Alspaugh's proposition and added this proposal: he agreed to be "one of twenty to give $5,000, making $100,000 Endowment for Trinity College." To his various proposals he required one condition: "that the pledge to either shall be made and paid during this Centenary Year of Methodism."[44]

Many Methodists in North Carolina were pleased at these offers. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* pointed out the endowments of Wake Forest and Davidson as well as the financial stability of the University of North Carolina, and stated that without an endowment Trinity could not hope to rank with them. Nevertheless, there were influential Methodists who either ridiculed the idea of raising such a vast sum of money or advocated the payment of every cent of the college debt before starting such a movement.[45]

A sharp controversy developed in the public press, and disagreement among ministers became intense. The Reverend S. D. Adams, a trustee of Trinity and an influential member of the Conference, wrote privately to Professor Heitman his suggestion for the immediate settlement of the controversy:

An endowment fund should be started at once. No waiting to pay the debt as Dr. Yates suggests. Endow and there will be no trouble about the debt. Can't you get Bro. Carr or Col. Alspaugh, or some other friend of the College to start an endowment fund by making a straight gift of $5,000 or $1,000 or any amount to start. Let some man, who

[43] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 30, 1884. In presenting the proposition, the *Advocate* commented: "The proposition is a plain, simple one, easy to be understood. We hope the men of means in our church will respond rapidly and heartily to it and that during our Centenary year we may have the great joy of recording the raising of $100,000 endowment for that Institution. The Baptists of North Carolina have just finished around $100,000 endowment for Wake Forest College and the Methodists of the State can and ought to do as much for their College. The friends of Trinity think that the College has passed the crisis of reorganization. The President writes us that they feel hopeful and encouraged at Trinity, and that their future is brightening, that the students are studying well, and observing college regulations admirably, and that the patronage is increasing. And now, with $100,000 endowment, the Institution would be a permanent success. Let us have it. We are ready to publish the names of those who will respond. . . ."

[44] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 13, 1884.

[45] *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, March 19, 1884.

is able, to give an amount as a basis, and I believe there would be a move. There is an abundance of money now in the tobacco section—it is a good time to move.[46]

In the midst of the debate, Alspaugh as chairman of the board of trustees reminded the Methodists of North Carolina that they had already committed themselves to the policy of endowing Trinity and stated that sufficient funds were available for the payment of the debt. If they paid their pledges, the debt would soon be written off the books; and with an endowment Trinity would become "a monument to the memory of the Church, that shall gladden their children and bless the Church and State."[47]

The motives of Carr and Alspaugh were severely questioned. They were accused of "making a blow about the Endowment Fund," and their offers were called "buncombe," especially since the conditions of their donations were considered too exacting. Criticism became so embarrassing that the Reverend N. H. D. Wilson, a trustee, wrote to Carr "respectfully" suggesting the modification of the conditions of his contribution to the proposed endowment.[48] Carr was willing and stated new terms:

First. He agreed to give $5,000 for the endowment of Trinity, if $100,000 were raised from other sources during the year.

Second. He agreed to give "one twentieth part of any sum under $100,000 raised during the Year, the whole sum not to be less than $20,000."

Third. He agreed to give one twentieth part of all sums collected to liquidate the college debt. In doing this, he made it clear that he was not contributing "both to the extinguishing of Trinity College debt and the endowment fund."[49]

There is little evidence of the continuation of the controversy from the time of the publishing of these revised proposals until the close of the academic year in June, 1884.

At the meeting of the trustees at commencement Wood presented his annual report.[50] He stated that he, as president, was "fully

[46] S. D. Adams to J. F. Heitman, March 29, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).

[47] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 2, 1884.

[48] *Ibid.*, March 19, April 12, 23, 1884.

[49] The correspondence in regard to this matter was published in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* on April 23, 1884.

[50] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 67-69.

conscious of many shortcomings and imperfections," and that the year had been one "of great labor, constant care and anxiety, and of no small degree of personal sacrifice." There had been eighty-four students enrolled during the year; and of this number, ten were the sons of members of the North Carolina Conference and paid no tuition. Eight students had been "given time" on their tuition. Sixty-six had either paid their tuition or would pay by the close of the year. Of these, some attended school only part of the year.

Wood reported that the income of the College for the year had been distressingly low. It had not been "near sufficient to give the Faculty a living support," and Wood declared that this presented "a very grave question" for the consideration of the trustees. He insisted that the problem must be solved, but he was at a loss to know just what to do: ". . . after giving the subject my most careful and prayerful consideration, the best and only thing which I can suggest is that you at the earliest possible moment, appoint a judicious committee of three or five to thoroughly canvass this subject." Another committee was needed, he said, to investigate needed repairs of the college buildings and grounds.

He reported the failing health of Professor Lemuel Johnson, who had been obliged to give up his teaching for part of the year. Johnson's work had been assumed by the other members of the faculty together with student assistants. Wood stated in this connection that "the Department of Mathematics is too heavy for one man, even when that man is young and vigorous."

After suggesting some changes in the curriculum and requesting that "the duties of officers of the College be more clearly defined," Wood asked that the trustees thoroughly investigate the College, suggest changes, lay aside all personal considerations in order to concentrate upon the advancement of the institution, and avoid discouragement by trying to push the cause of Trinity too rapidly.[51]

[51] He said: "We invite a careful and thorough investigation on your part of all the interests and workings of the College to make such changes and suggestions as your godly judgment may dictate; and adopt such measures as the welfare of the College may demand. You are the legally constituted custodians of Trinity College, and its interests demand your best thoughts and best judgment. All personal consideration should be a secondary matter in comparison with the great educational interest of the land. The history of Trinity College is peculiar. It is the product principally of one man. His genius and indomitable energy mainly

Apparently the trustees attempted to follow this advice. A correspondent to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* stated that he had never "seen a body of Trustees look more carefully into all the departments of the College" and added that if everybody went to work in the same way for Trinity, the College would have a "grand success."[52]

The energy of the Trustees may have been partially caused by dissatisfaction of some of the board with the administration of Trinity. Some of the trustees had recently engaged in public controversy over the debt and endowment and had privately expressed criticism of the administration. Wood hinted at some disagreement when he urged the trustees to bury "all personal considerations" as a "secondary matter in comparison with the great educational interest of the land." He did this at the very time when he had become sensitive to the attacks upon his administration. He had corresponded with members of the board, and they had visited him at Trinity during the spring of 1884.[53]

Greatly disturbed, he finally decided to relinquish the presidency, and at a meeting of the trustees on June 12, 1884, he tendered his resignation. In his letter of resignation he stated that he had accepted the presidency "with the solemn conviction that it was a call from the Great Head of the Church" and that he had "tried most sincerely and faithfully" to do his "whole duty impartially to all." He had been persuaded, however, that it would be better both for himself and for the College if he now retired from the presidency. The trustees refused to accept his resignation and announced to the faculty, "in meeting assembled, that the board desired the existing organization of the Faculty to continue, at least, till the next session of Conference."[54]

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built it up, and gave it to the Church. The Church needs it. The Methodist Church in North Carolina cannot do without it. All great enterprises require time and patience and labor and suffering and money. 'He that believeth shall not make haste.' It is not spasmodic efforts that succeed" (Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 68-69).

[52] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 18, 1884.

[53] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 68-69; M. L. Wood, Diary, Jan.-June, 1884.

[54] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 76 ff.; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 10, 1884; W. H. Pegram, "Mr. James A. Gray: Benefactor of Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV (Oct., 1918), 158 ff.

During the summer of 1884 Wood traveled throughout North Carolina speaking at various meetings about the educational needs of Methodism in general and of Trinity in particular. Between sermons and lectures he attended to routine business at Trinity and sought to increase the patronage and public good will for the College. He and other friends solicited funds for both the debt and the endowment. At a meeting of the Greensboro District Conference where Wood spoke, the "first money ever paid down" on the endowment was given amid great enthusiasm. Unfortunately the enthusiasm of the Greensboro District was not contagious. Contributions were made slowly and in small amounts, and there appeared to be a general lack of interest in the whole question. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* sought to stimulate interest by editorials and by printing letters from people urging support of the endowment.[55] Alspaugh wrote the *Advocate* that he had invested all sums so far collected at 8 per cent interest and that he could and would continue to invest all funds safely:

> I can at any time during the year place any sum that may be contributed, safely, beyond all controversy, at any rate. If this endowment fails, and the College fails, the Church will lose caste among the sister churches in the estimation of the world. Do our ministers, who have in their hands, and upon their shoulders, this great work, and its responsibilities suppose that the Church can lose all its institutions of learning, and yet maintain its dignity and respectability in the eyes of the world? Do they suppose it can survive and prosper when it shall be dependent upon other denominations for the education of its ministers and people?[56]

The academic year 1884-1885 opened with a scarcely perceptible increase in the enrollment at Trinity and with little evidence of increase in public favor. In fact, "Even Methodist preachers and Trinity Trustees were deserting the College and sending their sons to Chapel Hill and other places."[57] As the time approached for the annual meeting of the North Carolina Conference, it became apparent that neither the money required in the conditions of Alspaugh and Carr for their contributions to an endowment nor funds for the liquidation of the debt would be raised by Methodism.

[55] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June-Aug., 1884; M. L. Wood, Diary, June-Sept., 1884.

[56] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 27, 1884.

[57] J. D. Hodges, "Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 1, 1886.

At the meeting of the Conference Trinity reported little progress. Only seventy-two students were enrolled for the fall term, and the Conference had failed to raise the $2,500 pledged the year before. The trustees held a series of meetings to make new plans for an endowment, meet payments on the debt, and otherwise provide for the College. Some of the trustees were much discouraged, and the Reverend E. A. Yates presented a resolution calling for the sale of the college property. After considerable discussion, the resolution was withdrawn "for the present."[58]

It was at this point that three friends of Trinity came to the rescue of the College. J. W. Alspaugh, Julian S. Carr, and James A. Gray proposed to the trustees and the Conference that they, as a "Committee of Management," take over the entire control of the College for two years and run it for the benefit of the Conference. Their proposals were as follows:

Proposition to Relieve Trinity College

First. It is proposed that the title to the property shall remain as it now is with the North Carolina Conference.

Second. That the management of the institution shall be transferred for at least two years to a committee of management composed of J. W. Alspaugh, President of the Board of Trustees, Julian S. Carr, Treasurer of said Board, and James A. Gray, of Winston Salem, North Carolina.

Third. That the North Carolina Conference shall raise for the benefit of the College during the years of 1885-1886, $2,500 annually by assessments upon the various Presiding Elders' Districts, upon the same plan as adopted last year, only the raising of the said amount shall be insisted upon more thoroughly and observed more faithfully.

Fourth. That one half of said amount of $2500; or say, $1,000 thereof be invested in the much needed apparatus for the use of the College.

Fifth. That the Committee of Management above mentioned shall have the benefits of all the receipts from tuition paid to the institution.

Sixth. That the Committee of Management shall guarantee to become responsible for the sum of $3,000, the first year and $2,000, the second year, as an additional supplement to the salaries of the professors of the College.

Seventh. That while it is proposed to turn over the management of the institution to the Committee of Management, it is understood and agreed, and if the Conference so insist, that all appointments to positions in

[58] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, pp. 214, 216, 218, 232; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 80-93.

the Faculty shall receive the endorsement of the Board of Trustees of the College.

Eighth. The Committee of Management shall have no authority to make any change in the Board of Trustees, but to manage the institution —at all times subject to the oversight of the Board of Trustees.

Ninth. At the expiration of two years, they shall stand ready to surrender the entire management of the College back to the Trustees and the Conference with all improvements added, without any charge for their service, or debt, during their administration.

Tenth. It is further understood that the plan of endowment of the College, as agreed upon by the Board of Trustees at their meeting on Saturday night of this Conference, be prosecuted vigorously and the Committee of Management in this proposition for endowment promise and pledge their most hearty and cordial co-operation and support.[59]

The plan proposed by the trustees for the endowment of Trinity was as follows:

WHEREAS—The plan for the adjustment of the present indebtedness of Trinity College, as reported to the Conference by the President of the Board of Trustees, will, if accepted by the Conference, with other available assets in hand, entirely relieve the College from financial embarrassment; and as the Endowment of the College is necessary to meet the future educational wants of our denomination in the State, therefore: *Resolved* 1. We will raise $100,000 as an endowment fund.

2. We will endeavor to raise at least $20,000 of this fund annually for the next five years, and if the whole is not raised in five years, we will continue our efforts until that amount is secured.

3. To raise the fund, it shall be the duty of the Presiding Elder of Each District to hold Educational Meetings at the points he may deem most suitable in his work, and present the subject of the Endowment and patronage of the College to all his Quarterly Conferences.

4. It shall be the duty of every pastor to co-operate with his Presiding Elder in the work of securing the Endowment Fund and increasing the patronage of the College, and keep an accurate account of all cash and notes raised in the bounds of his charge, and report the sums to the Conference Board of Education.

5. The cash as raised, shall be paid over to the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees; and the notes as raised, shall be turned over into the hands of the Treasurer of the Board of Education.

6. The first and chief effort in raising the endowment fund shall be to solicit donations in cash. Where the donor prefers, notes in not more than five annual installments may be received—the first note to

[59] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, p. 218; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 10, 1884, June 17, 1885.

fall due November 1st, 1885, and then the first of November each succeeding year.

7. The Endowment fund as collected in cash shall be paid over to the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees of Trinity College.

8. The Treasurer of the Board of Trustees shall pay over annually to the Treasurer of the Faculty of the College 6 per cent interest on all cash paid into his hands as endowment fund which interest shall be applied exclusively to the Current expenses of the College.

9. To secure the Endowment Fund and the annual payment of its interest, the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees of the College shall execute and deliver into the hands of the Trustees of the College, and in favor of the College, a bond with good solvent and approved security for a sum not less than twice the amount of cash paid into his hands as Endowment Fund.

10. The bond and security of the Treasurer shall be annually reviewed and approved by the Board of Trustees of the College.

11. The Endowment Fund shall be forever held by the Trustees of Trinity College, and their successors in office, and by the officers of the Board and their successors in office, and by the Faculty, and by the Conference now owning, or Conferences which may own said College, sacred and inviolate, and never to be applied as a whole or in any of its parts to any objects or use whatever, but the one sole purpose for which it was created by its contributors.[60]

After considering the proposals by Alspaugh, Carr, and Gray and the recommendations of the trustees, the Conference accepted them as stated. It was decided further that the proposed $2,500 be used "for supplementing the salaries of the Faculty" and that the sum be assessed upon the several Presiding Elders' Districts upon the "basis of the assessment for the Conference Fund." The Conference expressed itself as being "much gratified that the prospects of the Institution seem to be brightening" and earnestly recommended it "to the patronage of all persons having sons to educate, as eminently worthy of their support."[61]

When the proposals of the Committee of Management were accepted by the trustees, Wood resigned his position as president of Trinity, and his resignation was accepted. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* revealed his previous resignation and its rejection in June and stated that the "burdens and responsibilities of his position at

[60] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 84-85; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 10, 1884.

[61] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 10, 1884.

Trinity were rapidly telling on his physical constitution." Wood stated in a letter to the trustees that he was prompted to resign because he believed it to be "to the best interests of the College," and assured the board that he would always feel "an abiding interest in the success of Trinity" and would "always cheerfully do" what he could for "its prosperity."[62] In his diary Wood was more specific in his explanation. The appointment of the Committee of Management together with the unfriendly attitude of Professor Heitman caused his resignation.[63] In commenting upon Wood's leaving Trinity, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* declared: "He is a solid substantial man, a splendid preacher, and will make in the future, as he has done in the past, a most excellent Presiding Elder."[64]

The Administration of the Committee of Management (1884-1886): J. W. Alspaugh, Julian S. Carr, James A. Gray

In January, 1885, Alspaugh, Carr, and Gray met at Trinity to set up their organization of the College. They investigated every department, ordered "additional improvement apparatus and appliances," provided for the repair of the buildings, appropriated money for new furniture, appointed four new professors, and reorganized the faculty, with Professor Heitman as chairman, to carry on prescribed administrative and academic duties. After this meeting they issued a statement to the Methodists of the state explaining their purpose in taking over the control of the College, expressing their desire to select a capable president for Trinity, outlining their reorganization of the faculty and administration, and urging the Methodists to rally to the support of their College.[65]

The three new administrators of Trinity were well known among the Methodists of North Carolina as "excellent, influential and

[62] *Ibid.*; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 90.

[63] M. L. Wood, Diary, Dec. 2, 1884; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 131.

[64] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 10, 1884. After leaving Trinity, Marquis L. Wood re-entered the active ministry and before his death in 1893 served the following appointments: 1885-1887, Presiding Elder of the Shelby District; 1888-1891, pastor of Rockingham Station; 1892, Presiding Elder of the Rockingham District; 1893, pastor of Saint John Station. See Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 261-264.

[65] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 93-94; M. L. Wood, Diary, Jan. 9, 1885; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 7, 1885; Pegram, "James A. Gray, Benefactor of Trinity College," pp. 158 ff.

wealthy laymen" who had long been concerned about the educational activities of the Church. Moreover, their reputations as "business men, . . . governed by business principles" were known not only in the state but also throughout the South.[66]

John Wesley Alspaugh, the son of a member of the North Carolina Conference, had been an active friend of Trinity for many years. His father, the Reverend John Alspaugh, owned a farm near Winston-Salem, and there his son was born on July 22, 1831. In 1850 John Wesley entered the preparatory department at Trinity. An excellent student and leader in extracurricular activities, he graduated with honors in 1855, and later received the degree of Master of Arts.

After studying law in Greensboro and obtaining a license in 1857, he opened an office in Winston-Salem. Along with his practice of law, he accepted a position on the staff of the *Western Sentinel*, a Democratic newspaper published in Winston. He finally became the editor of this paper and continued in that capacity during the Civil War.

Gifted as an editor and highly esteemed by the Democrats, he became chief clerk in the Senate of North Carolina in 1858 and, regardless of party changes, remained in that position until the close of the Civil War. During these years he was offered the position of editor of the Charlotte *Democrat*, a "leading paper" in the state, but he preferred to remain in Winston. He received the title of "Colonel" from his position as colonel in the county militia.

In 1872 Alspaugh retired from the position of editor of the *Sentinel*. He resumed his practice of law in 1877, when he helped to establish the First National Bank of Winston. He became closely identified with the development of his town and lived to see it become one of the leading industrial cities of North Carolina.

Alspaugh's three main interests were the industrial and civic progress of Winston, the development of Trinity College, and the work of the Christian churches. He became the first mayor of Winston and served several terms in that office. He aided in developing manufactures and in securing adequate railroad facilities for his

[66] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 10, 1884, Jan. 7, 1885.

city. He contributed funds for the erection of schools and churches and helped to establish the graded schools.

His interest in the Methodist Church together with his devotion to Trinity prompted him to make liberal contributions in time and money to the College. He had long been one of its principal supporters when he assumed part of the financial and executive responsibility in 1885. A member of the board of trustees, he was chairman when the Committee of Management took over Trinity in 1884, and he continued as chairman for twenty years before his retirement from the board.[67]

The man whose original idea resulted in the proposals and formation of the Committee of Management was Julian S. Carr, of Durham, North Carolina. At this time Carr was widely known as a capitalist, manufacturer, and philanthropist. A North Carolinian, he was born in Chapel Hill on October 12, 1845. His father, John Wesley Carr, was a merchant, planter, and county judge. He sent his son Julian Shakespeare to a school near Chapel Hill until he was prepared to enter the University of North Carolina in 1862. There he was a student for about two years before he enlisted in the Confederate Army.

At the close of the war Carr returned to Chapel Hill, where he attended the University for one session. In June, 1867, he entered the general mercantile business, but the following year relinquished this connection to move to Little Rock, Arkansas. There for about two years he was engaged in business with his uncle. In 1870 his father purchased a third interest in the W. T. Blackwell Tobacco Factory at Durham and persuaded his son to return to his native state. In September, 1870, Carr joined the firm and assumed the

[67] This sketch of J. W. Alspaugh is based on the following: Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VIII, 1-5; *Trinity Chronicle*, Durham, N. C., Nov. 6, 1912; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 11, Dec. 1, 1866; Alumni Records, 1850-1935; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, March 1, 1884; Mrs. A. V. Winkler, *Souvenir of the Twin Cities of North Carolina, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County* (Salem, N. C., 1890), pp. 54-55, 73; catalogues of Trinity College, 1867-1892; Adelaide L. Fries, *Forsyth County* (Winston, 1898), p. 88; Enoch Faw correspondence (Private Collection); letter to the author from J. W. Alspaugh, July 20, 30, 1940; *Twin City Sentinel*, Winston-Salem, N. C., May 4, 1935; J. W. Alspaugh to Calvin H. Wiley, Nov. 19, 1858 (Calvin H. Wiley Papers); J. W. Alspaugh to Jonathan Worth, Oct. 16, 1866 (Jonathan Worth Papers).

"entire control of its mercantile and financial department." From that time he enjoyed great financial prosperity, and his interest in civic and philanthropic affairs led him into many activities in North Carolina and elsewhere.[68]

James A. Gray, the third member of the Committee of Management was as well known for his financial success, philanthropies, and civic pride as were the other two members of the Committee. Like his fellow-townsman Colonel Alspaugh, he had intimate associations with Trinity College. A son of Robert Gray, of Trinity, he was born on January 2, 1846. When he was a small boy, his family moved to Winston-Salem and established a home there. He attended Trinity as a student, but did not graduate. At the age of nineteen he enlisted in the Confederate Army and saw active service before he was captured by the Federal forces.

At the close of the war he entered the mercantile business with his father in Winston and gradually became financially interested in many enterprises in the city. In 1879 he was instrumental in organizing the Wachovia National Bank and later the Wachovia Loan and Trust Company, and for many years he served as an official in these concerns. He was also active in bringing railroad facilities to Winston.

Gray was not only interested in the industrial development of his city, but was also active in its civic affairs. He served on various governing bodies of Winston: as a member of the school board, he helped to organize and develop the graded schools; he was city treasurer; as chairman of the board of stewards, he served the

[68] This sketch of Julian S. Carr is based on the following references: Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 51-59; Dowd, *Sketches of Prominent Living North Carolinians*, pp. 231-235; Hiram V. Paul, *History of the Town of Durham, N. C.* (Raleigh, 1884), pp. 133-137; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XXVII, 125; W. K. Boyd, *Story of Durham, City of the New South* (Durham, 1925), pp. 61, 71, 104, 112, 116, 118, 120-121, 124, 138, 139, 165-265; Durham *Morning Herald*, April 30, 1924; Boyd, "General Julian S. Carr and Trinity," pp. 252-255; *Trinity Archive*, VII (Oct., 1893), 1-5; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 11, Dec. 1, 1886; Nannie M. Tilley, "The Bright Tobacco Industry" (doctoral dissertation, Duke University Library, 1939), pp. 624-625; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, March 1, 1884; catalogues of Trinity College, 1882-1892; D. L. Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina* (Durham, 1924), p. 100; J. Maryon Saunders to author, July 9, 1940; Greensboro *Daily News*, May 2, 1924; P. Stewart, "Col. J. S. Carr," *Trinity Archive*, VII (Feb., 1894), 1-5.

Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and at one time he was the treasurer of the Children's Home in Winston. He contributed liberally to various activities of his Church as well as to other charitable and benevolent institutions. He had already donated funds to Trinity and had served as the treasurer of the endowment before joining with Alspaugh and Carr in the formation of the Committee of Management. He was elected a trustee of Trinity in 1885 and for a number of years served as treasurer of that body.[69]

These three North Carolinians guided Trinity through one of the most critical periods in the history of the College. Their policies were wise; their financial arrangements, businesslike; and their appointments to the faculty, discriminating.

To the older members of the faculty—Johnson, Gannaway, and Heitman—were added four new members, all North Carolinians.[70] Of the new professors, Henry Horace Williams, a young man of much energy and personal charm who had graduated from the University of North Carolina and was pursuing graduate study at Yale, was appointed to the professorship of Greek and German in Trinity. An able young friend of Williams was Augustus W. Long, who was "half through" his senior year at the University when he was appointed Professor of English Literature and History in the College. While he was at Trinity, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University.[71]

[69] This sketch of James A. Gray is based on the following references: James A. Gray to author, July 6, 16, 1940; Winkler, *Souvenir of the Twin Cities of North Carolina*, pp. 55, 76; Pegram, "James A. Gray, Benefactor of Trinity College," pp. 158-161; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 11, Dec. 1, 1866; catalogues of Trinity College, 1885-1892; Edward Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years* (Raleigh, 1928), p. 49; clipping in the scrapbook of Nora C. Dodson; "Winston Station," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV (Oct., 1918), 211-212; *Twin City Sentinel*, May 4, 1940.

[70] *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Jan. 1, 1885; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1884-1885*.

[71] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 10, 14; Raper, *Church and Private Schools in North Carolina*, p. 187; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 189, 196, 239, 267, 283, 423, 461, 800, 808; catalogues of Trinity College, 1884-1886; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 7, Sept. 2, 16, 1885; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, April 1, June 1, Sept. 1, Oct. 1, 1885; Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, pp. 1-26; Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, pp. 373, 674; *Report of the Committee of Trinity College* (broadside, Trinity College Papers); J. Maryon Saunders to author, July 9, 1940; Long, *Segment of the American Scene*, pp. 45-56, 60-62, 92, 110-121, 124-132, 146-161, 170-179; R. W. Winston, *Horace Williams: Gadfly of Chapel Hill* (Chapel Hill, 1942), pp. 8-35.

The other new members of the faculty were alumni of Trinity and well known as experienced teachers. Besides studying at Trinity, J. M. Bandy had attended the Normal School at the University of North Carolina and had taught in private schools before he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in Trinity. Nereus C. English, a native of Randolph County and a member of the family of Englishes who had befriended Trinity since the days of Union Institute, was one of the best-known educators in the state. He had earned recognition as a teacher and administrator by his work in public and private schools. In the summer of 1881 he was appointed to the faculty of the Normal School at the University. Previously he had represented Randolph County in the state legislature, and he was a popular writer and speaker. In 1887 he was made "Professor of Oratory, Associate Professor in History and Civil Law."[72]

In addition to the professors, the Committee of Management authorized the employment of three assistants: James A. Elliott and George N. Raper aided in the Preparatory Department, and Dred Peacock became "Tutor in German." All North Carolinians, these young men were students in Trinity when they were employed to assist the faculty.[73]

The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* praised the new appointments: "We regard the faculty as a most excellent one. Every member is a good teacher."[74] Professor Gannaway, senior member of the faculty, wrote: "During my connection of more than a quarter of a century with this institution, I have never seen professors or students better satisfied or more in earnest."[75] The *North Carolina Educational Journal* declared that the policy of the Committee of Management in the selection of the faculty was "not relying so much on one

[72] Alumni Records; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 21, March 4, Sept. 16, 1885; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, May 15, 1881, Jan. 1, April 1, June 1, Sept. 1, 1885; Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 160, 199; catalogues of Trinity College, 1884-1888; Connor (ed.), *Manual of North Carolina*, p. 771; J. M. Bandy, *An Analytical Arithmetic in Six Parts* (Trinity, N. C., 1890).

[73] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1883-1888; Alumni Records, 1883-1935; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 16, 1885; Long, *Segment of the American Scene*, pp. 173-174; Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VII, 362-367.

[74] Jan. 7, 1885.

[75] *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1885.

man of great learning and reputation to build up the College as upon a number of men, each an expert in his line."[76]

With this new corps of helpers and with the organization and support of the Committee of Management, Heitman, Chairman of the Faculty, planned the first session of school under the new regime. Advertising the new term, he announced rates of tuition as follows: college classes, $5.00 a month; preparatory department, $2.50 to $3.00; business course, $3.50; and "Telegraphy, stenography, and typewriting extra each term," $12.50. Room and board was set at $9.00 to $10.00 a month. In the curriculum "particular attention" would be given to "Natural Science, English Literature and the Business Course." With "improved apparatus and appliances," the faculty, "specialists in their respective departments," were prepared "to meet the demands of the educational interest of the Church and the patrons of the institution."[77]

Gannaway wrote to the Methodists of North Carolina that "Trinity is gathering up her strength again, the new organization is working admirably, both professors and students mean business." He stated further that Heitman had "the reins well in hand, and complete order and harmony prevails," that the outlook was encouraging, and that "with Methodism as a unit, active in its behalf, the future of Trinity is assured."[78]

About this time special interest was directed to the endowment. Mrs. Sarah Steele, of Iredell County, donated a tract of land valued at $1,000, to be sold and the proceeds applied to the endowment. Moreover, a legacy by Mrs. Ann E. Earnhardt, of Salisbury, North Carolina, raised the endowment fund to about $6,000. In announcing this gift, Alspaugh urged the friends of Trinity to renew their efforts for the College. In commenting upon the recent legacy, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* stated: "The best endowment Trinity College can have is an enshrinement in the affections of North Carolina Methodists. If we can get our people to love the College, they will give their money, send their sons to it, and get others to patronize it."[79]

[76] *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Jan. 1, 1885.
[77] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 7, Sept. 16, 1885.
[78] *Ibid.*, Feb., 1885.
[79] *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1885.

The spring term of the year 1884-1885 opened with optimism. In his report to the trustees in June, 1885, Heitman reviewed the work of the closing term of the year, the first session under the Committee of Management:

> Harmony, efficient work, and faithfulness to all duties have characterized each member of the Faculty. The Faculty have made a cautious and judicious, but persistent effort to elevate the grade of scholarship and general deportment, and the students have nobly responded. . . . Their diligence in study and their general deportment have been very gratifying; only two cases requiring severe discipline. The whole number of students enrolled during the scholastic year is 105. This does not include the *20* Cherokee Indians who have been taught in a separate school, superintended by Dr. J. L. Craven.
>
> The Preparatory Department, under the superintendence of Professor English, has been made much more efficient than formerly. The large room under the New Chapel has been fitted up for this school; and its students are required to study as well as recite in the room during school hours. . . .
>
> The Committee of Management very generously advanced funds to the amount of $600, to purchase desks and seats for the Preparatory room, recitation seats for the rooms of the professor and Chemical and Philosophical apparatus and supplies. They also authorized the Chairman of the Faculty to spend $250 in repairing the College buildings which has been done. Mr. J. H. Feree of Randleman placed $50 at the disposal of the Committee for the purpose of fitting up the Central office of the College.[80]

Methodists in North Carolina had looked forward to this report and to commencement at Trinity. The closing of the school year had been a great occasion in the days of Braxton Craven, and a goodly number of people wanted to see if this celebration in 1885 revealed the return of prosperity to the College. They were not disappointed. The college buildings were "thoroughly cleaned up, plastered, whitewashed, and painted," and the campus was put in order and "dressed up." Crowds descended upon the village, speakers delighted appreciative audiences, the alumni gathered to talk about the past and future of Trinity, the "Greensboro Brass Band" furnished music, the trustees held their annual meeting, students spoke well-prepared declamations and orations, and the College conferred honors and degrees upon students, alumni, and friends. In addition to the

[80] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 93-94.

medals formerly established, new ones were offered. Professor H. H. Williams gave two, one to the best student in Greek and one to the best student in German; T. H. Gatlin offered a medal in recognition of outstanding talent in "Elocution"; J. C. Pennix, of Pelham, North Carolina, gave another to the best declaimer in the freshman class; W. J. Gay, of Wilson, offered a similar one to the best declaimer in the sophomore class; B. N. Bodie presented the Bodie medal to the best declaimer in the junior class; and the student who earned "the best grade in everything" received the Craven Medal, established the year before by Julian S. Carr in memory of Dr. Braxton Craven, since the effort to raise money for the erection of a monument in honor of Craven had failed.[81]

The trustees held their regular meeting and took definite action upon a number of matters. A committee investigated absences from the meetings of the trustees and reported six vacancies on the board, "two by death, and four by absence for three years." Nominations to be presented to the next meeting of the North Carolina Conference were made as follows: James A. Gray, W. M. Robey, W. C. Norman, J. W. Reid, J. W. Mauney, and H. W. Spinks. The trustees passed a resolution requesting all presiding elders to emphasize the educational opportunities at Trinity during the meetings of their district conferences and "to urge parents and guardians to send their boys to College." The conduct of the College during its first session under the Committee of Management received the unanimous approval of the board. Moreover, the trustees praised the "capable and efficient faculty" and the physical improvements of the College and "confidently" recommended Trinity "to the patronage of the church."[82]

In noting the approval of the board, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* stated that the trustees voiced "the sentiment of those generally who attended the commencement in 1885." Regardless of this statement, there was considerable criticism of the policies of the College.[83] A month after commencement the *Raleigh Christian Advo-*

[81] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 1, Sept. 19, Nov. 14, 1883, May 20, June 17, 1885; *Trinity Magazine*, II (Nov., 1883), 81; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1883-1884*, pp. 10-11; *1884-1885*, pp. 14-16.

[82] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 17, 1885.

[83] *Ibid.*

cate printed the following statistics of some of the Southern colleges:

School	Matriculates	Faculty
Vanderbilt University	499	55
University of North Carolina	299	13
Wake Forest College	144	7
Trinity College	125	7
Davidson College	98	7 [84]

These and other statistics were printed without comment; but in the same issue of the *Advocate* appeared a letter from Alspaugh answering criticisms of Trinity. The chairman of the trustees pointed out that it was the policy of the College not "to stoop to contradict false and defamatory stories about its conduct and management." He declared that "the mean design of the parties instigating" such reports was "well understood and should bring the blush of shame to their cheeks." There was one story, however, that he felt that he must answer. A report was being circulated in some sections of the state that Trinity was going to be reduced to an academy or high school. He vigorously denied that such plans were being considered and declared that Trinity would remain a liberal arts college:

> This institution has heretofore held an exalted position among the best colleges in the land, and so far from any disposition on the part of its present managers to lower the grade of scholarship, they are doing all in their power to uphold and sustain it. To this end they have secured the services of four new professors to the corps of instructors and masters of the arts and sciences, they have added considerable to the College curriculum, repainted and refurnished the recitation rooms, and contributed materially to the apparatus used in the Department of Chemistry and the Natural Sciences; and are doing all they can to make the College equal or superior to the very best the State or country affords, and it is confidently expected that the next year will be one of the most prosperous in the history of the Institution. . . .[85]

Disregarding criticism, friends of Trinity worked vigorously for the College during the summer and fall of 1885. Besides the usual activities for the College, Heitman kept Trinity before the public through the columns of the *North Carolina Educational Journal*.[86]

[84] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1885.
[85] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1885.
[86] *North Carolina Educational Journal*, 1885.

In September, 1885, he published an article pointing out how colleges in the United States had been benefited by contributions from wealthy persons. The writer declared: "There are hundreds of men and women whose splendid gifts entitle them to be held in everlasting remembrance. Such gifts are so common now that they are expected. If a rich man should live and die without doing something for the cause of education, he would at once become the subject of adverse criticism."[87]

Meanwhile Heitman neglected no chance to to secure funds for Trinity. In February, 1884, he applied for aid from the Peabody Fund, but was informed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction that all such aid for the state had been exhausted.[88]

The academic year 1885-1886 opened amid general acclaim that it was the best opening in ten years. The first week more students enrolled than during the entire fall term of the year before. By the end of September there were 109 in attendance. The organization of the College was said "to be better and more satisfactory" than it had ever been. "Good discipline, good morals, good order and good teaching" were sought by every official of the College. To aid the faculty in securing these results, the merchants in the village closed their stores when study hours began at night, "thus leaving no place for the idlers of town or country to congregate, and remove temptation for the student to be absent from his room at night."[89] It was reiterated: "Trinity is moving upward."

The village of Trinity reflected the growing prosperity of the College. Real-estate values began to creep upward as more confidence was felt in the future of the College and as families once more began to move to the village to educate their sons. Trinity could boast of a mayor and a "calaboose." In 1883 the raising of tobacco, a new "money crop," was introduced within the village and surrounding country. This product stimulated the building of tobacco barns, and in 1885 several were erected within the village. Student correspondents to the public press commented upon the time when the farmers began cutting tobacco, observed the success of the crop, ex-

[87] *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1885.
[88] J. S. Scarborough to J. F. Heitman, Feb. 9, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).
[89] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 2, 23, 1885.

pressed admiration of the fine yellow leaf, and stated that it was sold mostly in Greensboro, North Carolina, and in Danville, Virginia. There was regret when an inexperienced farmer lost a barn of tobacco because of poor technique in curing the leaf, and there was much excitement when someone had the misfortune of seeing his barn and curing tobacco go up in flames. During 1885, the second year after the beginning of the cultivation of this product, more than two hundred barns of tobacco were cured "within the corporate limits of Trinity." A student reporter wrote in that year: "Tobacco will soon be 'king' here."[90]

During the fall of the year 1885-1886 friends continuously praised Trinity as they sought to arouse Methodism in North Carolina to the support of their "male college." Correspondents of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* reviewed the happenings at Trinity as they tried to win the active support of the Methodists. Regardless of all efforts, however, it soon became apparent that the Methodists would not fulfil their part of the financial agreement with the Committee of Management. Preachers, presiding elders, and other officials were urged to redouble their efforts to raise the $2,500 set by the Conference.[91] How unsuccessful were these activities was revealed at the meeting of the Conference in December.

At this time Alspaugh, Carr, and Gray made a detailed report of their administration for the first year of their two-year term of management.[92] Trinity now had a faculty of "seven professors, a good preparatory and business department added to the four College classes, one hundred and forty-eight students enrolled during the year, . . . a large increase over the patronage of the preceding year." Of these students, nineteen were sons of ministers and one was the son of a professor. Twenty-three students had been unable to meet their expenses and had received tuition "on time," and ten of these were expecting to become ministers of the gospel; so that at least $700 in tuition had been given to preachers' sons, and about $800 had been given to students "on time."

[90] *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1885; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, June 1, Oct. 1, Dec. 1, 1885.

[91] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 7, Nov. 4, 1885.

[92] *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1885; Journal of North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, pp. 377 ff.

The budget, as accepted by both Conference and Committee of Management the year before, was $7,550. Of this amount, $6,550 was to be used for the payment of salaries and $1,000 for the purchase of "much needed apparatus, furniture, etc." According to their agreement, the Committee of Management had contributed $3000, tuition from students had brought in $1,750, and the Conference had raised only $1,300.48. Thus the income from all sources was $6,040.48, with a deficit of $1509.52 for expenses of the current year; but $1,068 was still due for tuition and most of that would be paid. Even so, there would still be a deficit of $431.52.

Having fulfilled their part of the contract for the first year of their administration, Alspaugh, Carr, and Gray hoped that the Conference would raise "its promised $2,500, so that there would be a surplus to carry over to the next year to make up for the $1,000 less" which they had agreed to pay the second year of their management. In meeting all obligations, they hoped to continue the same organization of the faculty which was working so efficiently. The deficit for the first year had greatly discouraged them; nevertheless, they agreed to continue their contract to administer the College for two years.

The Committee also reported upon the status of the college debt. The "total undisputed debt" was $6,378.31; of this, $2,752.00 was due the endowment fund; $1,003.47, the Wachovia Bank; $1,024.43, Dr. R. W. Thomas; $669.41, Robert Gray; and $928.00, W. S. Bradshaw. None of these creditors asked more than the interest at this time. Besides the debt, there was an "adjusted claim of $735.52 to the Trinity Building and Loan Association."

After studying the report of the Committee of Management, the Conference Board of Education expressed its discouragement at the failure of the Methodists to meet their obligation to Trinity and the Committee of Management:

> Your Board are of the opinion that the Conference was in honor and gratitude bound to raise the $2500 promised, but how to remedy the breech in the working of the plan caused by this great deficiency, your Board are at loss to determine, unless as suggested in a resolution hereafter presented.
>
> But your Board must urge that as the Committee of Management propose to go forward and finish their two years of management, doing

the best they can under the circumstances, that those who are, by the plan, charged with the collection of this fund, do exert themselves to fulfill their assessment, and, if possible, do as two of the Presiding Elders have done this year, exceed their assessment by a handsome sum.[93]

Turning to the subject of endowment, the Board of Education reminded the Conference that in 1884 it had resolved to raise $100,000 for Trinity, that an attempt would be made to raise $20,000 annually, and that meetings for this purpose and for increasing the patronage of the College were to be held at all quarterly conferences. The Board declared that it had no information that any such meetings had been held. Nevertheless, there had been a few contributions to the endowment: $50 from J. M. Watson, $200 from J. M. McMichael, and $2,700 from the estate of Dr. C. G. Siddell. About $800 more would be realized from the Siddell estate; according to the provisions of the will all funds from this source would be invested in government bonds or secured by mortgage on real estate, and the interest on the investment would be used as a loan fund for needy young men. The bequest from Mrs. Ann E. Earnhardt was expected to bring $600, which was to be used in the same way as the Siddell fund. Besides these sums, $1,000 was expected from "the sale of a tract of land in Iredell County, donated by Mrs. Sarah Steele to the North Carolina Conference. . . ." The Board of Education reminded the Conference that the year before it had voted to add this amount to the endowment of Trinity. The sum from all sources totaled about a fifth of the $20,000 set to be raised annually. The Board called the attention of the Conference to the fact that the year before it had authorized the trustees of Trinity to use "any endowment funds . . . to pay off any pressing debts of the College" and to take a mortgage upon the real estate of the College "to secure the same." Now the Board declared that the president of the trustees "should be authorized to execute such mortgages when such application shall be made." The Board then urged "that the plan of endowment as agreed upon last year be pressed with prudent zeal, and declared: "It is a vain hope which some seem to entertain that the present Committee of Management will eventually propose to purchase Trinity

[93] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1882-1885, pp. 377 ff.

College, and run it for the Methodists of North Carolina." Furthermore, "a male College cannot be run successfully on receipts of tuition; aid from some other source must be obtained." Therefore the Conference should continue its efforts to raise an endowment for Trinity.

In view of the above facts, the Board of Education proposed a set of resolutions which were passed by the Conference:

1st: That we most gratefully appreciate the manly and Christian liberality of Bros. J. W. Alspaugh, J. W. Carr, and James A. Gray, in so nobly coming to the help of our College in the day of its need.

2nd: That the Conference sincerely deplores its failure to raise the whole amount of money pledged for the first year and requests that the deficiency in said amount be, if possible, collected before the Commencement in June next.

3rd: That we renew our obligation to raise the $2,500 for the ensuing year.

4th: That Rev. J. F. Heitman be appointed by the presiding bishop a professor at Trinity College.

5th: That J. S. Carr, Treasurer of the Board of Trustees, and his successor in office, be appointed Trustee of the endowment fund received from the estates of Dr. C. G. Siddell, Mrs. Sarah Steele, and Mrs. Ann E. Earnhardt, and from all other sources whatever, to have, hold, and invest according to the wishes of donors, under the direction of the Board of Trustees.

6th: That Colonel J. W. Alspaugh, President of the Board of Trustees, be authorized to execute a mortgage on the real estate of Trinity College to secure the legacies of Dr. C. G. Siddell, Mrs. Sarah Steele, and Mrs. Ann E. Earnhardt, left to Trinity College.

7th: That the following persons, recommended by the Trustees at their last regular annual meeting be elected Trustees of Trinity College to fill vacancies: Rev. W. C. Norman, James A. Gray, Esq., Rev. W. M. Robey, D. D., Professor H. W. Spinks, and J. W. Mauney.[94]

Another resolution passed by the Conference recommended that the Committee of Management "take into consideration the importance of enlisting some agency . . . to interest our commercial centers and other places, in the endowment of Trinity College as soon as possible. . . ."[95]

Although the Conference was interested in the welfare of Trin-

[94] *Ibid.*
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

ity, it was also concerned about its other educational institutions.[96] This fact, together with the idea that "wealthy laymen" would care for Trinity, may have dampened the enthusiasm of some members in urging contributions to the College.

Immediately following the meeting of Conference in December, 1885, Professor Long in a letter to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* offered an explanation for the failure of the Conference to meet its obligation to Trinity and suggested ways and means of raising funds for the endowment. He declared that the membership of the Methodist Church in North Carolina did not know enough about the work and needs of Trinity and suggested that the *Advocate* inform the Methodists continuously about the College "curriculum, patronage, endowment and so on." In this way "the people would learn exactly how the College stands—what it is doing at present, and what it hopes and plans to do for the future." Long declared that if an agent in each congregation in the state were appointed to solicit subscriptions of $1.00 from each member, the Methodists could "easily raise $25,000 this year." Moreover, "in many cases . . . the ladies could be persuaded to act as agents, and they would do the work gladly and thoroughly." Without any soliciting on his part, Long had received offers of liberal pledges from both men and women. To him, these actions meant that the people had "confidence in the present management of the College, that Methodism cannot afford to let it languish and die, that something must be done this year, and that they are willing to put their money in it."[97]

[96] The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* on Dec. 16, 1885, reported the following educational statistics:

"Trinity College was incorporated by act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 28th of January, 1851, amended by the act of 1858, chapter 85. Value of buildings and grounds $30,000. Number of faculty 7; number of students *117*.

"Greensboro Female College was incorporated by act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, ratified Dec. 28th, 1838, amended by act ratified 10th day of March, 1866. Value of buildings and grounds $30,000; number of faculty *17*; number of students *178*.

"Jonesboro High School was incorporated by act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, ratified 25th of Feb., 1881. Value of property $2500, number of teachers *4*; number of students *75*.

"Central Institute for Young Ladies, Littleton, North Carolina, was incorporated by act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, ratified 7th of March, 1883. Value of property $5000; number of teachers *6*; number of students *125*.

"Oak Institute has teachers *4*; pupils *175*, value of property $3000."

[97] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 27, 1886.

With only one important change, the administration of the spring session of 1885-1886 continued in the same manner as the fall term. Professor Henry Horace Williams resigned at the close of the fall term, and the other members of the faculty assumed his work.[98]

At the annual meeting of the trustees during commencement, 1885, Professor Heitman reported a year of successful work. The number of students and their general deportment had been raised to a higher standard. With the exception of the resignation of Professor Williams, there had been no change in the faculty. Heitman reported proudly the full payment of the faculty:

> On the 14th of January, 1886, the Treasurer paid one member of the Faculty the last dollar of his salary for 1885, it being the first time a professor has been paid his salary in full since the late war.[99]
>
> On the 1st of May following, another was paid in full for last year, and the others have only a small balance due them for last year. With no change of the fall term of the present year, your Chairman believes that all the members of the Faculty will be paid in full for the two years of management by the Committee.[100]

Heitman then requested that the following suggestions be considered by the trustees:

> 1. That some definite rule be made in reference to the tuition of young men preparing for the ministry.
> 2. That the Board consider the advisability of establishing the degree of Bachelor of Theology.
> 3. That the degrees conferred upon students be equalized, so that the same amount of work be done by graduates, no matter what the degree.[101]

On the first of these resolutions, the Trustees took definite action:

> Resolved: That young men preparing for the ministry, and desiring indulgence, be charged by this Institution at the same rate of Tuition as other students—provided that when they are received into full connection as members of the Conference, the Treasurer of the Faculty shall cancel such notes and accounts with all interests accruing thereon; otherwise said notes and accounts shall be held against them.[102]

[98] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 108-109.
[99] Heitman was mistaken. See chap. vi.
[100] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 108-109.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

What the trustees did with the other suggestions of Heitman is not recorded in the minutes of their meetings. Another matter of importance they considered long and seriously: the selection of a president for the College. On June 9, 1886, after the names of several gentlemen had been considered, the Reverend S. B. Jones, D.D., of the South Carolina Conference, was elected President of Trinity; but he declined the election. Some of the members of the trustees then conferred with the Committee of Management, and as a result the following committee was appointed to find a suitable president for the College: Julian S. Carr, chairman; Dr. T. M. Jones; Judge W. J. Montgomery; James A. Gray; and Colonel J. W. Alspaugh.[103] The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* expressed approval of the action of the trustees in the following editorial:

> The Trustees of Trinity College proposed to elect a president for the College. For the past one and one-half years, they have had a Chairman of the Faculty, waiting, we suppose, until they could see their way clear to elect a president. They propose now to get a man in every way suited to the place, and hope if they succeed in securing the proper gentleman, during his administration to be able to place the College in the front rank of Educational Institutions in the State both in influence and usefulness. To provide for the salary of the president they hope to secure a guarantee of $2,000 to $2,500 annually from the liberal Methodists of the State who are able to contribute for three years. Judge W. J. Montgomery has generously subscribed $200 a year for three years, followed by Colonel J. W. Alspaugh for $200 a year for three years, and J. S. Carr, Esq., $250 a year for three years. It is to be hoped that others will join these gentlemen, that a sufficient sum will be pledged, and a suitable man procured.[104]

While the committee on the selection of a president went leisurely about its business, the administration at Trinity continued to function as it had done for the past year and a half.

Following the suggestion of the Conference, efforts were made during the summer and fall of 1886 to arouse Methodist support for Trinity. There was much private and public talk about the future of the College, and the columns of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* were open to everyone who had suggestions or criticisms to offer. Describing improved conditions in every department at Trinity, Pro-

[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 111-117.
[104] June 23, 1886.

fessor Long wrote a series of letters which appeared in the *Advocate*.[105] One of his letters was displeasing to some readers, and a former student wrote an answer which was printed in the *Advocate*. He declared that by comparing present conditions at Trinity with those that existed under Braxton Craven, Long had cast unfavorable reflection upon the former activities of the College. In a letter of response Long satisfactorily explained his statements.[106]

This bickering among the representatives of the old order and the new forces at work for the College added to uncertainty about Trinity. At this time Thomas J. Jarvis, then minister to Brazil, wrote a letter to the Methodists of North Carolina urging support for Trinity, stating that the College must be endowed, and offering suggestions to that end. This communication evoked much comment, mostly favorable, as friends of the College found in Jarvis's appeal an opportunity to give their cause a boost.[107]

As time approached for the meeting of the North Carolina Conference in December, 1886, and the end of the two-year agreement with the Committee of Management, renewed efforts were made to unite Methodism in support of Trinity and to persuade the Committee of Management to continue their control of the College.[108] It soon became evident, however, that Alspaugh, Carr, and Gray would not continue their administration after the expiration of the term. The failure of the Methodists to contribute their share to the support of Trinity, together with their continual bickering as well as the private financial burdens of the three men, all influenced the Committee to relinquish control. Carr wanted to continue the arrangement and was active in trying to persuade the other two members of the Committee to renew their agreement. He soon discovered that his efforts would be of no avail, and he wrote Heitman:

> There is not much light ahead for Trinity College next year. Gray seems to think that the Committee has received such little encouragement from the Church at large that there is no inducement for us to hold on. I have thought of trying to find 25 men in the church who would bind themselves to give Trinity College $250.00 a year for two years. This

[105] Aug. 11, Oct. 6, Nov. 3, 1886.
[106] Oct. 20, Nov. 3, 1886.
[107] *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 24, Dec. 1, 1886.
[108] *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1886.

will about pay the salaries of the professors which the tuition does not do, and pay the indebtedness of the College for two years. If we can do this, then I believe Trinity College will be so firmly upon its feet that we can handle the situation. Twenty-five men paying $250 each for two years will liquidate the indebtedness of Trinity College and run the College, and I believe that within two years there will be but very little trouble, and will very materially work on this plan in the course of the next few days, to see if I can find my twenty-five men. If you know of anything better, please advise me. The Committee as at present constituted cannot work on another year because we have some debts pressing us that must be provided for, and under the present arrangements, we are not providing for anything, except to pay off the faculty. These debts are growing larger year by year instead of smaller, and it is to meet this question that I propose to make this change. In fact, we have got to do something different, I am satisfied, next year, because, from my interviews Saturday, I do not think the present Committee are willing to stand by the arrangement.[109]

As the time for the meeting of Conference drew near, the Methodists realized that they must again assume the financial and administrative burden of Trinity.[110] In a lengthy article written especially for the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, J. D. Hodges, a former member of the faculty at Trinity, discussed the problem of the College in the light of its past achievements and its hope for the future.[111] This comprehensive discussion of the problem of Trinity appeared in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* the same week that the North Carolina Conference held its annual meeting. Again the College was one of the most seriously discussed subjects of the Conference.[112] Before relinquishing their administration, the Committee of Management, through Professor Heitman, presented a final report.[113] During the spring and fall terms, 1886, the enrollment had totaled 170, a gain of 22 over the previous year. Twelve of these were ministerial students. Twenty-four young men had received part of their tuition "on time." Furthermore, $589 of free tuition was given to sons of ministers and to one son of a professor. For the two-year period the College had agreed to pay the faculty $12,210. Of this

[109] Sept. 21, 1886 (Trinity College Papers).
[110] Nov., Dec., 1886.
[111] Dec. 1, 1886.
[112] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1886-1889, pp. 43 ff.
[113] For this report, see *Report of the Committee of Trinity College* (Trinity College Papers).

sum, the Committee had contributed their full pledge; the North Carolina Conference, less than half of its pledge; and the students, only a part of the requirement in tuition fees. The faculty had been paid a total of $9,941.43, with a balance due of $2,286.57. During the last year of management no money had been spent for "furniture, apparatus, and repairs."

In reviewing their administration, the Committee reminded the Conference that their object in assuming control of Trinity "was to give the College the necessary aid to run respectably for two years until the plan of endowment . . . began to bear its expected fruits." They had hoped to find a man for president "whose zeal, learning and reputation would command the confidence and respect of all." The failure of the Committee to find such a man for the salary they could offer him and the failure of the Conference to pay its pledge to Trinity caused the Committee to operate the College without a chief executive.

While the wisdom of this procedure might be questioned, the Committee pointed out that Trinity was "still open for the instruction of the sons of Methodism," that there had been "improvement in many respects," and that they could now "surrender the College in such condition that the Conference" could "take it up again, and, with a liberal endowment of means, carry it on to higher excellence and greater usefulness." After enumerating specific improvements, the Committee expressed their regret at the failure of the Methodists to endow Trinity.

Following the report of the Committee, Carr, as Treasurer of Trinity, reported upon the financial condition of the College. The total debt was $7,483.30, an increase of $369.47 during the year. This increase was due to the accumulation of interest on the old debt, since no provision had been made to pay the interest. The endowment fund had been appropriated by the board of trustees and "used in the liquidation of the indebtedness of the College to Mrs. Irene Craven," in reducing the mortgage on Trinity, in paying off other debtors, and in meeting the payment of insurance premiums. Thus $3,087.80 of the total indebtedness of the College was due the endowment fund. Carr stated in his report that he and the other members of the Committee of Management had been disappointed at the lack

of favorable financial response from the Conference. In their judgment the only hope for the College lay in a speedy endowment, and they recommended that vigorous steps be taken to that end. Moreover, immediate action was necessary to provide for pressing current expenses of the College.[114]

These reports of the retiring administration evoked much discussion among the ministers, and they awaited the report and recommendation of the Conference Board of Education. Upon presenting this report, the Board revealed that the Conference had again failed to raise the sum of money pledged to Trinity. The presiding elders' districts had been assessed $2,454.12, and, of this amount, they had raised $1,724.37.[115] The following recommendations of the Board of Education were passed by the Conference:

> Resolved, 1st, that the Board of Trustees be directed to secure a President for the College as early as possible.
>
> 2nd, that the Conference make an annual contribution of five thousand ($5,000) to supplement the current expense fund and pay pressing debts, and that the apportionment of this sum to the Presiding Elders' Districts be made by the Treasurer of the Faculty, on the basis of the Conference Claimant assessment, and that the Presiding Elders be charged with the duty of collection.
>
> 3rd, that all the moneys raised on this collection be paid to the Treasurer of the Faculty and disbursed under the direction of the President of the College and President of the Board of Trustees, and that the Treasurer make a full report of receipts and disbursements to the next annual Conference.[116]

During this session of the Conference in 1886 friends of Trinity spoke frequently. Professors Heitman and Pegram, as well as Carr, presented the problems of the College. After Carr had given a "verbal appeal for an endowment," four members of the Conference presented a set of resolutions which were passed unanimously. These resolutions called for the raising of a $100,000 endowment for Trinity during the "Conference year, 1887." Agents for raising the money were to be appointed at once. All money secured was to be invested, and the interest thus obtained was to be applied to the salaries of the faculty. When the proposed endowment was com-

[114] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1886-1889, pp. 43-49.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Ibid.*

pleted, the sons of ministers in the North Carolina Conference should receive free tuition, provided the trustees agreed. Furthermore, each member of the Conference was pledged "to an earnest endeavor to send one or more pupils to Trinity College during the Conference year."[117]

Although the Committee of Management was dissolved, its individual members retained important positions upon the governing boards of Trinity. Alspaugh was still president of the board of trustees and chairman of the executive committee; Carr, as a trustee and member of the executive committee, was chairman of the committee to select a new president for Trinity; and Gray, a member of the executive committee, was treasurer of the endowment fund.

Students and College Life (1882-1887)

The rapid changes in the administration of Trinity from 1882 to 1887 were reflected in every phase of life at the College. In 1882-1883 the enrollment sank to one hundred, the smallest number since the reopening of the College in 1866. During the administration of Marquis L. Wood there was an increase of only four students. The two years under the Committee of Management brought an increase of forty-two students, but the discouragement at the end of its term resulted in a decrease of four in the total enrollment. Most of the students came from North Carolina; Virginia and South Carolina were the only other states represented. Besides these, the Cherokee Indian Reservation was represented by twenty young men.[118]

The manners of the students revealed the geographical region from which they came. The boys were either from the "up country" or "low country." The up-country students were Scotch-Irish, Welsh, German, and Quaker, often descendants of families who had originally settled in Pennsylvania. They lived on small farms in communities where the habits of plantation life were little observed. The low-country students, more polished in their manners, were largely descendants of English colonial families in the region of cotton plantations. Consciousness of these differences often led to bitter rivalries for academic and extracurricular honors.[119]

[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

[118] See Appendix, Tables 1 and 2.

[119] J. S. Bassett, "Old Trinity Days," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (Oct., 1917), 192; catalogues of Trinity College, 1882-1887.

There was a small but steady decrease in the number of students entering the regular college classes and an increase in those entering the preparatory and special departments. This was probably due to the fact that many people considered Trinity inferior to the other colleges in North Carolina but thought that the preparatory department was superior. Moreover, there was considerable talk of reducing the whole status of the College to that of a preparatory school.[120]

A group of special and preparatory students that caused concern at Trinity was the twenty Indian boys of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. After Craven's death the trustees refused to assume any responsibility for the Indians, but permitted them to remain at Trinity until the end of the academic year 1884-1885.[121] The Cherokees were a source of worry because of misunderstanding arising "between representatives of the late Dr. Craven and the authorities of the College as to whether these Indians were committed to Dr. Craven as an individual or as President of the College."[122] Immediately following Craven's death, the trustees left the matter with Professor Pegram, who decided to allow Craven's private arrangement to continue for the spring term of the year 1882-1883.[123] Assuming that the Indians were the responsibility of the College, President Wood inaugurated a change in policy. Previous to this time, Dr. J. L. Craven, a son of Braxton Craven, had been charged with the care and training of the Cherokees "in a private school." Since they were entirely under his jurisdiction, he received the income for their care. In October, 1883, Wood decided to take the Indians under the jurisdiction of the College, but Craven refused to relinquish his control until ordered to do so by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Cherokees were then placed in a room to themselves in the college building, where they were taught until noon each day by members of the faculty.[124]

[120] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 13, 1884, June 17, July 22, 1885, Aug. 11, Dec. 1, 1886.

[121] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 19, 36, 48.

[122] *Ibid.*; J. F. Heitman, "Notes from Trinity," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 27, 1884.

[123] W. H. Pegram, Report of the President and Board of Trustees, June 14, 1883 (Trinity College Papers).

[124] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 67 ff.; M. L. Wood,

The change in policy was due to the income that could be realized for the care of the Indians. The Government paid $167 annually "for housing, boarding, clothing, and teaching" each of the Cherokees. In his report to the trustees in June, 1884, Wood stated that it was "evident that there can be but small margin for profits." He stated further that the College had realized from this source $212.75 and would receive $50.00 more at the close of the present quarter to be used in paying the salaries of the faculty.[125]

The Cherokees were retained at Trinity for another year, 1884-1885. During the first part of the year they were taught by J. J. White in a specially organized "Cherokee Industrial School." This arrangement was continued until the resignation of Wood. At that time they were restored to the care of Dr. J. L. Craven, and for the remainder of the year 1884-1885 they were taught in a separate school superintended by him.[126] No record has been found of the admission of Indian youths after that date. Heitman had always questioned the wisdom of retaining the Cherokees in connection with the College, and when he became chairman of the faculty, he probably favored the abandonment of the "Cherokee Industrial School."[127]

Although the fees paid for training the Indians were small, those required of the regular students at Trinity were smaller. From 1882 to 1885 tuition in the college department was $25.00 in the spring; from 1885 to 1887, $5.00 a month for the school year of ten months. Tuition in the preparatory department from 1882 to 1885 was $20.00 for the fall term and $25.00 for the spring; from 1885 to 1887, it was $2.50 to $3.00 a month, while the charge each month in the business course was $3.50. Matriculation paid by college students once a year was reduced from $5.00 in 1882 to $4.00 in 1885. Commencement fees for the college students were $4.00 and for preparatory $2.00 each year. Seniors paid a diploma fee of

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Diary, Oct. 1, 1883—Feb. 20, 1884; telegram from H. Price to M. L. Wood, Oct. 4, 1883; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1883-1884*, p. 17.

[125] J. F. Heitman, "Notes from Trinity."

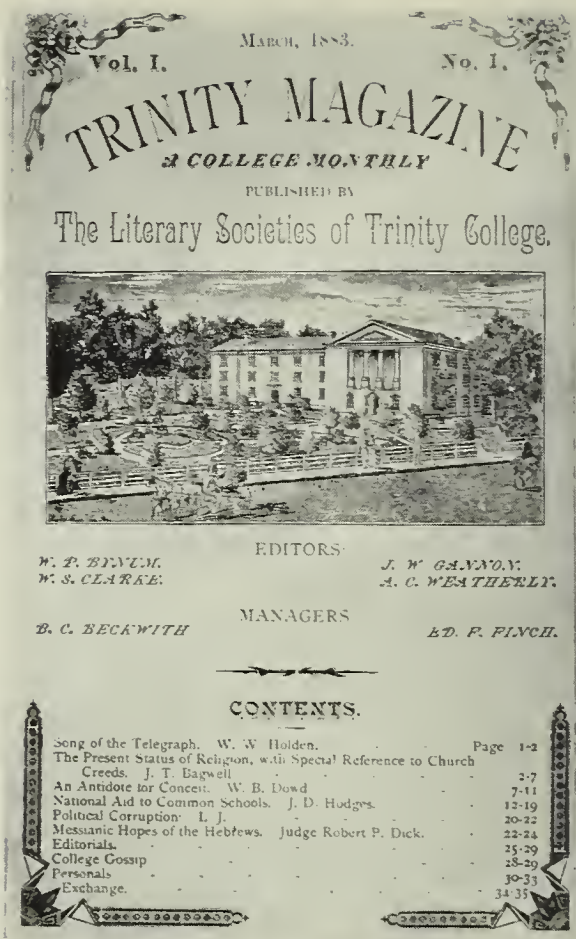
[126] M. L. Wood, Diary, June 30, 1885; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1884-1885*, p. 22; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Feb. 1, 1885; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 93-94.

[127] J. F. Heitman, "Notes from Trinity."

John W. Alspaugh

Julian S. Carr

James A. Gray



Vol. I. March, 1883. No. 1.

TRINITY MAGAZINE

A COLLEGE MONTHLY

PUBLISHED BY

The Literary Societies of Trinity College.

EDITORS:

W. P. BYNUM. J. W. GANNON.
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MANAGERS

B. C. BECKWITH ED. F. FINCH.

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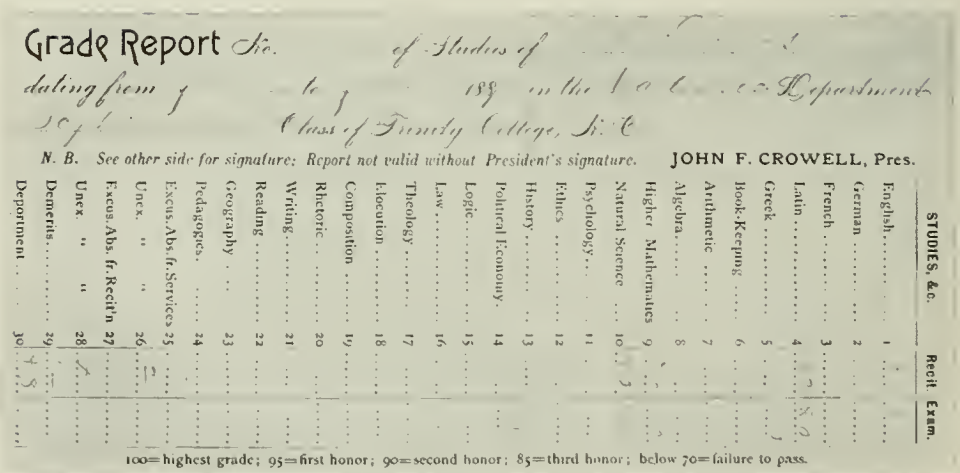
Thomas, Reece & Co., printers, Greensboro.

FRONT COVER OF THE *Trinity Magazine*, 1883



Grade Report No. of Studies of
dating from to 189 in the Department
Class of Trinity College, N. C.

N. B. See other side for signature; Report not valid without President's signature. JOHN F. CROWELL, Pres.

STUDIES, &c.	Recit. Exam.
English	
German	
French	
Latin	
Greek	
Book-Keeping	
Arithmetic	
Algebra	
Higher Mathematics	
Natural Science	
Psychology	
Ethics	
History	
Political Economy	
Logic	
Law	
Theology	
Elocution	
Composition	
Rhetoric	
Writing	
Reading	
Geography	
Pedagogics	
Excus. Abs. fr. Services	
Unex. " "	
Excus. Abs. fr. Recit'n	
Unex. " "	
Demerits	
Deportment	

100=highest grade; 95=first honor; 90=second honor; 85=third honor; below 70=failure to pass.

STUDENT'S REPORT, 1890

$10.00 until 1885, when it was reduced to $8.00. The janitor's fee in the College was $2.00 a term, while it was $1.00 in the preparatory department. The cost of washing, fuel, and light ranged from $7.00 to $8.00 a term, and cost of room and board from $7.00 to $12.00 a month. Books cost from $5.00 to $8.00 a term. The college catalogue stated that "very little pocket money is necessary."[128]

While there was little difference in the expenses of a student at Trinity between this period and the one immediately preceding, there was a tendency to reduce fees. Perhaps this was caused by the realization that parents could not afford to pay more and by the hope of attracting more students by lower charges. Although the rates were low, the College continued to give free tuition to the sons of members of the North Carolina Conference and to the sons of its own professors. Trinity also held to its former policy of offering special inducements to ambitious young men who were unable to meet the expenses of a college education.[129]

The students continued their traditional extracurricular organizations and introduced new ones. In March, 1885, a group organized a "Concert Club" to promote interest in music. A month later "some of the students and a couple of the young men from the village organized a Glee Club." A new venture sponsored by both faculty and students was the "Trinity Lyceum," which was begun on March 2, 1885, "for the purpose of improvement in Literature, Science, etc."[130]

In March, 1883, the *College Herald* was replaced by a new publication, the *Trinity Magazine*. In an editorial in its first issue the magazine declared that it represented a new day at the College:

> The present is a new epoch in the history of Trinity, and will, of necessity be attended with changes in every department. New life begets new manifestations, and these manifestations will be displayed first in the great field of journalism. The *Gazette* and the *Herald* were respectively the embodiment of the journalistic spirit of 1874 and 1882; eighteen hundred eighty-three demands a new representative—one that will be a true exponent of the vitality and taste of Trinity as she exists today. To

[128] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1882-1887.
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] *North Carolina Educational Journal*, April 1, Oct. 1, 1885; Bassett, "Old Trinity Days," pp. 186-193; *Trinity Magazine*, II (Nov., 1883), 55.

meet this demand we have changed the name, style, and form of the *College Herald* and with this issue place before the public the first number of the *Trinity Magazine*. This journal we hope to conduct in a manner creditable to ourselves and to the times, faithful to the Societies (Columbian and Hesperian) which have reposed confidence in us, to the Institution to which we belong and are attached, and finally to the alumni and friends to whom we are already indebted for many marks of favor and kindness.[131]

The *Trinity Magazine* thus stated its intentions and policies:

We intend that the magazine shall be an exponent of the thought and culture of Trinity and its friends, and a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of college publications. To accomplish this will require money, time and talent—more, perhaps, than the present editors can command. But the intention—the high ideal has been formed, and we shall be found zealously "working unto it," feeling assured that its fulfillment will be a fact of the future. We rely upon the earnest co-operation of the Alumni and all who feel an interest in the College and its students. Our first need is patronage; our second, contributions.[132]

Publishing its first number in March, 1883, the magazine received encouragement from friends throughout the state. Alspaugh wrote in May: "You have been doing well for us in your paper, for which you have the warmest thanks of the friends of the College.[133] In the last issue of the *Trinity Magazine* for the year 1882-1883, the editor hinted at difficulties incurred in establishing the magazine, expressed confidence in the new staff, revealed that much of the writing had been done by people who were not students in the College, and urged continued support of the publication.[134]

The periodical was published with "spasmodic success" until 1885. In January of that year a representative of the faculty notified the Columbian and Hesperian Literary societies "that by decision of the faculty the publication of the *Trinity Magazine* would cease after the next issue." The failure of the magazine, managed jointly by the societies, "was probably due to the comparative smallness of

[131] *Trinity Magazine*, I (March, 1883), 25-28. A few scattered issues are bound among the Trinity College catalogues, 1872-1894, in the Alumni Office, Duke University; and a few may be found among the Trinity College Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Duke University Library.

[132] *Ibid.*, I (March, 1883), 25.

[133] *Ibid.*, I (May, 1883), 80.

[134] *Ibid.*, I (May, 1883), 77.

the College and the lack of unified direction and control behind the venture."[135]

After the suspension of the periodical, the *North Carolina Educational Journal,* which had been published at Trinity by Professor Heitman since October 1, 1883, contributed a page of each issue to Trinity. The student editors of this page wrote news items and comments about the College, the village, and the alumni. This page was continued until the suspension of the *Journal* in December, 1885.[136]

Other activities occupied the leisure time of the students. Some hunted; others played baseball and other games.[137] A student recorded a waning interest in baseball in 1885: "Baseball has become a nuisance in the United States. The students here have discovered this and the interest they once had in baseball has vanished."[138] The same could not be said of some other forms of social activities. "Oyster suppers" and similar affairs, popular with the students, were held at various places in the village, and the "fair sex" and the professors and their families were special guests.[139]

Although there was much good-natured teasing among the students, there seemed to be little hazing. The college catalogue carried this statement:

> This hazing is never practiced at Trinity. Many boys have a secret dread of entering a primary class in any college or school. This dread so far as Trinity is concerned, is entirely unnecessary. The members of the higher classes have a generous rivalry in the courtesy and attention to be given to all new students. The treatment that every student receives from his fellows depends altogether upon his self-respect and manliness.[140]

Cases of discipline appeared to be somewhat rare. How dreadful was the ordeal of meeting a stern faculty is shown in a letter from a runaway student. The boy had left Trinity without notifying anyone of his action because he "could not bear to be arainged [*sic*] before the faculty." In writing this explanation, the boy begged

[135] Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," p. 172; Few, "Twenty-five Years of Trinity College," pp. 152 ff.
[136] *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Jan.-Dec., 1885.
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1885.
[139] *Ibid.*, Jan.-Dec., 1885.
[140] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1882-1883.*

Heitman not to write his guardian "an unfavorable letter with regard to me; it would troble [*sic*] my Darling Sister so much."[141]

The Curriculum and Related Matters

Academic requirements led to the same recognition as formerly: Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Science, and Bachelor of Philosophy, and a diploma or a certificate of proficiency. Requirements for these distinctions differed little from those of former years. At one time there was a movement to abolish the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. The trustees voted to do so, but later restored it. The degree of Bachelor of Science was abolished in 1886, but this, too, was later restored.[142]

In 1883 there was no "primary department" at Trinity, and the preparatory department was designed to prepare only those students who were "nearly ready for the freshman class."[143] During the administration of Wood this department was reorganized and expanded.[144] Along with this reorganization went the improvement of the old business course. New demands in education required such courses, and businessmen were especially interested in teaching the "principles of business" in schools and colleges. In 1883 Heitman wrote his brother-in-law, Julian S. Carr, in reference to the further development of such a course at Trinity, and received the following favorable answer:

> The more I have thought of establishing a Business Department at Trinity College, the more favorably I am impressed with it. The more practical we can make Trinity, the more patronage we can secure. . . . We must by all means inaugurate something of this character. The "Telegraphy" might be promised but really not gone into until next June, the beginning of the fall term. . . . I am inclined to think that yourself and Professor Bandy can manage these Departments.[145]

The following year, 1883-1884, the college catalogues announced an expanded business course:

> We have made special arrangements to give this department greater prominence and to make it more efficient. It embraces a thorough system

[141] W. F. Harris to J. F. Heitman, Jan. 30, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).

[142] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1882-1883*, p. 5; *1883-1884*, p. 6; *1886-1887*, p. 8.

[143] *Ibid.*, *1882-1883*, p. 13; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Oct. 1, 1883.

[144] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1883-1884*, p. 6.

[145] Julian S. Carr to J. F. Heitman, Dec. 15 [1883 ?] (Trinity College Papers).

of both Elementary and Practical Bookkeeping, and everything necessary for a business education. It is the object to give a full knowledge of the forms and management of business, and to prepare boys in theory and practice for successful work, so as to obviate the necessity and expense of going elsewhere to perfect their education in this department.[146]

When the Committee of Management assumed the control of Trinity, one of its first actions was the employment of N. C. English to head and reorganize both the preparatory and business departments. His appointment and subsequent actions were hailed as "a new era in the history of the College." Combining the courses of the two departments, he worked out a course of study for the "Preparatory and Business." This was merely the old preparatory course with the addition of "Business—Bookkeeping and Commercial Law; Drawing."[147] These studies grew steadily in popularity among the students.[148]

Other special courses were "Penmanship" and "Vocal Music"; however, they were listed in only one catalogue—1883-1884. In regard to "Vocal Music" the catalogue stated: "We have arranged to have Vocal Music regularly taught, for which a small additional fee will be charged. Those who enter this class will be required to attend all its meetings for instruction and practice."[149]

While the administration was interested in the special courses offered at Trinity, its chief concern lay with the college curriculum. In 1882-1883, as in previous years, eleven "schools" were offered, and the course of study was arranged according to requirements for various degrees and divided into four "grades" for each class.[150] Beginning the following year, the statement of the course of study was simplified. The "schools" were reduced from eleven to nine: Latin, Greek, Mathematics, English Literature, Natural Science, Metaphysics, French, German, and Theology. The names of "schools" no longer appearing in the college catalogue were Mental and Moral Philosophy, Modern Languages, Engineering and Architecture, An-

[146] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1883-1884*, p. 12.

[147] *Ibid., 1885-1886*, p. 6; *1886-1887*, p. 6; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 4, 1885.

[148] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1883-1887; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, Sept. 1, 1885.

[149] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1883-1884*.

[150] *Ibid., 1882-1883*, pp. 6-13.

alytical Chemistry, and Law.[151] From time to time there were other suggested revisions. In answer to proposals made by Heitman in March, 1884, Colonel Alspaugh wrote:

> If I supposed the College was to be a failure, and that its status as an Institution was to go down, I should have no objections to any suggestions in regard to the curriculum. But if it is to be endowed and to be raised in the standard of usefulness, it does not seem in keeping with such results to lower standards of the collegiate course.[152]

The following June, in his report to the trustees, Wood suggested that a study be made of the curriculum and proposed certain changes:

> It is the unanimous opinion of the Faculty that the effectiveness and success of the College would be enhanced by making some changes in the curriculum, so as to enlarge the Department of Sciences and devote a little less time to the dead languages. The object is not to lower the standard, but to better adapt it to the culture demanded by modern life. Professor Heitman has arranged and printed the outlines of a curriculum which we believe is more suitable to the demands of the times and the country than the one now used. It has been found by actual comparison, that this proposed curriculum is as high as, or higher than, Randolph Macon, Wofford, Emory and Henry, Central College in Missouri, and Centenary in Louisiana. We preferred to have the sanction and the aid of the trustees in making these changes before publishing a new catalogue, so that the public will better understand the reasons for making them. We would respectfully ask that you appoint a competent committee to fully examine this subject.[153]

A committee was appointed, but did not report during this period. The trustees, however, authorized a revision of the curriculum.[154]

Meanwhile the form of the collegiate course of study was simplified. Its content, brought up to date, followed the pattern of earlier years. For the first time Greek was dropped from the requirements of the freshman class; and, beginning in the sophomore year, French and German were offered. Study of the sciences was encouraged. Along with the list of courses, the college catalogue described the aims and methods of instruction in each course.[155]

[151] *Ibid.*, 1883-1887.
[152] J. W. Alspaugh to J. F. Heitman, March 22, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).
[153] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 67 ff.
[154] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 75, 108.
[155] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1882-1887; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 7, Sept. 16, 1885.

There were "thorough examinations at the close of each grade." These examinations, both oral and written but "principally written," were comprehensive and "intended to be tests of scholarship." Until 1885 honor averages in all studies were listed as follows: "First Honor, 95; Second Honor, 90; and Third Honor, 85"; that year (1885) these averages were changed to 90, 80, and 70, and everyone was graded with "mathematical precision."[156] "Full Reports" were sent to parents and guardians "at the close of each grade." These statements were not always sent promptly, as shown by the following letter from an anxious father in 1884:

> My son has been with you now, some months, and we, like others, feel anxious for him, up to this time no one has written me a word as to how he is getting on in College. Will you be so kind as to write me as in some sense suggested in the following questions: How is George applying himself to his Books? Is he up with his work? Is he respectful to his Superiors, and agreeable with companions? Does he give any unnecessary care? What of his associations, is it good, is he inclined to wander, or tramp 'round through the Community? What are his habits morally? Those and more of similar nature we would be glad to have assured.[157]

The number of graduates beginning with the academic year 1882-1883 and closing with the academic year 1886-1887 was fifty-five.[158] Since more emphasis was placed on the special and preparatory courses, there were fewer graduates in the college division, and there appeared to be danger that Trinity would finally be reduced to a vocational and preparatory school.

In 1887 all but four graduates were living in North Carolina. Their vocations were as follows: teachers, sixteen; lawyers, nine; students engaged in further study, eight; ministers, seven; physicians, four; merchants, three; farmers, two; and each of the following, one: salesman and farmer, college professor, bookkeeper, hotel keeper, editor, and one unknown.[159] These figures show that once more the number of students entering the teaching field was greater than that of any other; lawyers were now second; students, third; and ministers, fourth. More graduates of the College were con-

[156] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1882-1887; *North Carolina Educational Journal*, April 1, 1885.

[157] G. W. Callahan to J. F. Heitman, Jan. 16, 1884 (Trinity College Papers).

[158] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, pp. 71-73.

[159] *Ibid.*

tinuing their studies elsewhere than at any other time in the history of the College.

The influence of the alumni was becoming more marked. They might differ with one another over certain policies in regard to the College, but they were united almost as one in the determination that Trinity must live.[160] Some of the students of this period became distinguished in their vocations during the years that followed. Among these were Dr. Albert Anderson, for many years Superintendent of the State Hospital for the Insane; W. P. Bynum, distinguished lawyer and judge; J. M. Downum, professor in the Appalachian Training School; Dred Peacock, educator, manufacturer, and philanthropist; William R. Reynolds, manufacturer and public-spirited citizen; Colonel W. P. Andrews, lawyer and businessman; Dr. James H. Scarborough, well-known educator; and Robert Lee Smith, attorney and legislator.[161] It was alumni such as these who joined with other friends of Trinity in coming to the relief of the College after the death of Braxton Craven.

[160] M. L. Wood, Diary, 1866-1886, *passim;* W. S. Chaffin, Diary, 1850-1886, *passim; Raleigh Christian Advocate*, 1880-1887.

[161] Alumni Records, 1882-1941; *Trinity Archive*, II (Oct., 1888), 15; Dwire, "William R. Reynolds," pp. 215-216; Dred Peacock, "Dr. Dred Peacock Tells about Old College Days," *Duke Alumni Register*, XVI (Aug., 1930), 294; see also *Duke Alumni Register*, XI (June, 1925), 253-258, XII (Feb., 1926), 39 ff., XIII (June, 1927), 171.

CHAPTER VIII

A New President (1887)

The Selection of John F. Crowell

THE QUESTION of an endowment had been before the North Carolina Conference since the days of Braxton Craven, and the selection of a president had faced the trustees for about three years. The apparent lack of speed in attacking these problems caused impatience among those interested in the welfare of Trinity.[1] The general public failed to realize the handicaps under which the trustees and their committee worked in approaching these problems. For years well-meaning friends of the College had used poor psychology in advertising the needs of Trinity. In order to encourage financial support, these needs were presented in such a way as to leave the impression that the condition of the College was so desperate that it would certainly close its doors.[2] Moreover, in a day when the Methodists of North Carolina were hard pressed by unsettled political and economic conditions, they were inclined to permit their "wealthy laymen" to carry the financial burden of the College with little assistance from Methodism as a whole.[3] As a result the patronage of the College was uncertain, and financial support was small and half-hearted.

Well-meaning friends likewise added to the difficulties of selecting a new president. Some had favorites whom they urged upon the trustees; others, interested in securing the position for themselves,

[1] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan.-March, 1887.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] These subjects were ably presented by Colonel J. C. Pinnix in a communication to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 19, 1887.

urged their own qualifications.[4] There were two conflicting opinions in regard to the kind of man suitable for president. One group wanted the type of official that had dominated higher education in the past: a favorite clergyman of proved piety and conservatism. The other group preferred a young minister, trained to study the social and economic needs of his own day. Both views were represented on the committee appointed to choose a president for Trinity. Perhaps the most influential member of the committee was Julian S. Carr, who favored a young, progressive president. The two other businessmen on the committee, J. W. Alspaugh and James A. Gray, agreed with him.[5]

With the caution of experienced men, these gentlemen wished to avoid the entangling alignments of "favorite sons" and ambitious preachers and professors, and to go afield in search of a suitable president. Carr admired and respected Horace H. Williams, a former member of the faculty at Trinity, and he discussed freely with Williams the problems of finding the right kind of executive. During their discussion Williams named his choice, John Franklin Crowell, a fellow-student in the Divinity School at Yale. Williams also discussed the qualifications of his friend with other members of the committee.[6]

A common interest in boxing had brought Williams and Crowell together at Yale. A warm friendship developed, and between boxing bouts the two young men discussed many subjects of mutual interest. Having recently resigned from the faculty at Trinity, Williams was full of talk about the College. He discussed persons, incidents, and conditions, or he pointed out the needs and possibilities of Trinity. Crowell, himself a young educator of some experience, inquired specifically about the history of Trinity, its student body, the personnel of its faculty, its financial resources, its relations with the Church, and the influence of its graduates in private, professional, and public life. He read some of the college catalogues and dis-

[4] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 12, 19, 26, Feb. 2, 1887; M. L. Wood, Diary, Jan., 1885.

[5] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 16-18; *Trinity Magazine*, I (May, 1883), 78; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 1, 1886; M. L. Wood, Diary, 1882-1885.

[6] H. H. Williams to W. K. Boyd, Jan. 30, 1922 (Private Collection); Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 13-29.

cussed freely with Williams the apparent needs of Trinity. So impressed was Williams with his friend's grasp of problems in higher education that when he returned South he told the committee on the selection of a president that Crowell was "their man."[7]

Alspaugh decided to investigate this young educator about whom Williams was so enthusiastic. He found that Crowell, who was twenty-eight years old and a native of York, Pennsylvania, had "fought his way upward." As a boy he attended the village school, and at the age of nineteen he began to fit himself for college. He studied one year at Dartmouth, then transferred to Yale, from which he was graduated in 1883. During his year of study he had decided to devote his life to the cause of education. Williams wrote that he was not "a brilliant fellow, but . . . a worker"; he was "practical, a good organizer," and pushed "straight to the point."

As an undergraduate Crowell had been a "leading editor of the *Yale Daily News*" and a member of the editorial staff of the *Yale Record*. Upon his graduation in 1883, he had been offered a position on the staff of the New York *Times*, but he decided to take a teaching position instead. He accepted the principalship of Schuylkill Seminary, then located at Reading, Pennsylvania, but later removed by Crowell to Fredericksburg, Pennsylvania. This school was supported partly by private contributions and partly by the Evangelical Church, of which Crowell was a member.

During his first year at Schuylkill Seminary he made a special study of child labor in the states of Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. He published the results of his investigations in an article, "Child Labor in American Industries," which appeared in the *Andover Review*. Because of this study and "in view of his effort on behalf of social science, he received honorable mention" and the Larned Scholarship in Philosophy at Yale. Consequently, he returned to Yale during the academic year 1885-

[7] Unless otherwise indicated, the sketch of Crowell is based on the following: Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College; National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 447; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1886-1887*, p. 24; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 13, 27, 1887; T. W. Herringshaw (ed.), *American Blue-book of Biography* (Chicago, 1915), p. 321; *Who's Who in America, 1899-1900*, p. 165 (see also later editions of *Who's Who*); Williams, *Education of Horace Williams*, pp. 1-26; R. L. Flowers, "John Franklin Crowell," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VII (July, 1921), 79-83.

1886 for graduate study in the fields of ethics, economics, and political economy. In 1887 he returned to his former position as principal of Schuylkill Seminary, and he was guiding the school through its first year in its new location when the opportunity came for him to go to Trinity.

These facts about Crowell, together with the enthusiastic recommendation of Williams, impressed Alspaugh and Carr; and Alspaugh wrote to Crowell asking him to describe "what manner of man" he was. The trustee wanted the young man to state his personal qualifications as well as his views on "the acceptableness of this field of service if called to the presidency." They also wanted to know his attitude toward conditions prevailing throughout the land and whether Crowell were willing to identify himself "with the Church under whose auspices the College was operated."[8]

To these inquiries Crowell answered with what he considered "some sense of earnestness to serve wherever duty might call him." Since the Evangelical Church was Methodist in its doctrines and policy, Crowell assured the trustees that he could readily adapt himself to the board's denominational requirements. To reveal his attitude on various questions of policy and conditions throughout the country, he placed a number of "documents" in the hands of the trustees. Among these was a copy of the *Andover Review* containing his article which had won the Larned Scholarship. This article so impressed Alspaugh that he showed it to a distinguished alumnus of Trinity, Judge E. T. Boykin, who declared: "That's your man; get him if you can."[9] This the committee was determined to do.

The committee carried on its investigations so quietly that many people decided that its members were neglecting their responsibilities. Some critics took the trustees to task for their delay and at the same time presented favorite candidates for president.[10] So persistent were the critics that Alspaugh found it necessary to answer them publicly, though without revealing the efforts of the committee. He wrote to the editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate:*

[8] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 14-15.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
[10] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 2, 1887, March 23, 1887.

Please say in the *Advocate* that the committee appointed at the late meeting of the Board of Trustees of Trinity College to formulate a plan for raising an endowment fund of $100,000 for the College, and also to select a proper man to recommend to the Board of Trustees to be elected President of the College, have perfected their work, and are now ready to report. This they propose to do at the meeting of the Board to be held in the Lecture Room of the M. E. Church at Greensboro on the 5th day of April proximo.[11]

The trustees met according to schedule, and thirteen applications were submitted for the presidency of Trinity. After considering the candidates, the board eliminated all but three—John Franklin Crowell, Professor Joseph L. Armstrong, and Professor C. H. Cobb. On motion, the election of Crowell was finally made unanimous.[12]

The board next turned to the problem of raising an endowment. Since the meeting of the North Carolina Conference in the preceding December and its recommendation for such a project, there had been much private and public discussion of the subject. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* published many suggestions, and a number of plans were outlined.[13] At least one writer warned the Methodists not to repeat the mistakes of previous years by failing to pay the college debt before beginning a drive for an endowment.[14] With this background of controversial discussion, the trustees considered a plan outlined by their special committee. As finally approved, this plan differed little from others proposed and adopted previously by the board and Conference. The sum of $100,000 was to be raised as soon as possible by popular subscription among the Methodists of North Carolina. The presiding elders and preachers were charged with bringing the matter before every community in the state. Their efforts were to be accentuated by "persistent appeal" to be made publicly and privately. All funds thus raised were to be sent for investment to James A. Gray, treasurer of the endowment fund.[15]

When this plan was adopted by the trustees, a "thrilling incident" followed. Julian S. Carr "stated that he felt so gratified at

[11] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1887.

[12] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 120-121; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 13, 1887.

[13] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 9, 23, March 16, 1887.

[14] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1887.

[15] *Ibid.*, April 13, 1887.

what had been done at this meeting . . . that he proposed to start the Endowment Fund now, and at once handed over to Gray a certificate of $10,000 stock in the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company."[16] At this time the certificate was yielding more than 10 per cent on the investment.[17] L. S. Burkhead, acting chairman of the special committee on the endowment and the selection of a president, stated that "this was a high day for Trinity. Every member [of the board] present seemed to feel the foundations of Trinity had suddenly grown broader and more stable." After Carr's donation, the trustees addressed a strong appeal to the Methodists to support Trinity.[18]

A few days after the meeting of the trustees Crowell was officially notified by letter of his election to the presidency. In this letter the trustees declared:

> We shall welcome you among us with warm Christian affection and do all we can to aid you in all your laudable plans and efforts to increase the power and influence of Trinity College, and make it a still greater blessing to our Church and State and a more important factor in the Christian education of the whole country.[19]

Crowell acknowledged this letter, thanked the trustees for the honor of electing him president, and promised to give the matter his immediate consideration. He had already studied the College and its problems, and he had responded favorably to the inquiries of the trustees. He had only to confer with a few friends and make his final decision. The Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania, who had lectured at "summer institutes" in North Carolina, advised him to accept the position. He said to Crowell: "If I were a younger man I would go South myself for an educational career. The opportunities are greater and the field is new."[20]

This statement by his friend was an expression of what Crowell already felt, for he was "drawn by the lure of the South." Deeply religious, he felt, too, that this "call," coming, as it did, unsought by him, had "something providential in it." Besides the "lure" and

[16] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 121-122.
[17] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 13, 1887.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1887.
[20] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 19.

the "call" of the new position, there was a more personal matter which Crowell had to consider. He was engaged to Miss Laura Kistler Getz, daughter of a Reading manufacturer, and when he asked her about going to Trinity, she answered: "I will go gladly wherever you see fit to select your field of labor."[21] The acquiescence of Miss Getz, whose delicate health had brought medical advice that she should live in the South, confirmed Crowell in his opinion that he should accept the presidency of Trinity. He then answered the board's notification by a formal letter of acceptance, saying that he was grateful for the warm welcome offered him and assuring the trustees that he stood "ready to give the best years" of his life to Trinity.[22]

The public received the announcement of Crowell's election with amazed reserve. He was not one of the favorites proposed by friends of the institution. He was not a Methodist; he was not a North Carolinian; and, worse still, he was not even a Southerner. Besides, no one had ever heard of him. At this time, however, opposition failed to become articulate because of the influence of Alspaugh, Carr, Gray, Burkhead, and other influential friends.[23]

Meanwhile public recognition of his election was made. The editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* later admitted a "silly prejudice" against Crowell because the "Trustees went outside of North Carolina to get him."[24] This prejudice the *Advocate* did not confess until Crowell by his own efforts had won the respect and admiration of the editor. Immediately after the election of the new president, the editor refrained from unfavorable comment and loyally supported the choice of the trustees. After presenting Crowell's qualifications in an impressive manner, the editor graciously welcomed him to North Carolina.[25]

In the same issue of the *Advocate* a letter from Thomas J. Jarvis also appeared. A member of the board of trustees, Jarvis was one of the most influential men in the state. He had served North Caro-

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

[22] The letters of notification and acceptance were published in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 27, 1887.

[23] Wilmington *Messenger*, Wilmington, N. C., Aug. 21, 1892; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 9, 1888, Dec. 25, 1889.

[24] Dec. 25, 1889.

[25] April 13, 1887.

lina in many capacities, and he was then the United States Minister to Brazil. He gave his influence to the support of the new president as he sought to meet criticism of the trustees' choice and to inform Crowell that much was expected of the new president of Trinity.[26] Two weeks after this statement, Horace H. Williams wrote his opinion. His communication to the *Advocate* supported Crowell and at the same time attempted to arouse the Methodists to a sense of their obligation to Trinity.[27] This statement was the first of many that Williams made to the public press introducing Crowell to the people of North Carolina.[28] Adding its collective influence, the Fayetteville District Conference endorsed the new president, "sight unseen."[29]

If many Methodists in North Carolina were restrained in their welcome of a Northern president, they were unreserved in their support of the plan for an endowment and in their appreciation of the contribution by Carr. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* observed that this was "just what all along we have expected that noble man to do at the proper time," and urged the Methodists of North Carolina to show their appreciation by following his example.[30] The Fayetteville District Conference commended the example of Carr and urged "those blessed with means to give their thousands" to the endowment of Trinity. The Conference sounded a warning, however, in advocating "this noble cause": "But let not our men of moderate means think their contributions are not acceptable. Trinity College is the property of every member of the North Carolina Conference and as such we appeal to every member to give according to his or her ability."[31]

With renewed activity for Trinity, the Methodists looked forward to the coming of the new president. His inauguration was set for the final day of Commencement in June, 1887. This left Crowell two months to finish his work at Schuylkill Seminary and to prepare for his new position. All his information about Trinity

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] H. H. Williams, "President Crowell," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 27, 1887.

[28] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 28-30.

[29] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 17, 1887.

[30] April 17, 1887.

[31] *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1887.

and its constituency he had gleaned from Williams, the study of the college catalogues, a few letters from the trustees, and an hour's interview with Carr in Philadelphia. With this sketchy background of knowledge, he turned his steps to North Carolina to be installed as president and to study Trinity at first hand.[32]

Although there was much curiosity about the new president, Crowell's arrival was uneventful. No committee had been appointed to meet him, but a "few officials were apparently on the lookout at trains." The Reverend N. M. Jurney, who boarded the train in Greensboro, was the first person to welcome the new executive. He graciously assured Crowell of a growing public faith in the ability of the newly chosen president of Trinity. Alspaugh met the train at High Point, and he and Crowell, together with the Reverends W. H. Bobbitt and L. S. Burkhead, spent the night in a local hotel. Until long past midnight these officials discussed the history and prospects of Trinity.

The next morning Crowell and the three trustees drove to Trinity and found the village "in the heyday of commencement." Crowell asked his companions: "Is this Trinity?"

"Yes," they answered, and Crowell thought that he detected a tone of apology. Many years later he wrote: "With all the life added for the commencement occasion, my first impression was not equal to my expectation." His disappointment grew as he compared the meager physical equipment of Trinity with standards to which he was accustomed elsewhere: "It was indeed a far call from the exquisite classical foundation of Trinity College at Cambridge in Old England to a crude and almost featureless three-story brick structure doing duty as a College on a ten-acre sandhill in the Old North State of America." Thus within twenty-four hours after Crowell first laid eyes on the property of Trinity he "had a case of the most severe disillusionment."

As disappointing as these material things were, the worst discouragement that Crowell found was the attitude of mind which he discovered among the men he met. He had expected them to be

[32] Unless otherwise indicated, the discussion of Crowell's arrival, decision to remain at Trinity, and inauguration is based on Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 26-38.

"forward-looking"; instead, they harked back to the Civil War. A dinner was given in his honor, and the guests were the governor of the state, other state and federal officials, trustees, and some of North Carolina's distinguished citizens. They seemed to find it necessary to assure him that slavery was a thing of the past. At this dinner Crowell learned never to discuss slavery and the Civil War in North Carolina except among students in the classroom.

So "great was the collapse of expectations at first contact with the actual objective situation" that on the "very eve" of his inauguration, Crowell considered seriously the temptation "to throw up the job." He wrote later: "That first night in Old Trinity was a soul-struggle, alone with the tempter in the wilderness. What is there here, he argued, except a cheap, crude brick building, with not a single outbuilding, without even respectable sanitary facilities?"

With the dawning of the next day, the "initial sense of discouragement" was dispelled "in favor of those inner values which had . . . given enduring force to the history and spirit of the College." These "inner values," as he came to understand from contact with those who were a part of Trinity's past, lay in conceiving of the institution "as a product of an heroic pioneering power under the aegis of a protecting and guiding Providence." To Crowell, Trinity at this time was a "peculiar institution," and he never changed his mind. Peculiar or otherwise, during that night of "soul-struggle," Crowell finally saw that Trinity, though "with little to commend it," had "forty years of history back of it, rich enough in traditions to endow it with an institutional spirit quite its own; and a living loyal clientele of trustees, faculty, and students constituting a collective moral endowment of support." It was not easy for a stranger to recognize "these elements of its inner life"; but during his first night at Trinity, Crowell caught a glimpse of this reality of which he later became convinced. The struggle was won: "In that memorable midnight trial of Disillusionment *versus* Dominion, the latter had finally won, thanks to the achievements of the past, to the spirit the Institution had engendered, and to the faith which the people had in its future—if I would consent to lead them."

The next day was the final day of commencement week and the

time set for Crowell's inauguration.[33] On that day the six members of the graduating class requested Crowell to sign their diplomas. With the consent of Heitman, Chairman of the Faculty, Crowell complied with their request. He had not yet been inducted into office when he affixed his signature to the diplomas of the class of 1887.

Crowell attended the program of the alumni which preceded the inauguration and was impressed with the spokesmen at this meeting. For the most part, they were entertaining as they talked and related incidents of their college days. The name of Braxton Craven was frequently on their tongues, and it was evident that his influence still dominated their thinking in regard to the College. To Crowell the most significant of the speeches was made by the Reverend W. C. Willson on the subject "Things Are Not as They Used to Was." Although his remarks were in a humorous vein, he "emphasized the changes of the times and the changed attitude thus called for." While Willson was speaking Crowell thought: "Someone, at least, sees things are in a state of change." According to custom, everyone arose and announced his class; Crowell seized this opportunity to make his first public utterance at Trinity. He declared that he had just entered as a member of the class of 1887 and expressed the hope that he, too, would become a true son of Trinity. This action pleased the alumni: they liked Crowell's simple speech, and they were proud to be the first to hear the new president speak.

The time arrived for the final exercises and the inaugural address, and a reporter described the assemblage:

> Early in the morning the people began to assemble from all directions, and by the time the bell called us to Chapel, a very large audience had assembled. First, the Governor of the State, the new President of the College, the Faculty, the Trustees, and the distinguished visitors present filed into the chapel and took seats upon the rostrum amid the applause of the large audience assembled. Next came the Senior Class, soon after which the exercises were opened with a very short and sensible prayer by Rev. B. F. Dixon. Professor Heitman . . . then announced that the Senior Class, presented by Professor W. H. Pegram, would deliver their graduating orations.[34]

The audience was pleased with the young speakers, and Heitman

[33] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 128.
[34] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 15, 1887.

declared that they composed one of the finest classes ever to graduate from Trinity. Alspaugh then conferred the degrees, and Governor A. M. Scales presented the diplomas. Afterwards various medals and distinctions were awarded, and Bibles were given to the members of the graduating class. Although the exercises had been rather lengthy up to this point, there was no evidence of impatience among the audience. They awaited the moment when the new president would be installed and when they could hear him speak. Many harbored resentment and described him as "that Man," "a Yankee," and "a Northerner."[35] He was introduced with a brief speech; and the college seal, symbolic of responsible authority and control, was placed in his hands. As the new president of Trinity, he turned to the large audience. Ears listening to hear the "Yankee" way of speech could scarcely detect a "New England accent."[36]

Crowell stated his purpose in accepting the presidency: "I have come among you to take things as they are and to join hands with you in trying to make them what they ought to be."[37] A reporter sent his paper the following account of the inaugural address:

> Everybody wanted to hear his voice, and as he rose to speak, . . . everything was as still as death. He had not gone very far before he captured his audience; not by any matchless oratory, for he makes no pretentions to that, but by his sound, sensible talk. He has a quiet, modest manner; there is no affectation about him; he uses the first personal pronoun but little; he made no promises, except that he would give the best years of his life and all of the best he had to the work. He closed with a beautiful figure representing the College as a ship now lying in the harbor, her sails to be patched and ballast to be adjusted preparatory to leaving her moorings on the 24th of August next for another year's voyage. He should expect the Methodists of the State to furnish the favoring winds while he would stand at the helm; and next June, when the old ship came again into port, we could all come back and examine the logbook and learn the history of the voyage. And now, said he, I have one more word to say and it is this: "Thy people shall be my people."
>
> He took his seat among rounds of applause, and we all felt that he was the right man for the Presidency of the College. The Trustees, the Alumni present, the distinguished gentlemen from the Governor of the State down, and the large audience present, were watching the new

[35] *Ibid.; State Chronicle*, June 16, 1887.
[36] *State Chronicle*, June 16, 1887.
[37] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 31, 1887.

president with intense interest, and their countenances indicated that they were greatly pleased with him. "How do you like our new President?" said I to Governor Scales, a few moments after the audience had dispersed. "He is the man for the place, I am delighted with him," said the Governor enthusiastically. . . . To sum it up in a word, we are all highly pleased, and we all felt that the better day for Trinity is dawning.[38]

Crowell's first public appearance in North Carolina had been pleasing both to himself and to the people who heard him. He felt himself "in harmony with the situation" and responded to the enthusiasm of his new-found friends. Among those who congratulated him was Judge E. T. Boykin, and Crowell later said that the words of the Judge on this occasion were probably "typical" of the way in which his inaugural address had impressed his hearers. Judge Boykin said: "I liked your address very much. You did not try to tell us all you knew. You have made a good start, and every success to you and Trinity."[39] In discussing the new president of Trinity, James H. Southgate observed: "That Roman nose of his will carry him through. I am banking on him." An alumnus remarked: "I was opposed to a Yankee, but I am going to give that man a chance." Others expressed similar opinions and sentiments. One gentlemen stated: "Professor Heitman deserves a great deal of credit for the grand work he has done at Trinity since January, 1885. He has paved the way for President Crowell. I see no reason why Trinity should not boom—I believe it will."[40]

Friends of Trinity wanted Crowell to remain in North Carolina during the summer to canvass the state for the College, but his personal affairs called him back to Pennsylvania. After interviewing his faculty and making plans for the next academic session, he left North Carolina for a few weeks.[41]

Although the people were disappointed at Crowell's failure to remain in North Carolina, attend District Conferences and revivals, and otherwise place himself at the service of the Methodists, they did not allow his action to discourage their own efforts for the College. Resenting the public statement that Trinity was not only in-

[38] *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, June 15, 1887.

[39] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 34.

[40] *State Chronicle*, June 16, 1887.

[41] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 15, July 13, Nov. 2, 1887; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 34, 39.

ferior to the University of North Carolina but also rated lower than Davidson and Wake Forest, they energetically sought ways of raising money.[42] Practically every District Conference in the state either subscribed funds to the endowment or took some official action in the matter.[43] Significant was the action of the Durham District Conference. This Conference raised $13,450, which included $10,000 previously donated by Carr, and a new gift of $1,000 given by "W. Duke and Sons of Durham." In recognizing both the work of the Conference and the contribution of Washington Duke and Sons, the editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* wrote:

> This is the second largest gift in the State for the endowment of Trinity College. So Durham District has the honor of furnishing the men who have given the two largest sums contributed in the State for that purpose. W. Duke and Sons are growing business men. No firm in the State is more prosperous than theirs, and while they are increasing in worldly goods they are also increasing in good works and liberal deeds. They are devoted to their church and pay $650 annually to the support of their pastor. And now, with nothing to bind them to Trinity College but love for their church and Christian education, they step forward and most generously contribute one thousand dollars to endow the College. Besides this, Brother B. N. Duke has generously agreed to educate one of our deceased minister's sons at Trinity.[44]

Meanwhile Crowell had married his Miss Getz, had arranged his personal affairs in Pennsylvania, and was now ready to return to Trinity. During the summer he prepared the annual catalogue, which embodied a number of significant changes. When this bulletin was late in coming from the press, he wrote a "Prospectus" which included some of the more important changes to be inaugurated during the academic year 1887-1888.[45]

[42] "Barring the University of Virginia, the Washington and Lee University, and perhaps Tulane University, in Louisiana . . . there is no institution of learning in the South now to be ranked with our State University. This is a fact which we do not ordinarily appreciate, but it is a fact nevertheless.

"Wake Forest is a remarkably fine school of the higher order of Education. Davidson always has been a most excellent school, and Trinity is but little behind these two, with a future of bright promise just opening before it" (*North Carolina University Magazine*, XIX, No. 9, May, 1887).

[43] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June-Oct., 1887.

[44] *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1887. For a description of Durham at this time, see the issue for Nov. 2, 1887.

[45] John F. Crowell, "Prospectus of Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 31, 1887.

Upon his return he immediately began to study the needs of the college community and to win support for his policies. To everyone at Trinity he was "from away up North," and there was little love for "Yankees." His sincerity and energetic work for the College, however, soon won enthusiastic support from many of the students, faculty, and villagers. He labored with the community in an attempt to solve some of its most pressing civic problems. He held mass meetings aimed at making the town what he wanted it to be and at giving the students "good political lessons in the work and duties of citizenship." He used the village as a laboratory to test the "science of self-government" as taught in the classroom. To aid in this, he created a board of the faculty who worked directly with the villagers with such problems as the sanitary conditions in homes where students boarded. He canvassed the needs of the College and made plans to meet them. He did these things at the same time that he was studying the needs of North Carolina and trying to organize Trinity in such a way as to contribute to the welfare of the State.[46]

Crowell and the Public Welfare

Before the end of his first year in North Carolina, Crowell described what he considered the greatest needs of the state. In May, 1888, he was invited to make the commencement address in the Winston Graded School. He accepted, and his address, "Numbers," made such a favorable impression on his hearers that at their request he permitted it to be printed for public distribution.[47]

In this address he told the young graduates that because of the great growth in numbers of people throughout the world their responsibilities for meeting the resulting complicated social and economic problems were greater than those of preceding generations. Crowell then asked how the "Numbers" should be trained in citizenship and how they should be educated. For himself, he had found the answer to these questions:

[46] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 40-110, 126-139; J. R. Moose, "Memories of Old Trinity," *Trinity Alumni Register*, II (Oct., 1916), 259-260; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 14, 21, 1887.

[47] J. F. Crowell, *Numbers: An Address Delivered at the Closing Exercises of the Winston Graded School*, May 17, 1888 (Winston, 1888).

The public school system, I unhesitatingly maintain, is the one and only institution that can deal efficiently with these vast numbers in preparing them for a share in the government of the nation. . . .

Our national character needs to be disciplined and liberalized. To discipline and liberalize means this, which I shall call my educational platform. It means that we must so expand its structure, so multiply its capacity, and so limit and concentrate the purposes of our present educational system as to take unto hand this multitude of heterogeneous numbers and unit by unit, child by child, discipline it into a self-governing individual and then and thereby liberalize its mind through knowledge so as to make it feel and know itself as a component part of the great unit of national life.

But how would we do this?

I would make our elementary schools distinctly national and do the best work in the whole system upon them since 97 per cent of our youth never go so far as the high schools of our States.

Crowell advocated the co-operation and co-ordination of the entire system of schools. He held that the urban sections of the commonwealth should be taxed to support public schools in the poorer country districts. He asserted that the "hope . . . of transformation of these numbers into disciplined citizenship of this great republic lies in our common schools and in no other single institution." In making these statements, Crowell later said he was attempting "to leaven" the popular mind in such a way as to speed "the day when the increasing wealth of the state might, by purposes of more specific taxation, be consecrated to the unfoldment of the state's human assets in city and country alike."[48] Near the close of his address, Crowell explained why he was speaking so strongly concerning public schools:

I have tried to exhibit some of the modest and hidden, yet real merits of our common-school system as an agency creative of public spirit and preservative of national life. I have done so to re-assure the public confidence in schools and more especially to quiet those who are so diligent in scattering doubt as to whether these schools have come to stay. However that may be I know not, but of this I can assure you, that the moment the common schools of this State disappear from among its institutions, that day shall I strike my name from the roll of its citizens and depart, shaking off the dust of my feet in testimony against it. But I believe better things than political suicide of this commonwealth.

[48] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 96.

Such ideas as these Crowell voiced as he administered Trinity and as he traveled throughout the country in response to invitations to speak before various public gatherings. He addressed educational mass meetings, citizens' meetings, farmers' conventions, district and annual Methodist conferences, local churches, schools and colleges, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Methodist Educational Convention, churches of the Negro race, the American Economic Association, and the University Convocation.[49] In recognition of his efforts and accomplishments the University of North Carolina in 1889 awarded him the degree of Doctor of Letters.[50]

Another pamphlet by Crowell had considerable effect upon the "leavening of the popular consciousness" in North Carolina. The contents of this pamphlet, like that of "Numbers," had originated in an address to a high-school graduating class. In this address at New Bern, Crowell indicated "fields in which the Old North State might proceed to develop its capacities by way of raising the level of popular welfare." Furnifold M. Simmons heard the address and suggested "the importance of having it printed and widely distributed as an aid for state progress."[51] Following Simmons's suggestion, Crowell embodied the contents in *A Program of Progress: An Open Letter to the General Assembly of North Carolina of 1891.* Since at Trinity he was teaching his students the sacredness of their obligation towards government, Crowell could not shirk from what he felt to be his own civic responsibilities.[52]

As an introduction to his "Program of Progress," Crowell wrote:

> If I am to share the responsibility for the present and the future of this commonwealth, if I must help to bear its burdens and suffer through its mistakes, I must have freedom to utter warning and encourage progress;

[49] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 28, 1887, Jan. 2, 1888, May 2, Aug. 28, Sept. 25, 28, 1889, Feb. 26, March 26, April 23, 30, Sept. 3, Oct. 1, 1890, March 30, April 13, 20, May 11, 1892; *People's Press*, Jan. 9, 1888, July 31, 1890; Durham *Daily Globe*, Aug. 8, 1891, July 11, 1892; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College.*

[50] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 439; Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in North Carolina since 1776*, p. 128.

[51] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 96-97.

[52] John Franklin Crowell, *A Program of Progress: An Open Letter to the General Assembly of North Carolina, of 1891* (Trinity College Publications, No. 3, Trinity College, N. C., 1891).

for there can be no responsibility in civil as well as in moral life without freedom.

He declared that the "world has lived long enough to evolve some principles for the guidance of society." One of these was embodied in the statement "that progress involving a departure from the field of past experience to a new field of experiment, always requires *a compromise among conflicting interests.*" Crowell pointed out that "to stagnate is to decline," and "growth or decline are the two horns of the dilemma." The young are quick to see this; the old may hold back the "wheels of progress." It was the duty of "legislative science" to adjust "diverse interests which too many in a rapidly advancing age are dangerously prone to ignore." Another "principle in social progress," Crowell pointed out, was expressed in the words: "Other Men for other times." This did not necessarily mean younger men in the places of leadership, but it did mean different men—men who could keep in step with the changes of the times. A third principle of progress was "*free and patient discussion.*" Crowell explained that "discussion is the modern mode of progress. . . . When we gag the press, the pulpit, or the rostrum we sell ourselves to despotism and strife."

Closely connected with these principles of progress were eleven specific suggestions that Crowell made to the General Assembly:

1. "Increase Progressively the Appropriations for Public Schools."
2. "A Systematic and Scientific Improvement of Highways."
3. "A State Commission of Transportation."
4. "The Construction of Dykes Along Our Low-Land Rivers."
5. "The Building of Seaports and of Trunk Lines to the West."
6. "An Economic Survey of the State."
7. "A More Efficient Bureau of Industrial Statistics."
8. "Quit Laughing at Our Legislatures."
9. "Abolish or Modify the Discrediting Homestead Law."
10. "Establish Credit Banks for Farmers."
11. "The Restoration of W. W. Holden to Citizenship."[53]

[53] W. W. Holden, political journalist, and many times political turncoat, had been appointed by President Andrew Johnson in 1865 Reconstruction governor of North Carolina. He became identified with the carpetbag influence in the state, and by shielding its nefarious practices aroused the bitterest enmity. He was finally impeached in 1871, and his state citizenship removed. See *D. A. B.*, IX, 138-140; Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 184-206; Hamilton, *History of North Carolina*, III, 159-160.

After discussing these points in his "Program of Progress," Crowell went on to exhort the members of the General Assembly:

> Your part . . . is that of an architect, in accordance with whose ideal the foundation is laid and the building brought to completion as an expression of beauty and truth. In the building of a great Christian state its corner-stones are its institutions, with Christian teachers in them. The realizations of the next generation will be measured by the standard of progress which you make for these prospective citizens. Make your votes the helper of the public schools, for they are after all the only direct builders of the state; parents build for home and social class; pastors build for the church; but teachers and public men alone build above class and church, and yet deeper than those distinctions do they go to get at the springs of character, so as to make clear and strong the voice and presence of conscience, that, once awakened and established may ever teach the true relation of man to man and all to law.
>
> I am glad to share with you the sense of impatience that progress moves so slowly.
>
> But years will speak, though days are dumb,
> And unto him the proof will come
> Whose faith can work and still believe.
>
> It may take years to reach all I have outlined here, but what is time to us who work with the purpose that runs through the ages? When our plans fail and our purposes seem to come to naught, we can say . . . —"We can wait."

There are indications that Crowell's "Program of Progress" was helpful in stimulating interest among the members of the General Assembly of 1891. A bill providing for the creation of a railroad commission had been defeated in 1889; Crowell, supporting its opponents, had pointed out its defects.[54] In 1891 as a part of his "Program of Progress" he advocated an improved railroad commission, and such a commission was created by the General Assembly of that year.[55] Other legislation established a geological survey for the state, regulated oyster beds, and in other ways provided for the public welfare. Crowell attended some of the meetings of the General Assembly and in an educational column which he conducted in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* reviewed the work of the legis-

[54] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 114-115; Josephus Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor* (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 394-396; *State Chronicle*, Dec., 1888, Jan., Feb., 1889.

[55] Hamilton, *History of North Carolina*, III, 401.

lators. Taxes in support of public schools were raised to fifteen cents on the $100 and forty-five cents on the poll; the first state school for white women, the "Normal and Industrial School," was established; an appropriation was made to the University of North Carolina; an agricultural and mechanical school was provided for Negro boys; several private schools were chartered; and an asylum for deaf-mutes was established.[56] Much of this educational program had also been endorsed by the Farmers' Alliance and the State Grange.

After reviewing the educational work of the assembly, Crowell commented editorially in his column in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*: "This is the record—and a bright and glorious one it is. The effects of this legislature will be felt in this State even to the last day of its existence. Better citizens will be the result of the broadening and deepening of the channels of education."[57]

Meanwhile Crowell's stand on public questions provoked controversy among journalists. When he had attacked in print the weaknesses of the proposed railroad commission bill of 1889, young Josephus Daniels, editor of the Raleigh *State Chronicle* and erstwhile supporter of Crowell, rebuked him.[58] Daniels advised Crowell not to meddle "in matters of State policy," nor "to rush into print about a matter" in which he was "not well informed"; but to "run your College and let the people decide about a railroad commission."[59] Daniels probably did not know that Crowell, as a grad-

[56] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 28, Feb. 25, March 1, April 22, 29, 1891; Noble, *Public Schools of North Carolina*, p. 438; *Legislative Documents of North Carolina; Senate Journals of 1891; House Journals of 1891; Laws of the State of North Carolina, 1890-1891.*

[57] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 29, 1891.

[58] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 115-116; *State Chronicle*, Feb. 22, 1889.

[59] The editorial was as follows:

"A Word With Mr. Crowell"

"Mr. Crowell, president of Trinity College, has delivered himself of a two-column article against the establishment of a railroad commission. The *Chronicle* grants that Mr. Crowell is a good college president. We have stood by him and have been ready to aid him, but we will tell him that the people of the State, the alumni, and patrons of Trinity College resent his interference in matters of State policy. He is a new man among us. He has been received with great cordiality. In all kindness we say to him that he does not understand the conditions nor public opinion in North Carolina. He ought not to rush into print about a matter which he is not well informed.

uate student, had made a special study of the transportation problem and that he was at this time a correspondent of the *Railroad Gazette*. Crowell did not answer publicly the editorial by Daniels, but his friend S. A. Ashe, editor of the Raleigh *News and Observer* and the man who had published Crowell's "two-column article," replied for him. He printed in full Daniels's editorial and decried its repressive comments. He invited Crowell "to express his sentiments" through the columns of the *News and Observer* "on any subject he may choose to write about." Ashe stated that among his "large acquaintance among the people of the State," he felt assured that "the almost universal sentiment of our people is that no man in the State should be required to keep silent when he feels disposed to express his sentiments on a public matter." Furthermore, Ashe stated that if it were not for the testimony of the offending editorial, he would say "that such is the universal sentiment in North Carolina." It would be "an honor" to have Crowell as a contributor to the *News and Observer*.[60]

Sarcastically, the editor of the *Tobacco Plant* of Durham also took the *State Chronicle* to task. He declared that Crowell, in daring to exercise "his privilege as an American citizen," had been guilty of "rash conduct" and opened upon his head "the vials of wrath" of the *State Chronicle*. Moreover, when Crowell was elected president of Trinity, he was not supposed to express his opinion on anything "less germane . . . than the use of the Greek particle." In doing so, he had "ruined the College." Furthermore, he was mistaken in thinking that he was a "free man"; he was a "slave . . . a college president" and therefore had no right to give an expression of opinion on anything of importance to the welfare of the state, unless "his sentiments coincide with those of everyone in the State, especially the editor of the *State Chronicle*." The *Tobacco Plant* then ironically pleaded with Crowell never again to give "expression to an opinion on any subject without consulting all the newspapers in the State." In mock concern the *Tobacco Plant* expressed the hope that Crowell had not voted in the last election; such "a rash

"Mr. Crowell: Run your College and let the people decide about a railroad commission" (*State Chronicle*, Feb. 22, 1889).

[60] *Ibid.*; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 116-118; Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 394-396.

act would ruin the College." If he ever dared to vote in the future, he should never breathe the matter to a soul; "to see Trinity succeed," Crowell "must never disagree with anybody about anything and must never have an opinion of his own."[61]

In later years Crowell declared that he considered the importance of this incident, not as a public rebuke to him, but as a means of encouraging "free discussion of public questions" among democratic people. He felt that this public emphasis on free discussion that he as a teacher was trying to impress upon the students at Trinity was a healthy sign of the arousal of interest in the progress of public welfare and the right of free speech.[62]

Another incident involving not only the right of free discussion, but also right of freedom of thought and political action among college people, occurred while Crowell was president of Trinity. Increase in the influence of the Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina aroused alarm among people who were committed unalterably to traditional party alignments. In 1892 Professor Nereus C. English was suggested as candidate of the People's party for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.[63] Amid the discussion that followed, T. B. Kingsbury, editor of the Wilmington *Messenger*, attacked his candidacy in the following editorial note:

> So Professor English of Trinity College has a political bee buzzing in his scholarly bonnet and wishes to be nominated by the Weaverites against Mr. Scarborough for the Superintendency of Public Instruction. It will afford the *Messenger* great satisfaction to give Mr. Scarborough a dozen or more votes. It will be a good time for the trustees of Trinity College to nominate a successor to Professor English at their next meeting.[64]

Already sensitive to attacks on the right of freedom of thought and speech in academic circles, Crowell, a Democrat, was quick to come to the defense of a member of his faculty who might differ publicly with him and his party in political belief. To him the sug-

[61] *Tobacco Plant*, Durham, N. C., Feb. 25, 1889.

[62] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 113.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120; Wilmington *Messenger*, Aug. 21, 1892. For an account of the Populist party in North Carolina, see Simeon Alexander Delap, "The Populist Party in North Carolina," (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XIV, Durham, 1922), pp. 40-74.

[64] Wilmington *Messenger*, Aug. 5, 1892.

gestion that English, or any other member of his faculty, be ousted for reasons "wholly apart from the fitness of such a professor for the position in question," appeared "to be one of the most offensive forms of partisan tyranny in the effort to abridge the right of free discussion" as well as that of freedom of thought.[65] Crowell therefore wrote an open letter to the editor and demanded that he print it in the *Messenger*.[66]

In this letter Crowell asserted: "You wholly mistake the spirit and purpose of this institution in its relation to political life if you presume in your elegant phrase to instigate its trustees to hold political inquisition and make victims of the members of its Faculty because they have the courage to think for themselves in politics, however different that may be from your way of thinking." He declared further: "I cannot regard your words involving the sacrifice of freedom of thought in this College as anything less than a species of intolerable arrogance to which an excess of partisan zeal has led you." Crowell then announced that it was "the purpose of Trinity College . . . to influence public thought," and that it was beyond reason "to suppose that, when a man becomes a member of its Faculty, he thereby surrenders a whit of his freedom to act or think in matters political." Trinity was not "a school of political cowards," as the editor would make it; but a school whose "purpose shall be, as it has ever been, to train young men to become the most daring and courageous participants in the issues of the day, whether in religion, politics, or any other leading phase of human improvement."

Crowell rebuked the editor for his attempt to suppress the spirit of these purposes of Trinity:

> Your attempt to suppress this spirit, which is thoroughly out of tune with that of persecuting men into uniformity, is characteristic of a cause that has lost its hold on the reasons of men. When there is no room for difference in political thought, there is no hope of righting wrongs by force, be that by threat of harm or force of body. This very method of newspaper intimidation has made it necessary in the minds of many men of quite as much intellectual capacity, as you or I enjoy, to organize other political parties for the redress of grievances. When good

[65] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 122.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 121-125; Wilmington *Messenger*, Aug. 5, 21, 1892.

men and true are no longer willing to follow such sage mentors as yourself in politics, men, too, of much the same experience in many respects, there must obviously be some good reason for their doing so; and it would better become you to investigate the grounds of departure than for you to harass them back to the ranks by a special literary dragonnading. This method of serving the State is exactly akin in principle to that force in industrial centers where laborers are discharged because they do not vote with the employers. No honest citizen can help detesting such practices, whether they proceed from a cultured litterateur or from a bullying street cleaner, whose job depends on his success in whipping into line the men who work for fifty cents a day.

Professor English's fitness to hold office was beyond question, Crowell wrote. "As a teacher of political and social science for the past several years," English had "rendered incalculably valuable service to good government in North Carolina; and his wide knowledge of these themes in their application to the public welfare" placed "his judgment on a par with that of anyone you may care to select as to educational policy." Crowell then announced that Trinity in the past several years had "done more teaching in subjects relating directly to the public interests than any other institution in the State." Crowell's conclusion, "in view of these things," was that "your utterances involving Trinity College and the interest that one or any of its Faculty may take in current politics stand out as unworthy, ungenerous, and unthankful."

As for the political intention or action of Professor English, Crowell admitted that he was not informed. That was a matter which concerned English alone, and he could "gracefully take his own part." What Crowell was vitally concerned about, however, was the methods being used by his own political party to force unwilling men to remain loyal to the party in violation of their own conscience, and the duty of the colleges to educate the youth against such practices:

I thank God, that, when the party with which I vote ignores in the opinion of nobler men the public welfare for party considerations, there are some men left even in our colleges who cannot be cowed or bullied elegantly into submission by the tyrannous reproach of political whips. On the other hand, if the colleges did half their duty in the education of the young in the political rights and duties, there would be less room in journalism for political teachers of your kind, whose chief service, if this

be a specimen of it, is to lead the party to victory by putting thumb-screws in every divergent shade of political opinion and action, making revolt within and attack without as inevitable as the rising sun. As I am deeply interested in Democratic victory for the sake of good government, I warn you as well as those who take their cue from you, that your effort to stifle the voice of colleges will react with no good effect upon the fortunes of the party. This practice of taking it for granted that only professional types of men have a right to say what shall be thought or done in their special line, is characteristic of China and Russia but not of North Carolina. Therefore, I repeat . . . that as long as I am connected with Trinity College, the scope of its policy approved by the trustees cannot be hampered with impunity or any phase of its thought or action be muzzled by any hide-bound guides of any ilk. In beginning with Trinity, you have struck at the wrong place; for she is full of vitality and has youth, not senility, at her back. Yet, should you rise to strike her again, we freely turn you the other cheek since there can be no better occasion than a political campaign to answer the living question, "What are Colleges for anyway?"

After requesting the editor of the *Daily Messenger* to publish his letter within a week and after assuring people in general of his willingness to give them "further enlightment," Crowell closed his passionate defense of freedom of thought and action in colleges.

Complying with Crowell's request, Kingsbury printed on the editorial page the full text of Crowell's letter, almost a column long. Practically all the rest of the available space on the same page was devoted to an editorial in answer to the letter. Beginning courteously, the editor announced that he was printing Crowell's letter in which the President of Trinity commented "with much sharpness and vigor upon two or three lines" written "upon a report published in an exchange." Kingsbury declared that the past issues of the *Messenger* would testify to his friendship for Trinity; and if Crowell was "spoiling for a fight," he would have to look elsewhere. Moreover, Crowell was mistaken in thinking that Trinity College had been attacked when the editor had merely expressed a few words of opinion on a brief news item; journalists had "the right of free opinion, free printing, free speech, as well as colleges."

Kingsbury then declared that Crowell's "position proved too much," that the *Messenger* "entirely" agreed with him "as to freedom of opinion," but entirely disagreed with him "as to *how* and *by whom* it is to be exercised in certain matters." For example,

Robert G. Ingersoll had "full right to hold his peculiar views," but he would be out of place in a Methodist college. Moreover, the editor "would never call an Ingersoll, or a Gibbon or a Hume or any of the English Positivists or Renan, however brainy and cultured and filled with genius, to preside over an institution of learning of any kind, and particularly of a college under the special control of a great religious denomination." He then pointed out that in the past a North Carolinian was "forced to retire . . . because he was an abolitionist, believed that slavery was a 'covenant with hell' as so many Northern people held and hold, and was a dangerous firebrand in an institution of learning the patrons of which were mainly slaveholders."[67] The editor also knew a Southern college president "who could not command the confidence of many distinguished clergymen and scholarly laymen because of their belief in his moral obliquity" and the resulting harm that might be done to boys imbued with his "false ethical ideas." Kingsbury observed that this may seem "to partake of 'medieval darkness' in the estimation of 'advanced thinkers' in the North, and even savoring of the 'thumb-screw,' " but it had passed and would pass in North Carolina and the South "as genuine 'horse-sense' and as sound morals."

Indignantly, the editor declared: ". . . as soon put Ingersoll in a chair of a church school" as to put the leader of the People's party or any man that believes in him in a "school of political and moral science, and expect him not to sow the cockles and briars of bad morals and false principles of government." Admitting that he did not know whether Professor English was planning to identify himself with the People's party, Kingsbury observed that if he did, the college professor was proposing to join the forces of the "Republicans and Negroes who ruined the State between 1866 and 1870. . . ." No man "should have charge of North Carolina children who would help return Negroes to power or by any combination destroy the government of the whites. . . ."

"Being a Northern man, but few years resident in the South,"

[67] This reference was to Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, professor of chemistry in the University of North Carolina. For a discussion of this controversy, see Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), pp. 202-205.

Crowell had not yet learned "our manners and customs and, what is more important, the views of Southern whites." The editor then declared that the "preservation of a solid front by the white men here is necessary not only to the welfare of society, but to the very *existence of our Civilization.*" Crowell did not understand the difference between politics in the South and in the North. In the Northern states officeholding was primarily "a reward for political treachery."

Returning to his original statement relative to Professor English's candidacy, Kingsbury reiterated his first opinion: if the college professor should seek office as a member of the People's party, the trustees of Trinity should ask for his resignation. With this final statement the editor closed his lengthy editorial.

When Crowell's statement was given to the public, he received many letters of commendation for his stand. Some expressed appreciation of what Trinity was doing for its students in the fields of government and the public welfare. Others declared, perhaps with some exaggeration, that nowhere else in the state could such dangerous topics be discussed with so much freedom from authoritative restriction.[68]

As a result of Crowell's efforts for the public welfare, he declared that the "status of the College . . . in public confidence" was "greatly improved." His "own travels and the personal assurances of others" led him to make the following observations about Trinity:

1. It is apparent that a wide-spread and more intelligent interest in the College is everywhere awakening.
2. That practical and progressive men in private and public life are giving a great deal of quiet attention to the operations of the institution.
3. That there is a gradual yet sure diffusion of correct views upon Christian education and especially upon the obligations of the people of the Conference to maintain the College of the Church.
4. That there is a very urgent need that the clergy, man by man, be thoroughly informed upon the educational interests of the Church so that they can intelligently justify the policy of the Church in maintaining a college and to be able to present reasonably the claims of the College upon the youth and young men of our people.

[68] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 98-99, 119-120, 121; Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 394-396.

5. The progressive spirit of Trinity is winning the confidence of the young men of the State to an encouraging extent.

6. That in Trinity College is recognized, by men of the highest standing in political and civil life, a distinct movement among the colleges of our State to adapt the college of today to the changed conditions of contemporary life. From journalists, from publicists, from manufacturers, from farmers and from business men of the highest standing and best sense, the assurance is constantly given us that we are reading the signs of the times aright, and that the opening contact of Trinity College with actual life in all its phases to learn its needs and to help to solve its problems is not only a new departure but is the surest way to the public heart.[69]

It was Crowell's aim to interest the College "in every feature of the public good" and to "practice what we preach." He believed, in regard to the public, "with what measure we mete it shall be meted to us again." He declared: "At Trinity we are educating our young men into Christian citizenship and show them the imperative duty of carrying the principles of Christianity into every phase of civil life, public as well as private."[70]

[69] *Report of the President of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1888* (Raleigh, 1889), pp. 3 ff.

[70] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887.

CHAPTER IX

Last Years In Randolph County (1887-1892)

The Curriculum and Incentives to Scholarship

AS CROWELL STUDIED Trinity, he became convinced that its central problem was "the modernizing of the plan, scope, character, and content of its educational program."[1] In attempting to solve this problem, he set as his "general, but constant, aim . . . to make the College a more potent and independent factor, through its influence, for moulding public opinion, and elevating public life, in religion, in education, in government, and in the industries of the country."[2]

In a "Prospectus" issued before the beginning of his first year at Trinity, Crowell announced the first changes in the curriculum. The teaching of history and literature, which formerly had been assigned a "single chair of instruction" was divided "between two separate and regular chairs." A "Postgraduate Course of Study" was offered in English literature. A newly organized "Biblical Department" aimed "to provide for the training of young men for the Christian Ministry." "Elective and Optional Courses" were offered in Greek, history, philosophy, Latin, astronomy, and engineering chemistry. A "Normal Department" provided "regular instruction in the *Theory of Teaching and the History of North Carolina* for the advantage of those students who are preparing for teaching in the public schools of the State."[3] In 1887 the departments of Latin and Greek were separated. Studies in history and English, popular with the stu-

[1] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 11.
[2] *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 152.
[3] John F. Crowell, "Prospectus of Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 31, 1887.

dents, gradually took "the place in part of Mathematics," with which the curriculum had been "confessedly overloaded."[4] In the same year Crowell explained to the North Carolina Conference his reasons for describing so specifically the first changes in the curriculum:

> 1. To refute an impression that because a College is denominational it cannot be as broad in its culture or as liberal in its opportunities, and in its intellectual tone as a College supported by the State. . . .
>
> The *second* reason for showing the wide range of our work at Trinity College is not to refute, what does not bear refutation, but to simply point out the groundless assertion that a denominational institution cannot only not be as liberal as a state institution, but of necessity [must] be sectarian and narrow in its work. This is neither true in theory nor in fact. . . . In point of fact nearly the whole history of colleges in America proves that the liberal colleges and universities of our land are not only denominational, but are governed by denominational boards, have denominational presidents at their head and receive hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, much of it coming from extra-denominational sources, simply because public men have confidence in a denominational College, for they know what chart it is sailing by.[5]

In 1887 entrance examinations for the first time were required of everyone seeking admission to Trinity, and Crowell reported his initial experience with these examinations:

> There are two general effects of these entrance examinations—a permanent and a temporary one. The permanent advantage to the College consists in their having raised the standard of scholarship at once, not only in the Freshman and Preparatory classes, but throughout the whole College. And numerous written and verbal testimonials of approbation from all classes of educators throughout our State prove that the leaders all along the line were ready to advance. . . .
>
> These entrance examinations were temporarily the occasion of a good deal of disappointment. In the first place, some applicants had threatened, in a general way, that they would return home in case they were not admitted to the class they desired to enter. This was, however, not general. We had simply and promptly to say to such that we would be glad to have them pack their trunks and leave if they thought it best and bless us and the College by their absence. No one left.[6]

[4] *Ibid.*; Minutes of the Transactions of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, 1887.

[5] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887.

[6] *Ibid.*

Crowell declared that "much of the disappointment arising from a strict adherence to a fixed standard of admission" was due "to the grossly distorted views extant of what Trinity really is." He emphasized that Trinity was "*not* a preparatory school," although it had a good preparatory department connected with it. It was not a university, though it was more universal in its range of instruction than many institutions "called universities in catalogues." Recommendation of a student's preparation and fitness were welcome, but these could not and would not take the place of the entrance examinations. He announced that "if students do not come to us because of inconvenience or expense, we will go to them, so that under this arrangement, the farmer's boys may leave the plow, the clerk his desk, and the factory operative his machine for a day, and before sunset be admitted to Trinity College, or find out at least whether or not he is prepared to enter." Accordingly, members of the faculty held entrance examinations at specified places in the state.[7]

At a meeting of the trustees in 1888 Crowell recommended the abolition of the preparatory department and presented the following reasons for such action: (1) financial loss to the College on account of free tuition; (2) opposition to Trinity because of competition with preparatory schools; (3) inadequate remuneration for the faculty; (4) the establishment of the true collegiate function of Trinity. Although there was considerable opposition, on May 22, 1888, the trustees voted to abolish the department and took further steps toward the reorganization of the college curriculum.[8] By this action the board quieted fears that Trinity was gradually evolving into a preparatory school. Although the department was officially abolished, the faculty found it necessary to coach poorly prepared freshmen in classes for "sub-Freshmen," and after two years the preparatory department was restored.[9]

While changes in the curriculum had been inaugurated at the beginning of the academic year 1887-1888, a reorganization of the whole course of study was authorized by the board of trustees in

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Report of the President of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1888*, pp. 5-16; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 147.

[9] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 9, 1890; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 174-175.

May, 1888,[10] and was announced in the catalogue for 1887-1888: "*Trinity College, in its internal re-organization is divided into two distinct departments, the Academic and the Scientific, each two* (2) *years' in length and together constituting a four* (4) *years' college course.*"[11] This division of the revised curriculum remained essentially the same for the next four years, but its content was reorganized, modified, and expanded as the need arose.[12]

The greatest expansion came between 1889 and 1892, when Trinity was preparing to remove to a new plant in Durham. It was the purpose of the administration to broaden all phases of work of the College and to encourage a more intimate "fellowship" between student and professor.[13] This "real education," Crowell declared, consisted of three things:

1. Knowledge of the subject taught.
2. Knowledge of the person taught.
3. Knowledge of the method of teaching best adapted to the nature of the being and subject taught.[14]

Enthusiasm for new plans led to ambitious outlines for the development of the College. An article appearing in the *Trinity Archive* for June, 1888, advocated an organization of educational activities about Trinity in such a way as to develop preparatory schools, colleges, and a university. The article declared further that this was the goal toward which the faculty and the trustees were working.[15] In 1890, when it was decided to remove Trinity to Durham, plans were made for the development of a "University." The trustees at their meeting in June, 1891, gave their "endorsement of the purpose to reorganize the institution on the university plan upon opening in Durham, but postponing the naming of the University."[16]

[10] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 31, Dec. 21, 1887; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 148-159.

[11] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, p. 23.

[12] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 168, 1891-1900, p. 690; Minutes of the Transactions of the Executive Committee, 1887; Catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1892; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 31, Dec. 21, 1887, Sept. 5, 1888; J. F. Crowell, "The Higher Education of the Business Man," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 23, 1892.

[13] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, 1892.

[14] J. F. Crowell, "Our Educational Column," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 14, 1891.

[15] *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 152.

[16] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 17, 1891.

This decision of the board resulted in delay in publishing the college catalogue for that year; and because of events unforeseen at that time a catalogue stating an outline for the definite organization of Trinity as a university was never published.[17]

In 1891 the editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* asked Crowell to give "pictures of the old and new plans" for Trinity. Crowell gave three reasons for his decision to comply with this request:

> 1. There are a great many people who do not understand that Trinity College has as definite a plan and purpose as the church of God itself has—the college being a part of the church and therefore sharing the mission of the same.
> 2. There is an urgent need of vindication of the historical services of education, under the guidance of the church, to human progress.
> 3. The proposed university plan of organization, ordered by the Board of Trustees, has to be elaborated, described, and justified.[18]

In describing the College, Crowell said that he would write for "people who think—who think enough to differ with me, but who understand enough to join with me in bringing about a day when the higher institutions of the church, . . . shall so fill their students with zeal for teaching . . . that they shall go . . . into the uttermost parts of the earth . . . and make disciples of all nations." He declared further:

> This new university is to be a teaching university in the fullest sense, in and out of its walls. It proposes to itinerate, to carry the university to the people if the people do not come to the university. . . .
>
> It may be a joyous hope to hear that no age, sex, or condition will debar anyone from being aided by this institution in the pursuit of knowledge at their own firesides or in their own villages.[19]

Inspired by such ideals, a revised course of study was worked out and outlined as follows:

I The Academic Department

This department has four distinct Programs of Courses called Academics extending to the end of the Sophomore year, and grants certificates of proficiency upon completion of a Program of Courses.

[17] *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1891.
[18] President Crowell, "Trinity College Matters," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 16, 1891.
[19] *Ibid.*

II The Scholastic Department

This department extends from the end of the Sophomore to the end of the Senior year, includes Sixteen separate schools of advanced courses, and grants Baccalaureate Degrees upon completion of Scholastic Courses.

III The Seminary Department

This department will be fully organized with several Seminaries of graduate courses, before the opening of the College in 1891. Regular courses for the magisterial and doctorate degrees will then be announced.[20]

The Academic Department embraced "four independent Academies" and was organized as follows:

1. The Classical Academy. Courses for the A.B. Degree.
2. The Technical Academy. Courses for the Degree of Civil Engineer.
3. The Literary Academy. Courses for the Degree of Bachelor of Letters.
4. The Biblical Academy. Courses for the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

Each of the four Academies has a distinct program of courses of study.

A course consists of any number of exercises per week for one term. The Christmas recess divides the collegiate year into two terms. Six hours are called a whole course. A course of five (5) hours is called a five-sixth course; one of four hours a two-thirds course; one of one hour a one-sixth course.

Each student is required to take the equivalent of 18 hours of recitations per week in this department.

When a student shall have taken all the courses in any one of the Academies he shall be entitled to receive a Certificate of Proficiency specifying the work he has done. These certificates are found to be of great service.[21]

Students sixteen years old and of good character were admitted to the Academic Department. Because of the different courses in each academy, different standards of admission were required.[22]

The Scholastic Department, under this scheme, included the following "Schools": (1) Political and Social Science; (2) Theology; Philosophy (Metaphysics); (3) Modern Languages: English, German, French; (4) Ancient Languages: Latin and Greek; (5) Physics; (6) Biology; (7) Chemistry; (8) History; (9) Civil Engi-

[20] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 11.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

neering; (10) Pure Mathematics; (11) Law.[23] The general outline of the Scholastic Department was as follows:

The characteristic feature of this department is its Schools which are clearly defined divisions of the field of knowledge.

Each School consists of distinct groups of subjects of advanced study for the completion of which a term of two years is generally sufficient, according to the ability or the degree of advancement of the student.

Each group is composed of several kindred subjects of study selected with reference to some definite educational end, either professional or non-professional or both. *The School of Political and Social Science*, for example, has grouped in it the subjects of Political Economy, Finance, Statistics, Taxation, Industry, Commerce, Administrative Law, Jurisprudence, Sociology, etc. The end in view in this school is training in intelligent citizenship.

Each of these several subjects consists of one or more courses of study. Each course of study extends through one term, a half collegiate year (from 16 to 21 weeks).

These courses are designated by numbers. . . .

The method employed in this department of the College is strictly the scientific method of inquiry. . . .

To enter these Schools, applicants should give evidence of having obtained sufficient discipline of mind and appreciation of facts and principles as to enable them to reason with enough self-reliance to engage in inquiries for themselves under the more or less direct guidance of the instructors. . . .[24]

In the Scholastic Department major and minor groups of courses led to specific degrees:

Upon admission to the Scholastic Department a candidate for a degree is required to elect two *groups of courses* of study—a Major Group of ten hours weekly and a Minor Group of six hours weekly, for two years.

For the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the *Major Group* is made out of courses in Natural Science, History, Political Science, Philosophy, German, French, English; the *Minor Group* may be made up of any other courses offered.

For the degree of Bachelor of Science the *Major Group* must be composed of courses in Natural Science, Pure Mathematics, Engineering, Modern Languages and Political Science; the *Minor Group* may be made up of any other courses offered.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

For the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy the *Major Group* must be composed of courses in Philosophy, Political Science, Natural Science, and Language; the *Minor Group* may be composed of any courses offered.

For the Degree of Bachelor of Letters (B.L.) the *Major Group* must be composed of courses composed of English, French, German, Latin or Greek, History, Philosophy; the *Minor Group* may be composed of any courses offered.

For the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) the *Major Group* must be composed of distinctly professional courses; the *Minor Group* may be selected from any nonministerial professional courses.

For the degree of Master of Arts a program of courses will be provided upon application. Candidates for this degree should indicate the general lines of study preferred: from this, definite requirements will be outlined.

For the degree of Bachelor of Laws, refer to the "Announcement" of the School of Law 1891, which will be furnished upon application to the President of the Colleges.[25]

In addition to fulfilling the foregoing requirements for degrees from Trinity, each candidate for any degree was required to write a "Graduating Thesis":

Each candidate for any degree is required to write a thesis of no less than forty pages (thesis paper). The subject for this thesis must be taken from the Major Group of courses, and must be handed to the President before the close of the first term of Junior year. Each candidate may name three subjects in the order of his preference from which one will be selected by the proper authorities, approved and publicly announced.

This thesis is due at the close of the Christmas recess, Senior year, and will not be received later, except for special reasons. The copy furnished must be type-written and will be preserved in the Library.

The candidate is expected to make this thesis the ripest effort of his collegiate study, and to go to the expense of furnishing himself with the authorities upon the subject assigned him. His inquiries are to be thorough; the most approved methods of research are to be used and all possible sources of information applied to. In short, the graduating thesis is to be an exhaustive study of a subject with which the student has already a more or less definite acquaintance in his Major Group of courses.

The candidate is examined upon his thesis before the entire Faculty of the College, and a Board of Visitors, at which he is expected to defend his thesis, that is (1) state the leading proposition and explain the same; (2) define the hypotheses on which this proposition is based; (3) show the method of investigation followed; (4) vindicate the logical process

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

(prove statement and test the reliability of sources of information); (5) state conclusions and indicate the effect of their application in further inquiry.

The defense of the graduating thesis is a requirement for graduation and as such ranks in general as an examination upon the Major Group of Courses of Study, as to the extent to which the student has learned to use the scientific method of research.

This defense requires an hour to two hours on each thesis. In case of prolonged defense a recess is given.[26]

Subjects of the graduation theses between 1890 and 1892 reveal a wide range of investigation: "Compulsory Education," "The Electoral College," "Count Tolstoi—the Lessons of His Life," "The Doctrine of Laissez Faire Considered from the Social, Political, and Economic Standpoints," "Should Our Election Laws Be Reformed?," "Do the Signs of the Times Indicate Long Life of the Republic?," "North Carolina in the Revolution," "The Rise and Development of Literature in America," "Is the Public School System a Failure in North Carolina?," "The Growth of Manufacturing in the South since the Civil War and the Social, Political, and Economic Consequences Flowing Therefrom," "Socialism, the Civilization of the Future," "The Skeptical Doctrine of David Hume," "The Expediency of Universal Suffrage," "The Admission of the Student Body to a Share in College Government," "Municipal Control of Transportation, Lights, Water Works, Economically and Politically Considered," "The Influence of Christian Missions in China," "A Critical Inquiry into Methods, Theories, and Tendencies of Modern Architecture," "The Share of Denominational Schools in the Education of American People," "The Divine Order of Human Society," "The Development of the Episcopacy in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," "Plato's Doctrine of Ideas," "The Effect of Christianity upon the Value of Human Life," "Electricity the Motive Power of the Future," "Higher Education of Women a Necessity."[27] Such timely subjects led to commendation in the public press.[28]

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14, 19. See also Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 53.

[27] Durham *Daily Globe*, Feb. 10, 1892; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 13, 1889.

[28]

"The Best We Have Seen"

"Too often the orations and Theses of College graduates are upon thread-bare

In connection with its plan for a "university," Trinity prepared for the development of "University Extension." In 1891 Crowell announced that "a good part of the work of the current year will consist . . . in carrying into effect the university extension plans. . . ."[29] He lectured on this method of "carrying knowledge to young and old throughout the country who have been deprived of the benefit of a Collegiate education." He aroused considerable enthusiasm, and an editor of the *Archive* stated that "we should not be surprised to see it take a practical turn at an early day."[30] The editor's surmise was correct; this new phase of work began in January, 1892, and the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* reported as follows:

> The first work of the College in University Extension has been begun at the neighboring village of Archdale. Before long Randleman will be visited and an effort made to establish a course there. The leading citizens of the place have been anxious to have the work undertaken. The factory village affords one of the finest fields for this new work of the College. Upon removal to Durham this will be a regular department of the work of the College.[31]

Crowell wrote many years later that during this period he foresaw that with the rapid expansion of the College, Trinity "would almost unconsciously partake of the nature of a university." He stated further that at this time he was "adverse to the use of the name *university*"; it seemed to him "that the word *college* had a magic about it, a traditional charm, a bond of unity and continuity, which might be sacrificed by a change of name at this time especially."[32]

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themes, and partake too much of the days of declamation and moonshine oratory. We are glad to note a decided change for the practical and therefore the better. Spread-eagle orations upon "The New South," "The Right of Secession," and kindred themes do not require great industry or accurate knowledge, and are of no lasting or practical value. Graduates ought to furnish contributions that show investigation along original lines. The subjects announced by the graduating class of Trinity College are the best we have seen, and encourage the belief that the work of that College is thorough and practical" (*The North Carolinian*, March 29, 1894). See also *An Unsought Recognition of Trinity College* (broadside, Trinity College Papers).

[29] President Crowell, "Trinity College Matters," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 16, 1891.

[30] *Trinity Archive*, V (Feb., 1892), 70, 210.

[31] Jan. 13, 1892.

[32] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 191-192.

For the academic year 1891-1892 the elaborately organized Academic and Scholastic departments were abolished. In their places were set up seven separate academic departments: (1) the Department of Philosophy and Letters, (2) the Scientific Department, (3) the Technological Department, (4) the Department of History, Political and Social Sciences, (5) the Theological Department, (6) the Law Department, (7) the Commercial Department. Some of these departments were divided into different "Schools" embracing subdivisions of various subjects.[33]

The Department of Philosophy and Letters included courses of study required for the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Philosophy. The Scientific Department embodied the courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science. The Technological Department carried a schedule of courses covering four years and embraced those required for the degree of Civil Engineer or of Electrical Engineer. One of the most popular subjects was road-building, and in 1892 a movement was begun to organize a "State Society for the promotion of the improvement of public highways."[34] The Department of History, Political and Social Science contained two distinct schedules of courses: a four-year course, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy; and "a two-year course for the higher education of business men." It was the aim of this department "to prepare young men more fully to enter journalism, public service, legislative and administrative pursuits, financial and higher mercantile occupations, and the teaching of political economy and other social sciences."[35] The work of the Law Department was designed to prepare students for the examination required for admission to the practice of law in North Carolina.[36] The Commercial Department aimed to train students "in the theoretical and practical phases of commercial pursuits." The courses required from five months to two years for completion and included the "Science of Accounts (Bookkeeping), Banking, Commercial Law, Civil Law, Political

[33] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891, Announcement for Session, 1891-1892*, pp. 37 ff.

[34] *Ibid.; Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, 1892.

[35] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 84; *1891-1892*, p. 29.

[36] *Ibid., 1890-1891*, p. 94; *1891-1892*, p. 45; Sheppard, "The Trinity College Law School," pp. 267-268.

Economy, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic, etc."[37] The Theological Department offered two courses of instruction: (1) one leading to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; (2) the other, "the English Theological Course." While all candidates were advised to complete the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts before taking work toward the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, a "professional course of training" was offered those who were unable to take these degrees.[38]

In addition to these departments, the catalogue for 1890-1891 announced two special courses: "School of Pharmacy" and "Medical Preparatory Course." The School of Pharmacy was organized "to meet a large and growing demand" for such a school in North Carolina. It covered a period of two years and was "equivalent to the required courses in the best Schools of Pharmacy." A graduate of this school was also "prepared to do the general analytical work of the Medical Profession, to detect adulterations in food as well as in medicines, and, for sanitary purposes, to make a trustworthy examination of potable waters."[39] The completion of the course in the Medical Preparatory Department admitted the student to the second year "in the best medical colleges." Certificates were given upon the completion of the course.[40] Perhaps this announcement in the catalogue aided in a movement to establish a medical school at Trinity. When the Medical Association of North Carolina refused to endorse the establishment of a medical school at the University of North Carolina, a movement was begun in March, 1891, to build such an institution in connection with Trinity. Meetings were held and plans were made, but the movement was premature and the plans came to naught.[41]

[37] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 96; *1891-1892*, p. 46; J. F. Crowell, "Anent Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 8, 1888.

[38] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 86, *1891-1892*, p. 40; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1889, p. 26.

[39] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 98.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[41] An account of a meeting where definite plans were made follows:

"On Wednesday last, President John F. Crowell, of Trinity College, met by appointment in Durham the following prominent medical men and held a conference with them: Dr. W. T. Cheatham, of Henderson; Supt. Wm. R. Wood, of the State Insane Asylum; Dr. J. M. Hays, of Oxford; Dr. Robert Young, of Concord; Dr. George W. Long, of Graham; Dr. J. W. Byers, of Charlotte; Dr. A. G. Carr, of Durham, and Dr. W. H. Whitehead, of Tarboro.

Beginning with his announcement of a "Post-Graduate Course of Study in English Literature" in 1887, Crowell advanced steadily toward departments for graduate instruction at Trinity. At least one student enrolled for graduate work during the academic year 1887-1888. The catalogue announced in 1889-1890 that Trinity would soon "add a graduate or seminary department to meet the demands for special study." In 1890-1891 one "Post-Graduate" was listed among the students, and after that year one or more students were included in this division. The organization of a course of study for a separate division for graduate instruction does not

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"It was yet in the minds of medical men over the State that Dr. Wm. R. Wood, Supt. of the State Insane Asylum, had at, at least two meetings of the Medical Association introduced and advocated a resolution to appoint a committee on the part of the Association to confer with a like committee from the Board of Trustees of the University with reference to the establishment of a Department of Medicine. It was remembered that this was voted down.

"Acting upon the belief that their hope in that direction was gone, this meeting in Durham was held with President Crowell of Trinity College in order to see how such a department could be established at Trinity College in Durham.

"It was decided that a school be established to be called the Medical Department of Trinity College. It is to have seven distinct professorships, as follows:

1. Professor of Anatomy
2. Professor of Physiology
3. Professor of Practice
4. Professor of Surgery
5. Professor of Materia Medica
6. Professor of Obstetrics
7. Professor of Chemistry

"The school shall be 1st class in every respect and have nothing but 1st class instruction, laboratories, etc.

"A first class Hospital shall be built in connection with it, and President Crowell was instructed to look after the possibility of raising the funds to build separate buildings.

"The following prominent medical men have been mentioned as probable members of the faculty: Dr. J. M. Hays, of Oxford, Prof. of Anatomy; Dr. R. T. Bahnson, of Salem, Prof. of Surgery; Dr. Wm. R. Wood, of Raleigh, Prof. of Practice; Rev. W. H. Pegram, Prof. of Chemistry. The chairs have not been assigned as yet, but the following are mentioned to fill the others: Dr. Byers, of Charlotte; Cheatham, of Henderson, and Young, of Concord. Dr. A. G. Carr, of Durham, will have charge of the dissecting room.

"These are the plans. We hope they will be carried out, and with such a man as Dr. John Franklin Crowell at its head we can count on a big success.

"Every year North Carolina gives $50,000 worth of patronage to other states, and she can then save it to herself.

"Such an institution could be made a great success, and we hope it will. If the Legislature arranges it so that a graduate of that school can be granted license on his diploma (as is done by other states) then most of all our young men will get their education here.

"Let the good work go on" (*Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 25, 1891). See also *State Chronicle*, April 1, 1891; and J. H. Way and L. B. McBrayer, *Medical Colleges in North Carolina* (an address read before the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, Pinehurst, Wednesday, May 2, 1928).

appear in any catalogue between 1887 and 1892. For the academic year 1891-1892 Crowell stated that emphasis would be placed on the organization of this division. The postgraduate class for that year contained about "one fourth of the class graduated in June."[42]

Along with the expansion of the curriculum went an increase in equipment, teaching aids, and other encouragements to scholarship. Special lectures and lecturers supplemented the instruction of the faculty and became a part of the regular program. The subjects of these lectures represented "a large variety of interests" in which it was believed that "every young man should have some particular instruction before leaving college." In so far as it was practicable, the College secured speakers "eminent in their specialties." The subjects discussed in these public lectures included education, history, politics, industry, government, science, travel, agriculture, public roads, and religion. They were from one to two hours in length, and students were required to attend.[43] Besides these addresses by guest speakers, one or more public lectures were given during the year[44] by each member of the faculty.

Soon after Crowell came to Trinity he discovered that words used on the college seal included incorrect Latin. In recommending a new seal, he told the trustees that Trinity could not hope to win the respect of scholars so long as such inaccuracies existed. A new seal was authorized.[45]

Another matter which gave Crowell concern was the equipment for teaching scientific studies. One of his first investments was the purchase of supplies for the laboratory, and gifts and special grants added to this equipment.[46] In 1889 the chemical laboratory, especially useful to medical and pharmaceutical students, was refitted and

[42] *Trinity Archive*, II (October, 1888), 16; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1889-1890*, p. 15; *1892-1893*, p. 11; President Crowell, "Trinity College Matters," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 16, 1891; J. F. Crowell, "Educational Progress," *ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1890.

[43] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, pp. 12-13; *1888-1889*, pp. 49-50; *1889-1890*, p. 21; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 29, 1890; *Trinity Archive*, I (May, 1888), 137, II (Nov., 1888), 38.

[44] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1888-1889*, p. 50; J. F. Crowell, "Anent Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 8, 1888.

[45] Minutes of the Transactions of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, 1887; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 148.

[46] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 38.

supplied with "many of the most modern appliances." Dr. W. S. Bradshaw, of High Point, supplied many chemicals; and Hiram K. Getz, of Reading, Pennsylvania, donated a "much needed chemical balance."[47] After great effort the biological laboratory, which could accommodate twelve students, was furnished "with suitable tables for dissection and work with the microscope, chairs, cabinets for instruments, glassware and reagents, . . . compound microscopes, microtomes, dissecting instruments, trays, . . . and materials for study."[48]

The museum served not only "for the illustration of lectures, but also for the general education of the public." As in previous years, the College invited the public to contribute to the exhibits,[49] and in 1891 "a friend" from Washington donated "five hundred specimens of American and other woods, and one hundred eighty invertebrates, labeled, in alcohol." As a result of success in collecting specimens, the Durham *Daily Sun* stated in 1891 that the museum "will soon have no equal in North Carolina." It listed among the "notable objects" on exhibition "a mastodon's tusk valued at five hundred dollars, found in the bottoms of Eastern Carolina by Rev. N. M. Jurney" and a "curious looking instrument . . . John Wesley's telescope."[50]

One of Crowell's main concerns was the assembling of a library of significance at Trinity. He convinced both faculty and students of the immediate importance of this project, and in November, 1887, a student declared:

> Nothing is more vital to the welfare of a college than a library. There is something else connected with the acquisition of an education, besides transferring to the mind the contents of text-books. It is necessary to get broad ideas and extended information on each subject. This can

[47] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1888-1889*, p. 62, *1889-1890*, p. 22; *Trinity Archive*, II (March, 1889), 117; "President Crowell's Annual Report," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887.

[48] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 73; J. F. Crowell, "Trinity College—A Word on How to Help Its Growth," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 14, 1888.

[49] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, pp. 73-74; W. H. Lander, "Trinity's Museum of Natural History," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VIII (July, 1922), 93; *Trinity Archive*, II (May, 1889), 153.

[50] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 19, 1891; Durham *Daily Globe*, Sept. 23, 1891.

best be done by obtaining the opinion of several authors on a subject, for it is only when one has come to look at a subject from several standpoints that he can form a correct opinion relative to it. It is here that the library makes itself felt by affording students access to works which, owing to their cost, they could not own. Those who contend that the function of the library is only supplemental to the college course, should remember that life also is supplemented to the college course, and that the college course is but introductory to the library function, both in turn being introductory to life and all three being links of a chain of enlightened existence, the removal of each would be detrimental.[51]

Upon Crowell's recommendation the libraries of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies, along with that of the Theological Society and the College Reference Library were consolidated into a single unit. Each of the literary societies owned about four thousand volumes, and the Theological Society and the Reference Library, several hundred. The combined libraries in 1887 included about ten thousand volumes.[52] In that year the faculty and societies elected Crowell "Librarian-in-chief," and he recorded all the books in the consolidated libraries.[53] In connection with this work Crowell reported in 1887:

Very important improvements have been made in the disposition and use of the libraries. . . . [The] combined Library is attractively provided for in the old chapel. The shelves running along the long sides of the room from floor to ceiling are separated from the body of the room by railing mounted with lattice-work. The library room during the forenoon, the afternoon, and the evening of each week day is open for the use of students, who repair hither to use reference books, and authorities cited in their investigations on assigned subjects. Tables are placed here for writing and convenience in handling books. By these facilities we are rapidly introducing students to the methods of study which will make them original, self-helpful, and independent in their work, and therefore counteract the dislike usually felt for the textbook by making it a means to an end in view, of gratifying an ambition to gain knowledge set as a goal.

I find constantly reiterated assurances that this investment in a Library of but $100 in both books and repairs has added greatly to the efficiency

[51] *Trinity Archive*, I (April, 1918), 6.

[52] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1889-1890*, p. 21; J. P. Breedlove, "The Library: Its History and Its Needs," *Trinity Alumni Register*, X (July, 1924), 333 ff.

[53] *Trinity Archive*, II (Oct., 1888), 18; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 38; Resolution of the Hesperian Literary Society (Trinity College Papers).

of the work of instruction in History and English. It has created a new era in the history of the College. Not only has instruction been increased in effectiveness, but the extraordinary interest shown by students in their work individually is going to be one of the best advertisements for the College we could have made.[54]

By appeals through the public press Crowell was able to secure additions to the library. The development of the English and history departments encouraged a number of contributions in those fields.[55] The faculty not only encouraged the students and the public to donate books, but, according to evidence in the college magazine, also taught the students how to manage the library and how to use the books.[56]

A student thus described his fellows at work and play in the library in 1888:

At the west end of the long desks stood three or four boys, all reading the *New York Times;* and right near them were three more perusing the *Tribune.* Just up the line a little further stood one viewing, thoughtfully, a picture of Mr. Morton. Then he went around to the other side of the desk and there saw several boys, some reading politics, some one thing, some another; while over by a second desk stood a little fellow reading a large paper as carefully as if he were going to make a speech in the Senate the next day, on the subject of Tariff. Beside the table stood a large fellow in light-colored pants and blue coat, who was so deeply interested in his paper that he had unthoughtedly put on his hat, but in a moment a professor came in, and the fellow in the blue coat took off his hat so quickly that you wouldn't have known he ever had a hat in his life. Looking over in another corner, he saw a dignified Senior making a close examination of some of Puck's illustrations, and in spite of all his dignity, he had a grin on his face, which to have broadened would have necessitated a removal of his ears to the hinder part of his neck. Around the next table there was a crowd of boys reading the great periodicals; some reading for curiosity and some for information.[57]

A year after the consolidating of the libraries, a student described the system under which the library operated:

[54] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887.

[55] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 135; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887, Nov. 14, 1888, July 9, 1890, Jan. 13, 1892; *State Chronicle*, Dec. 15, 1887; *Wake Forest Student*, VIII, 31; *Trinity Archive*, I, 117, II, 149, III, 69.

[56] *Trinity Archive*, II (Oct., 1888), 9-10.

[57] *Ibid.*, II (Nov., 1888), 39.

No one can visit Trinity without being pleased at the use to which the reading-room and the library are put. Although our reading-room and reference library are only one year old, they would be creditable to any college in the State. The students manifest a greater interest than ever before in them, and this is due to the untiring energy of the President and Faculty. Realizing the importance of a large amount of such work in the College, they have succeeded in infusing their zeal into the students. The reading-room is kept open from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M., and such is the interest taken that it is often crowded in the afternoon, yet good order prevails. The President spends one hour each day in the library in order to assist those who may wish books or information on any subjects or special lines of work. The libraries owned by the two societies are to be re-arranged and catalogued immediately, so that they can be more efficiently used.[58]

Crowell was constantly thinking of the library and its needs. In 1889 he devoted his Christmas vacation to the study of some of the libraries in the East, and he gave special attention to the arrangement of the libraries in Columbia College.[59]

In 1891 Stephen B. Weeks was elected Professor of History and Political Science in Trinity, and at the same time he was made, without pay, librarian and chairman of the "Reading-Room Committee."[60] With the encouragement of Crowell he sought to enlarge the library. He wrote an article entitled "The Renaissance: A Plea for the Trinity College Library," which was published in some of the state papers.[61] In this article he pointed out that North Carolina was now ripe for a "Renaissance" and urged people to take part in this "Revival of Learning" by conserving historical materials. His main plea was for the revival and extension of historical scholarship in the South under the leadership of Trinity:

In North Carolina today we are entering on a new Renaissance. Nowhere is this revival more manifest than at Trinity College, which, as is well known, has been reorganized and revolutionized within the

[58] *Ibid.*, II (Jan., 1889), 67-68.

[59] *Ibid.*, III (Dec.-Jan., 1890), 69. John Spencer Bassett wrote later that Crowell aroused North Carolina to the importance of building libraries. See J. S. Bassett, "The Need of a Great Reference Library in the South," *Trinity Archive*, XV (Nov., 1901), 129-136.

[60] Report of Stephen B. Weeks as Librarian of Trinity College, 1892 (Trinity College Papers); *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1891-1892*, pp. 9-10.

[61] S. B. Weeks, "The Renaissance: A Plea for the Trinity College Library," *Trinity Archive*, V (Feb., 1892), 181-185, 192. See also *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 17, 1892; *State Chronicle*, March 15, 1892.

last few years. The whole institution has taken on new life and vigor. We have set out to do greater things than have ever been dreamed of in North Carolina before. Our library has had some share in this radiant awakening. We wish it to profit more. We are very much in need of books of all kinds. We need especially books on history, and most of all do we need the materials for history. Trinity has many friends and well-wishers throughout this fair commonwealth; there are many who will welcome any step looking towards setting the past history of our section in its true relations before the world; constant are the expressions of desire for a scholarly history of our State; to all such friends we appeal today, and beg their patriotic assistance in getting together here the sources of history for the use of students who desire to do original work in that field. We have such students at present, but they are cramped and harassed by a lack of materials. We wish to devote ourselves to original work in the field of Southern history. We have a wide field at our very doors, unexploited, and waiting for us to step in and take possession. Others recognize our golden opportunity. Dr. Frederick J. Turner, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin, writes me: "Your institution seems to be a vigorous and prosperous one, from what I gather from its printed report. I am glad you are stirring up history and politics there. What a magnificent field for investigation the South presents in its historical, economic and social problems!" And in a personal letter to the writer, Professor James Bryce says: "It has always seemed to me that the South furnishes many almost unexplored subjects of great historical or constitutional curiosity or importance. And it is agreeable to see how much more is likely in the coming years to be done upon them than was done formerly."

This is the great field which we wish to enter before the ground has been taken up by others; but to do this work we must have a library strong in *historical materials*. Much of this material cannot be purchased in the book markets. It can only be picked up here and there in the hands of private families by men who travel from house to house. This material is abundant, and is frequently in the way of the present owners, who would be glad to part with it did they but know that it would be put to service. We need missionaries to go from house to house for us in a search for these scattered but precious documents and papers. We need missionaries filled with the glowing enthusiasm that pervaded the minds and souls of the men of the Renaissance when they traveled, on foot for the most part, from city to city, and from monastery to monastery, in search of the lost writings of the ancients. The friends of the college can be these missionaries. They are found from one end of the State to the other, and there are many beyond her borders. With their assistance we can secure a vast deal of material of inestimable value to us in our work, and in most cases it can be had for the asking. Will they

not all work with the authorities of the college and myself in building up at Trinity College the best collection of books relating to Southern history, political, economic and religious, in existence? Other institutions are now ahead of us, but we believe that this high goal can be reached; the thing we need most is enthusiasm for the work, and with this we can accomplish all things. And are we not all ready to show this enthusiasm for our institution, our State and country? Anything historical in itself or that can be used as historical material, will be gladly received: State and local histories, pamphlets, illustrating any phase of our growth and development, printed or manuscript papers treating of local history, biographical sketches of distinguished citizens, historical notebooks, historical scrapbooks, muster-rolls, regimental or company histories, rosters of troops, maps, plans of battle-fields, sermons, letters, catalogues, journals of deliberative bodies of any kind, pictures and portraits, statistics, genealogies, and genealogical tables, newspapers, newspaper clippings of an historical nature, official proceedings of towns and cities, etc. . . .

It is hoped that every Methodist, and every citizen of the State, will feel that he has a personal interest in this collection, and that in contributing to it he is doing something towards building, developing, and strengthening North Carolina and the South.[62]

This article was received favorably in the State.[63] Josephus Daniels in an editorial entitled "A New Renaissance" quoted excerpts and commented as follows: "The *Chronicle* hopes and believes that this plea will be readily responded to by many readers. Under the enthusiastic and inspiring labors of Dr. Weeks, Trinity College will take high rank in the field of original work in the field of Southern history."[64] As a result of the activities of Weeks and others, several hundred volumes were added to the library during the academic year 1891-1892.[65]

In his report to the executive committee of the trustees in 1892 Weeks reviewed the needs of the library and made definite recommendations. He described the library at the time when he assumed the duties of librarian (1891):

The books were found to be poorly arranged or not arranged at all. This has been due largely to lack of space. There was not enough shelf

[62] Weeks, "The Renaissance: A Plea for the Trinity College Library," pp. 181-185, 192.

[63] *Trinity Archive*, V (Feb., 1892), 192; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 17, 1892; *State Chronicle*, March 15, 1892.

[64] *State Chronicle*, March 15, 1892.

[65] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 13, 1892.

room for the regular books and it was found to be impossible to make any orderly display of the government publications or to put them in such a condition as to secure the best and fullest use. I made a personal effort to get the Historical books into some kind of shape but I had to face the same difficulty with the Library as a whole. There was a lack of space. I succeeded, however, in bringing order out of chaos to a certain extent, and I think that the books in this department have been used as much as we could expect. Professor Armstrong has done the same for the books in English Literature and Language with a similar result.

Weeks reported that he was gratified at the result of his article. He stated further that "some men who have had no interest in the institution have been attracted by the appeal and have sent us valuable donations." He also described his difficulties and his experience in the purchase of books:

There has been serious trouble with reference to keeping the library open. There was no appropriation for the purpose and it was found necessary to ask members of the Faculty to take it by turns. One student from each Society did the same; in this way we have managed to keep the library open about an hour a day during the year.

This arrangement has been eminently unsatisfactory to all parties. It has been an absolute failure; but inasmuch as we were to leave this site soon, it was thought best to let things go in the same way for the balance of the year. The same reason convinced us that it was useless to undertake extensive reorganization of the library. But while there has been no extensive reorganization we have sought by all means to increase the library by as large a purchase of books as our means would allow. . . .

Under the instruction of the President, I went to Charlotte in May to attend the sale of the Library of the late Dr. A. W. Miller; a number of books in English, philosophy, and history were purchased, besides a large number of copies of different magazines to be used in completing sets. These books were purchased at very low prices, there being little competition. The trip was a very happy one and we were well repaid. The amount spent at the first sale was about $15.00. . . .

Since the College owned a number of duplicate copies of books and other materials, Weeks recommended that such duplicates be sold or exchanged. Money thus secured could then be used to buy new books. He recommended further:

. . . (1) a paid and therefore a responsible librarian, (2) a thorough overhauling and reorganization, (3) a card catalogue, (4) the rebinding of a lot of books which are going to ruin for lack of it and the binding of

magazines which in the unbound form are very liable to be destroyed and stolen—both of which have happened during the present year.

I recommend for your consideration in regard to the removal to Durham, rearrangement and cataloguing of the library in Durham, the following items:

1. That a librarian be appointed by your body from the faculty and that the general superintendence of the removal and refitting of the Library be put under his charge.

2. That he be authorized with the consent of the faculty, to employ a student to act as assistant librarian for the next year; that the assistant keep the library open not less than three hours a day for six days in the week and that he be paid not less than $150 per annum.

3. That the librarian be instructed to make provisions for arranging and cataloguing the library as soon as it arrives in Durham; that he be instructed to purchase a case for a card index, cards for the index and other necessary supplies for the same, as many Woodruff or other files as he may think necessary and other supplies, the whole of such supplies to cost not more than $75.00.

4. That the Trustees appropriate such sums of money as will enable the Librarian to employ intelligent help in arranging and cataloguing the library. This work will occupy three men a month, at least. It cannot be expected that the librarian will be able or willing to give all of his time to the work without special remuneration, and I should recommend that there be appropriated for this part of the service $175.00 at least. This may seem a high figure, but it is necessitated by a double reason: (1) the removal, and (2) the fact that we now have no catalogue whatever and [it] must [be] built up from the start.

5. That $50.00 be appropriated for rebinding books, binding magazines and supplying missing copies of the same. At present these articles are, by reason of their condition, useless to the students and only when all our collections are put before the student body can we expect to arrive at the best results.

These recommendations may seem expensive; but such is far from the case. You appropriate the money to fit up laboratories and museums and the student of History and of English can no more work without libraries than the student of chemistry and physics can work without laboratories.[66]

Along with improvement in the library and in other equipment at Trinity went further incentives to study. Beginning in 1888 several scholarships and fellowships were offered. The first of these, the Mrs. Crowell Memorial Scholarship, was established in

[66] Report of Stephen B. Weeks as Librarian of Trinity College [1891-1892] to the Executive Committee (Trinity College Papers).

1888 by Crowell in memory of his wife, who had died during the summer of that year. This scholarship, valued at one hundred dollars, was payable at the end of the collegiate year. The first year (1888-1889) the conditions of award were as follows: it was to be given "for two years to that candidate for a degree who, upon his entrance, in full standing, to the Scientific Department shall be thought capable of making the most and best progress"; no student receiving free tuition was eligible for the award, and it could be withdrawn when the incumbent was deemed unworthy.[67] From 1889 to 1892 the conditions were changed. The award was divided into two scholarships of fifty dollars each, one of which was to be given at commencement to a junior and the other to a senior for the ensuing year. The candidates were required to be "in full standing in the Scientific Department" and judged "capable of making the most and best progress."[68]

In 1890 the board of trustees established two fellowships named for Brantley York and Braxton Craven. The Brantley York Fellowship, awarded for the first time in 1890, was given to the only postgraduate student in the College—B. B. Nicholson.[69] No further references to these fellowships have been found.

Various prizes and awards established between 1887 and 1892 helped to stimulate scholarship. Beginning in 1889 and continuing for about two years, the Blair Prize in Philosophy was offered. Consisting of a gift of ten dollars in gold, it was given by "Professor W. A. Blair of Winston, on some subject of Philosophy."[70] Another prize offered during the same years (1889-1890) was the Winstead Prize in Political Economy, established by Colonel J. M. Winstead, of Greensboro. It, too, was ten dollars in gold and was to be awarded to "that member of the Scientific Department who shall write the best essay on Saving Banks."[71] The "Hill Prizes in History" constituted another monetary prize. These awards were first announced in 1892 but were not given until the following year. The

[67] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1888-1889*, p. 61.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 62; *1889-1890*, p. 25; *1890-1891*, p. 19.
[69] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 215; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, pp. 11, 19.
[70] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1888-1889*, p. 62; *1889-1890*, pp. 25-27.
[71] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 29, 1892.

first notice of the establishment of the Hill Prizes appeared in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 29, 1892:

Dr. Charles G. Hill, of Baltimore, offers through Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, the Professor of History and Political Science in Trinity College, to the students of that institution, $100 for the best work done there in the history of North Carolina. This sum will probably be divided into two parts, the first prize of $60 to be given for the best piece of work; the second prize of $40 for the next best. The conditions of award will be published later. The first award will be announced at the commencement of 1893. Dr. Hill is a native of North Carolina and a brother-in-law of the Rev. Dr. John R. Brooks of the North Carolina Conference. He is much interested in the history of the State and has taken this means to encourage and foster that spirit of historical research which is beginning to take shape at Trinity College under the influence of Johns Hopkins methods.

The history of North Carolina has been miswritten or poorly written at best. No man has come to the subject in the past with the proper equipment for the work; but with more material than hitherto and with scientific methods, Trinity College should easily take the lead in historical work. We thank Dr. Hill for this liberal and praiseworthy act.[72]

Other incentives to scholarship were the examinations, regularly scheduled and governed by strict rules.[73] There were three main ones during the year: (1) the entrance examination, at the opening of the collegiate year; (2) the scholars' examination for the admission to the Scientific Department, at the end of the second year and "intended to be so rigid as to practically weed out of college those whose lack of diligence, slovenliness in scholarship or inability" made "them a drag to the progress of work in the schools"; (3) the Bachelor's Examination for a degree, at the end of the four-year

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] The following "Rules Governing Examinations" were published in the college catalogue:

"No student shall bring a textbook into the examination-room.

"Communication of any kind is forbidden during examination upon penalty of forfeiting papers.

"No student who absents himself from a regular examination is allowed to proceed with his class without a special vote of the Faculty to that effect.

"A student failing to pass an examination in any study in June may present himself for a second examination in September following. At other times he may be conditioned to make up deficiencies. A second failure rejects him.

"Students admitted to College with conditions must make up arrears before Christmas or be catalogued as 'in arrears'" (*Catalogue of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, p. 53; *1888-1889*, p. 53; *1889-1890*, pp. 23-24).

course. This last examination was "held upon subjects taught in the schools during the previous two years, before all the resident members of the Faculty and Board of Visitors." In the Bachelor's Examination "three special degrees of excellence" were "recognized and so inscribed on the diploma." No regular examination in any department of the College could be held "without previous arrangement with the President and announced to the Faculty at least a week previous to the examination."[74]

By comprehensive examinations and stricter grading the College sought to raise the standard of scholarship. It was necessary to "get rid of the practice of grading students higher than they can deserve in some departments." Crowell explained his attitude and that of the College toward the system of grading as follows:

> The evident result of giving an inflated value to grade marks is to lull the student into the belief that he has mastered the subject when he may only have gotten his lesson well for recitation. If upon making a good recitation, he is marked nearly perfect, what inducement is there for him to bestir himself to do better? Good grades are not a fetich to be worshipped. They are not scholarship, but approximate indications of it. . . .

[74] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, pp. 51-52; *1888-1889*, p. 52; *1889-1890*, pp. 22-23. The Report of the Board of Visitors for 1889 was as follows:

"To the Honorable Board of Trustees,

"Trinity College, N. C.

"Gentlemen, In accordance with your regulations, I beg to report that it was my great pleasure, as a member of the Board of Visitors, to attend the annual examination of the candidates for Degrees held before the Faculty of Instruction on the 4th day of June A. D. 1889.

"Each student of the Senior Class had previously prepared an elaborate Thesis, and upon this thesis, with all his reasons for supporting or denying any propositions upon his arguments, his statements, and his conclusions, he was carefully, accurately and minutely questioned by the different members of the Faculty.

"I desire to bear testimony to the wide scope of subjects presented, the thorough and complete mastery of those subjects by the candidates for degrees, the strikingly clear concepts, and finally the very great educational value of the work.

"Permit me also to express my very great pleasure at the evidences of healthy intellectual life, growth, and activity. Somebody has said that it is desireable [*sic*] to know something of everything and everything of something. Each graduate this year has thoroughly mastered at least one subject.

"With the deepest interest in the welfare and advancement of Trinity College,

"I have the honor to be

"Yours very truly,

"W. A. Blair."

(Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 172.)

Our standard of scholarship cannot be lowered just to let a student pass, who may have contrived to come thus far and remain in course. There are members of the Faculty who could not be induced or driven to sign the diploma of a student of this kind. (It is a reproach to a Christian student to keep along near the edge.) We would suffer greatly by putting our seal upon any document unworthy of our scholastic approval. One of the worst reproaches cast upon any College is to have one proverbially ignorant graduate make a boast of the same to others of how he got through with a trifle of study. But for the future let this be known that a student's having entered College gives him no claim upon a diploma; he must work not only to get in, but to stay in, and not only to stay in, but to get out at the other end.

A student forfeits his place in class in any study by being unable after two trials, to pass the examinations upon this subject. Any thing like dishonesty would be punished by expulsion. . . .[75]

Activities of Faculty and Students

Along with expansion in all departments of the College came an increase in organizations sponsored by both teachers and students. Since he believed that such groups were a "factor in broadening and deepening the mental life of the College," Crowell encouraged these organizations. The primary purpose of such associations, he later wrote, was "to follow up lines of thought disclosed in the recitation and lecture room."[76]

As a direct outgrowth of the work of the School of Political and Social Science, an association known as the College Congress was organized early in 1889.[77] Modeled after the Congress of the United States, it was designed to teach the machinery of American government and the current problems before Congress. The freshman and sophomore classes made up the House of Representatives, and the juniors and seniors composed the Senate. The College Congress held four sessions during the academic year, and each session occupied a full day. At each of these meetings, after the Congress had organized and was ready for business, Crowell, like the President of the United States, sent a message on the state of the Union. The College Congress then proceeded to carry out its work according to regular legislative procedure.[78]

[75] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887.

[76] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 52.

[77] *Trinity Archive*, II (Jan., 1889), 78-79.

[78] *Ibid.*, II, 78, III, 23-24, V, 212; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 23, 1889; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 64.

As a professor of social science, Crowell was especially interested in the work of the College Congress; and as a college administrator, he was equally interested in it as a project for training students for the duties of citizenship. Moreover, the fact that the deliberations of this body attracted favorable comment in the public press was also a source of satisfaction to him.[79]

By another method Crowell sought to train the students in the ways of citizenship. Disregarding opposition from the faculty, he instituted a system of student self-government at Trinity. He inaugurated this plan in 1887, when each student was "put on his honor as to his conduct." Each class had as a "dean" a member of the faculty, and as a "monitor" a member of the student body. The system was popular with the students, for they felt that they were being treated as adults.[80]

A national student organization brought to Trinity through the interest of Crowell was the Young Men's Christian Association. The story of its development was told in a students' handbook published by the Y.M.C.A. in 1891:

> On the 24th of August, 1887, two young men, W. B. Lee and W. H. Rhodes, left High Point in the hack for Trinity College. They had both been at Trinity before, and with the former moral condition of the boys in mind, and feeling the great need of a student along the line of active Christian work among his fellows, they began each to inquire of the other if there was any organization among the boys to meet this want. Finding from a third man that there was not, they at once began to lay out plans to this end.
>
> A few days after reaching College they consulted with the President of the College, and laid their plans before him. His hearty approval and co-operation was secured. Upon his suggestion a committee of three (Messrs. W. H. Rhodes, W. B. Lee, and L. S. Massey) was selected to draw up a constitution for an organization that should meet the wants of the students.
>
> The Committee did its work and at a mass meeting of the students and presided over by the President of the College, the constitution was read and approved by the student body. The name of this organization was to be "The Students Christian Association." It began with about

[79] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 54; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 23, 1889.

[80] *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 150-151.

forty members. W. H. Rhodes was elected president, W. B. Lee, vice-president. The S. C. A. proved a grand success.

In 1888 this body adopted the constitution of the Y.M.C.A. and sent two delegates, Dan Roper and G. T. Adams to the State Convention held at Charlotte. Mr. Adams was elected the first president, W. B. Lee, Vice-President. During this year thirteen young men were led to Christ, $15.00 contributed to the State work. In 1889, W. B. Lee was elected President, L. S. Massey, Vice-President, $75 paid to the State work. Seven delegates were sent to the State Convention at Wilmington, viz., Adams, Jones, Helms, Durham, Lee, Rose, Moore.

Since 1889 the Association has been steadily growing and now it is one of the greatest powers for good at Trinity College. . . .[81]

This sketch of the initial organization did not include some of the specific activities of the Y.M.C.A. Meetings were held sometimes daily and sometimes weekly, at which guests, members of the faculty, or students spoke on religious subjects. Bible-study classes also were held from time to time. Other activities included the care of new students and the arrangements for banquets, receptions, and parties.[82] Another project sponsored by the Y.M.C.A. was the publication of a handbook for students. This booklet included information on the faculty, courses of study, boardinghouses, history of the college, rules and regulations, library, student expenses, and extracurricular activities.[83]

A faculty-sponsored organization of this period was the Scientific Society. On October 29, 1889, Professor J. M. Bandy invited a group of students to meet in his classroom for the purpose of organizing such a society. Bandy was elected president; R. L. Davis, vice-president; R. A. Myrick, secretary; and G. F. Ivey, treasurer. "The purpose of the Society was to encourage scientific research with the hope that eventually the College would give instruction along industrial lines." Part of the work of the Society was the presentation of the results of research at regular monthly meetings of the group. Other work of the Society included the assembling of equipment for scientific research and contributions of scientific magazines

[81] *Trinity College Session 1891-1892: Students' Hand-Book Presented by the Y. M. C. A.*, pp. 27-31; see also *Trinity Archive*, I (May, 1888), 137.

[82] *Trinity Archive*, I, 95, II, 49-50, 79, III, 18, 38, IV, 85, V, 387; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1888-1889*, pp. 59-60.

[83] *Trinity College Session 1891-1892: Students' Hand-Book Presented by the Y. M. C. A.*

to the college library.[84] The Society met intermittently and in 1891 reorganized as the Trinity College Scientific Society:

> On October 8, 1891, about six members of the Faculty and a number of students met and organized a club known as the Trinity College Scientific Society. The following officers were elected: C. L. Raper, President; E. L. [T.] Bynum, Vice-President; R. A. Myrick, Secretary. The purpose of this society is to create a greater interest in mathematical and scientific investigations. At the last meeting on October 22nd the Society was entertained by Professor Stedman with a very highly appreciated lecture on Embryology, illustrated in the chicken.[85]

During the next year the Society increased in membership and aroused "considerable interest in various branches of science."[86]

Another organization initiated by a member of the faculty was a secret scholastic order called "9019." Under the leadership of John Spencer Bassett a group of students held a few informal meetings during October, 1890, to organize a secret society for upperclassmen, and in November, 1890, the organization was perfected and given the name of 9019. In September, 1892, the society announced that it was "an association for the development of manhood in all relations to Society."[87]

Sometime prior to February, 1891, Professor Armstrong organized a German Club which was "of great benefit to his German students."[88] In 1891 a branch of the Volapük organization was brought to the College.[89]

Because of emphasis on the social sciences and especially upon the study of history, another society of significance was organized.

[84] G. F. Ivey, "The First Scientific Society of Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register*, IX (Dec., 1923), 186-187; see also "Meeting of Crowell Scientific Society," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VII (July, 1921), 79-284; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 53; *Trinity Archive*, IV (Feb., 1891), 83; "Trinity Album," *Trinity Archive*, XVII (June, 1904).

[85] *Trinity Archive*, V (Nov., 1891), 84.

[86] *Ibid.*, V (March, 1892), 246.

[87] Records of 9019 (Trinity College Papers); *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XIII (March, 1927), 80, XVI (March, 1930), 78; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 53; "Trinity Album," *Trinity Archive*, XVII (June, 1904).

[88] *Trinity Archive*, IV (Feb., 1891), 84.

[89] *Ibid.*, IV (May, 1891), 133. Volapük, the first international language to be used, was invented *ca.* 1879 by the Reverend Johann Martin Schleyer, a German priest (see A. L. Guérard, *Short History of the International Language Movement* [New York, 1922].

"In response to a previous announcement by Dr. S. B. Weeks, several members of the faculty and a number of students . . . met together on April 4th, 1892, for the purpose of organizing a Historical Society."[90] After "appropriate remarks" by members of the faculty present, the society was organized. Upon the recommendation of Professor Weeks, the following officers were elected: S. J. Durham, president; E. T. Bynum, vice-president; J. E. Avery, recording secretary and treasurer; Professor Weeks, corresponding secretary; and F. C. McDowell, librarian. These officers, together with John F. Crowell and J. H. Baldwin, made up the executive committee. After a decision to meet on the fourth Saturday night of each month and after setting a twenty-five cent annual membership fee, the Society adjourned its first meeting.[91]

The Historical Society held three more meetings during the academic year 1891-1892. At these meetings routine business was transacted, historical papers were read, and at the final meeting on May 18, 1892, a constitution "was read by Dr. Weeks, and upon motion was adopted." Besides outlining the organization of the Society, the constitution stated its aims:

> to collect, arrange and preserve a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary and other materials illustrative of the history of North Carolina and of the South; to rescue . . . from forgetfulness the names and deeds of the first settlers; to encourage original work in the field of Southern history, and to promote the study of the same by means of lectures and publications.[92]

The organization of the Historical Society met with enthusiastic response both at Trinity and in the state. After describing the origin

[90] Minutes of the Historical Society, Trinity College, N. C., April 4, 1892 (Duke University Library); Nannie M. Tilley, *The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941* (Durham, N. C., 1941), pp. 10-19; J. A. Baldwin to R. L. Flowers, May 17, 1940 (Office of the President of Duke University); Paul H. Clyde to author, May 21, 1940; W. R. Mattox to author, May 20, 1940. For other accounts of the founding and development of the Society, see William K. Boyd, "The Trinity College Historical Society: A Record and an Appeal," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (April, 1915), 30-35; R. L. Flowers, "History of the Historical Society of Trinity College," *Trinity Archive*, XV (March, 1902), 363-372; "Trinity Album," *Trinity Archive*, XVII (June, 1904); Nora C. Chaffin, "The Origin and Development of Trinity College Historical Society," *Duke Alumni Register*, XXV (Nov., 1939), 271.

[91] Minutes of the Historical Society, Trinity College, N. C., April 4, 1892, pp. 1, 3.

[92] *Ibid.*, May 18, 1892, pp. 10-12.

of the Society, the *Trinity Archive* in May, 1892, raised the following question: "With Dr. Weeks, one of the best students of history in the South, to direct the operations, why cannot Trinity be made the historical center of the South Atlantic States?"[93] The next month the same magazine declared:

> It [the Historical Society] is to Trinity College what the Historical Seminary is to the Johns Hopkins, a common meeting-place for the exchange of ideas. The papers are short and to the point; the discussions are general, and the object is to bring into direct and immediate use those facts and methods which have been learned in the class-room. Work of this kind serves better than the class-room to show the student that there is an historical method, and to point out what the requisites of historical composition are. That there is such a method is something absolutely new to those people who have never realized the *unity* of history and who look on it simply as a mass of disconnected facts and dates to be strung on a string. History is the self-knowledge of humanity; and to the man who fails to realize this truth there is, and can be, no history.[94]

The *News and Observer* published a letter from a correspondent at Trinity describing the organization of the Historical Society and at the same time asking for contributions of all kinds of historical materials.[95] Before the formation of the Society the *State Chronicle* had supported the College in its efforts to preserve records and encourage historical study.[96]

In January, 1890, the college magazine suggested the formation of an intercollegiate oratorical group. The next year the North Carolina Intercollegiate Oratorical Association was active in sponsoring contests in the state, and Trinity was an unsuccessful contender in some of these contests. Previous to the organization of this association, intercollegiate oratorical contests had been held in North Carolina; and during the academic year 1889-1890 Stonewall Jackson Durham, of Trinity, had won a medal in such a contest.[97]

Along with new organizations of lofty purpose at Trinity went others of less serious intent which met for merrymaking. The faculty

[93] *Trinity Archive*, V (May, 1892), 343.
[94] *Ibid.*, V (June, 1892), 367-368.
[95] April 6, 1892.
[96] March 15, 1892.
[97] *Trinity Archive*, III (Dec., 1889-Jan., 1890), 57, IV (May, June, 1891), 134, 153; *Catalogue of Trinity College, Part 1, 1890-1891*, p. 19.

organized the Original Research Society, which appeared to be more social than professional.[98] An Anti-Cussin' Club in 1889 furnished merriment for students. The Trinity College Fruit Club of 1889 had for its purpose the surreptitious collection and distribution of food dear to the student. In 1889 a "goodly number of students" belonged to the newly organized Mendacity Club.[99]

As a result of Crowell's interest in the development of "physical culture," athletic organizations were formed. The *Trinity Archive* announced in October, 1889, that "a few of the students . . . have formed a Tennis Club and have ordered their goods with the intention of going forward with their practice immediately." In 1891 the Tennis Club gave place to the Lawn-Tennis Association, which was "on the boom" during the next year. Its thirty or more members encouraged and conducted intramural contests which were popular with both faculty and students.[100]

Tennis, baseball, football, and lacrosse devotees were organized into teams with captains, and an Athletic Association was initiated. Organized in 1887-1888, this group had for its purpose "the development of the physical man" and the "promoting of athletics." The football and baseball associations, branches of this organization, arranged both intramural and intercollegiate games.[101] One of the projects of the Athletic Association was to aid in securing and equipping a gymnasium. Through its efforts apparatus was obtained and plans were made for the establishment of a "school where the physical man" could be "trained and developed and made a fit habitation for the abode of a powerful intellect and an immortal soul."[102]

Of the new interests in extracurricular activities during this period, that in football headed the list. Crowell was a firm believer in the benefits of this sport, and shortly after the opening of his first year at Trinity he introduced the game. Familiar with the history of football in the United States, he had witnessed its rapid growth in

[98] *Trinity Archive*, V (Dec., 1891), 129-130.

[99] *Ibid.*, III (Oct., Nov., 1889), 15, 17, 37.

[100] *Ibid.*, III (Oct., 1889), 17; V (Nov., 1891, Feb., April, 1892), 83, 208, 246.

[101] *Ibid.*, I (May, 1888), 137, II (Oct., Nov., 1888), 9, 37, V (Feb., 1892), 296; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, p. 60.

[102] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, p. 59; *1891-1892*, page 28; *Trinity Archive*, I, 137, II, 9, 39, III, 118, IV, 84.

popularity during the late seventies and early eighties. He had attended one college where intercollegiate football was forbidden and another where it was played, and had become convinced that the merits of the game exceeded its defects. To Crowell, who recognized the "danger of exaggerating the athletic over the intellectual," intercollegiate football was a "bulwark against social and individual vices incident to collegiate student life." He believed further that the publicity and prestige which came as a result of success in this sport were desirable.[103]

In November, 1887, the College magazine recorded the first reaction of the students to the newly introduced game: "As the Base Ball season has about expired, the Foot Ball, otherwise known as the 'Shin Breaker,' has immediately taken its place. Every afternoon interesting games are played on the campus. It is good exercise and there is no danger, if one will keep out of the way."[104] Coached by Crowell, the game became popular among the students during the year 1887-1888, and it was enthusiastically renewed early the next year. A reporter wrote in November, 1888: "Foot-ball is getting to be a very popular game at Trinity. It is good for the health of its votaries in more than one way; for those who play it never need be bled by a physician, nor need their clothing ever be perforated for the sake of ventilation, because both these wants are inevitably supplied on the ball ground."[105]

At this time the students had mastered the technique of the game and wished to pit their strength and cunning against some other college team. With Crowell's encouragement in November, 1888, they issued a challenge to the "Chapel Hill Eleven." The University had already declined one such invitation from Trinity, but this time the team accepted. The time and place were set for Thanksgiving Day, 1888, in Raleigh. So important did the students consider this game that an editor of the college magazine reviewed the history of football, proudly pointed out Trinity's part in encouraging the game in the state, and stated the composition of

[103] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 223-226.
[104] *Trinity Archive*, I (Nov., 1887), 16.
[105] *Ibid.*, II (Nov., 1888), 37.

the "Crowell Team."[106] The next issues of the magazine described the game and exulted in Trinity's victorious team.[107] Many years later Crowell wrote of the influence of this game upon the public attitude toward Trinity:

> That single game probably did more than anything else to send into limbo the age-long habit of the condescending attitude with which certain friends of that venerable institution [the University] were inclined to look upon denominational colleges in general and Trinity in particular.
>
> That long-talked-of victory added not only to the athletic reputation of Trinity throughout the State but it gave the College an indefinable prestige of a general but most effective kind. Nobody realized more clearly than University men generally that here was a college with a policy to be reckoned with.[108]

Following this football game in 1888, Trinity, the University, and Wake Forest organized the North Carolina Inter-Collegiate Football Association, which arranged a series of games to be played during the spring of 1889. These contests were as follows: University of North Carolina *versus* Wake Forest (University won); Trinity *versus* the University (Trinity won); Wake Forest *versus* Trinity (Wake Forest won). The college magazine pointed out that the "series resulted, therefore, in a tie, University, Wake Forest, and Trinity having each won a game."[109]

In 1889-1890, as in the previous year, a championship series was arranged among the three schools. As a result of Wake Forest's victory over the University, Trinity's over Wake Forest, and the University's failure to meet Trinity within a specified time, Trinity claimed the championship.[110] The next year, 1890-1891, there was a decided slump in intercollegiate football in North Carolina. Wake Forest and the University refused to accept Trinity's challenge, and Trinity engaged in only one intercollegiate game that year. At this game, played with the University of Virginia on Thanksgiving Day, 1890, Trinity was defeated.[111] Interest in football grew intense

[106] *Ibid.*, II (Nov., Dec., 1888), 38, 48-49.

[107] *Ibid.*, II (Jan., Feb., 1889), 77-78, 97.

[108] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 228-229.

[109] *Trinity Archive*, II (Oct., Nov., Dec., 1888, Jan., April, May, 1889), 9, 38, 49-50, 77, 137-139, 156-157. For the text of the constitution of the North Carolina Inter-Collegiate Football Association, see *ibid.*, III (Feb., 1890), 77-80.

[110] *Ibid.*, III (Dec., 1889-Jan., 1890, Feb., 1890), 50-51, 83-86.

[111] R. L. Durham, "The Beginning of Football at Trinity," *Trinity Alumni*

Cast of "Womanless Wedding," 1890

College Building and Part of the Student Body, 1891

First Football Squad at Trinity, 1888

Standing, left to right: J. C. Watkins, D. W. Roberts, T. C. Daniels, R. H. Mitchell, F. A. Rahders, S. T. Durham, B. B. Nicholson, W. A. Johnston. *Sitting:* J. H. Crowell, J. A. Dailey, T. A. Hathcock. *Reclining:* R. L. Durham, J. F. Jones (manager), Albert Sharpe.

W. I. Cranford and Will Fearrington, two other members of the squad, do not appear in the picture.

Faculty Group, 1890-1891

Standing, left to right: J. S. Bassett, J. L. Armstrong, F. E. Welch, J. F. Heitman. *Sitting:* J. M. Bandy, W. T. Gannaway, J. F. Crowell, W. H. Pegram, N. C. English, L. W. Crawford.

during the following year, 1891-1892. Because of a highly successful season Trinity claimed the championship of Southern intercollegiate football; and the college magazine declared:

> Trinity is now the champion foot-ball team of the South, having beaten every team it has played with, and especially last year's champions, the University of Virginia. Expenses this season have been three hundred dollars above receipts. This is more than the team ought to bear. Contributions from Trinity's well-wishers, sent to C. E. Turner, Manager, will, therefore, be highly appreciated, and will ensure the existence of a team next year, which otherwise is somewhat doubtful.[112]

The practice of honoring football heroes began when this team was feted by the college community in December, 1891.[113]

From 1887 to 1892 Trinity developed a group of able athletes. Some of the most skilful were Thomas C. Daniels, R. L. Durham, Stonewall J. Durham, Fred Harper, Plato Durham, Jake Hanes, W. T. McDowell, M. T. Plyler, A. W. Plyler, D. N. Caviness, E. S. Whitaker, I. E. Avery, L. T. Hartsell, J. P. Turner, Carl Bundy, W. W. Flowers, Ben H. Black, T. T. James, and C. E. Turner.[114]

The Trinity football teams were coached first by Crowell and later by students and players who studied the rules of the American Athletic Association and who visited various colleges for the purpose of observing football technique. Captains and managers assumed much responsibility for coaching. J. Frank Jones was "manager, referee, umpire, and coach" until June, 1890. In 1891-1892 Thomas C. Daniels, one of Trinity's greatest players and students of the game, became "Director of Physical Culture" in the College and had among his duties those of football coach. In his physical education classes he emphasized all sports and devoted most of his time to training students in outdoor sports.[115]

Equipment for football was meager, and with the exception of a few donations, the students paid their own expenses. The end

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Register, IX (Dec., 1923), 188 ff.; M. T. Plyler, "Gridiron Battle with Virginia October 4 Recalls the 'Old Days,'" *Duke Alumni Register*, XVI (Oct., 1930), 326-327.

[112] *Trinity Archive*, V (Dec., 1891), 129, 134-135.

[113] *Ibid.*, V (Jan., 1892), 134-135.

[114] Durham, "The Beginning of Football at Trinity," pp. 144 ff.

[115] *Ibid.*; Alumni Records, 1888-1892; *Trinity Archive*, II (Nov., 1888, May, 1889), 39, 153-154, V (Oct., 1891), 23-24.

of the season frequently found the players not only injured physically but embarrassed financially.[116] Regardless of every requirement, however, they were devoted to the game and to the College. When the skill of the athletes of 1891-1892 became widely known, some of them received offers from other colleges: "Several of our athletes who have gained a wide reputation have been receiving flattering offers from various colleges, but they all say their lot is cast with Trinity for good or bad. With such spirit as this among her sons, Trinity cannot fail to hold the place in athletics which she has gained."[117]

Crowell later declared that Trinity's success in football influenced the organization of teams in practically every Southern state. He declared also that this success prompted a closer study of the college which had achieved recognition in this sport and which inspired unusual loyalty among its students.[118]

There were other effects of organized sports upon the students of Trinity. John Spencer Bassett wrote that the rivalries and social differences between the upcountry and low-country boys were very bitter at the College until organized athletics "wiped away the last vestige of this feeling. . . ."[119] Realizing their influences upon other students, members of the football team in 1889 signed a pledge that they would not touch intoxicating liquors while they were in college. In commenting upon this act, a reporter for the *Trinity Archive* wrote: "It is to be said to the credit of the college athletics that it is a moral, as well as a muscle, trainer."[120]

The moral, physical, and public good, as described by the proponents of football, in no way lessened the adverse criticism to which the sport was subjected. Professors Pegram, Bandy, Flowers, Welch, English, and others gave their public and private support to the game, but criticism which originated with the introduction of the sport was never allayed.[121] Much unfavorable comment came as a

[116] *Trinity Archive*, II, 49, 98, 136-137; III, 118; V, 129.
[117] *Ibid.*, IV (June, 1891), 153.
[118] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 230-231.
[119] Bassett, "Old Trinity Days," p. 192.
[120] *Trinity Archive*, III (Nov., 1889), 36; Pledge (Trinity College Papers).
[121] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 228-229, 253 ff.; *Trinity Archive*, III (Nov., 1889), 47, V (Jan., 1892), 169-172; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, p. 76.

result of the accounts of dissipation and revelry following games played by Eastern colleges. Rumors that football players at Trinity, together with their followers, indulged in some of these practices aroused the Methodists of North Carolina.[122] The editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* opposed "match games" in any sport. He said such games provoked "needless expense, . . . gambling and other immoralities" besides wasting time and arousing "states of excitement subversive of habits of study." Furthermore, he agreed with the Reverend W. A. Chandler, President of Emory and Henry College, that "every proper end of college life is hindered by match games, and no good purpose is promoted by them." The editor believed in "plenty of wholesome sport but not match games"; he asserted: "We do not object to the boys having games of ball at college—it is, no doubt, beneficial to them—but let intercollegiate games be discontinued."[123]

Second in popularity to football was baseball, which had been played intermittently at Trinity since the days of the Civil War. In the spring of 1888 "four or five clubs" were formed, and almost every afternoon a game was in progress on the campus. The first team, the "Crowell Nine," wore handsome uniforms bought with money raised by a "benefit." The next three years, 1889-1891, games were played with the University, Guilford College, and Wake Forest. Although there were high hopes for a successful season in the spring of 1892, no games were played. Perhaps this was caused by the emphasis upon football.[124]

The first recorded half day given by the faculty for field sports was on March 18, 1890, and "field day" thereafter became an annual occasion at Trinity. Some of the contests held on those days were the one-hundred-yard dash, high-jump, three-legged race, high-kick, tug-of-war, hurdle race, pole vault, one hundred-and-fifty-yard dash, broad jump, hop-skip-and-jump, and long throw.[125]

Other sports also became popular. Lacrosse was played in 1888, and two years later the *Trinity Archive* announced that "La Crosse

[122] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 227-228.
[123] March 30, 1892.
[124] *Trinity Archive*, I (April, May, 1888), 116, 136; II (June, 1889), 181; IV (May, June, 1891), 132, 134, 153; V (Feb., 1892), 208, 246.
[125] *Ibid.*, III, 159-160; IV, 134; V, 343-344.

has taken the place of La Grippe."[126] Between 1890-1892 lawn tennis became "all the rage," and rivalry developed over championship matches.[127] A new sport during 1891-1892 was "cycling." Bicycles were owned by students and faculty, and both enjoyed their "machines."[128]

While new interests and organizations were rapidly springing up, the older ones continued to function with varying degrees of success. After a period of dormancy, the Glee Club of former years was revived in February, 1890, as the College Glee Club. The club prepared enthusiastically for a series of concerts which it presented in Winston, Charlotte, and Greensboro. In May, 1890, the Trinity Glee Club joined with "the visiting young ladies from Greensboro" in furnishing entertainment in the College Chapel as a part of a program for a public debate. In spite of occasional spurts of enthusiasm, the organization had a difficult time. It met intermittently, probably because its membership was more interested in taking part in other activities.[129] Another musical organization was the College Choir. It was functioning as early as February, 1890, when it planned a concert—"the proceeds to be applied to the purchase of books."[130] The Theological Society, composed "largely of ministerial students," met weekly to discuss religious subjects or to be addressed by some speaker.[131]

The Columbian and Hesperian literary societies did not dominate student life as they had done formerly; nevertheless, they were among the more important of the extracurricular activities. The members held public and private debates and meetings, supported college projects, gave medals in recognition of outstanding ability, and conducted spirited political campaigns for the position of marshal at commencement. Besides approving the consolidation of their libraries, prescribing regulations, and collecting books, newspapers, magazines, and other materials for the library, they began a

[126] *Ibid.*, II (Oct., 1888), 9; III (March, 1890), 116.
[127] *Ibid.*, V (Nov., 1891, Feb., April, 1892), 83, 208, 246.
[128] *Ibid.*, V (Dec., 1891), 127.
[129] *Ibid.*, III (Feb., April, Dec., 1890), 94, 137-138, 160; IV (May, 1890), 46-47.
[130] *Ibid.*, III (Feb., 1890), 97.
[131] *Ibid.*, III (May, 1889), 156; Catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1892; Minutes of the Theological Society, 1887-1892 (Duke University Library).

movement to raise $10,000 for a library and society building. They proposed to raise $5,000 if the board of trustees agreed to raise a similar sum; but the board, already harassed by the college debt and the problem of raising funds, declined to commit itself on the proposition, although it approved their efforts.[132]

Convinced by Crowell that they had a "mission" to perform in North Carolina, the students supported every organization whose purpose they felt was in the public interest. They participated in meetings of the Farmers' Alliance, which met at Trinity frequently. They supported a branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and attended "Oyster Suppers" sponsored by the Ladies' Aid Society for the purpose of raising money for worthy causes. Concerned with the moral welfare of their fellows, they took part in annual religious revivals and participated in regular religious meetings at the College.[133]

Increasing activities for the public good did not eliminate other affairs for the undergraduates' pleasure. Since dances were not approved at the College, occasionally a group of students, some dressed as young women, held moonlight dances on the tennis court. As in former years, picnics at near-by Shepherd's Mountain, a very high hill, were merry social gatherings with the young women of the community. Parties at homes in the village were popular and often unusual in character.[134]

Encouraged by Professor Armstrong, interest in publications revived. Some of the young men acted as correspondents for their home newspapers and were interested in the development of journalism at Trinity. Sponsored by the two literary societies, the first issue of the *Trinity Archive* appeared in November, 1887. The

[132] *Trinity Archive*, II, 68-69, III, 18, 29-30, V, 9; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 135; Minutes of the Columbian Literary Society and the Hesperian Literary Society, 1887-1892; Catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1892; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 23, 1892; Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," pp. 168 ff.; Moose, "Memories of Old Trinity," p. 264; Bassett, "Old Trinity Days," pp. 192-193; H. E. Spence, "A Ramble among the Archives," *Trinity Alumni Register*, V (April, 1919), 5.

[133] "A Quadragenarian," "Trinity in the Last Years of the Past Century," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VIII (Oct., 1922), 181-182; *Trinity Archive*, II (Nov., 1888, Feb., 1889), 37, 97, III (June, 1890), 196; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 4, 1889, Nov. 26, 1890.

[134] *Trinity Archive*, III (Dec., 1889-Jan., 1890, Feb., 1890), 67, 97, V (March, 1892), 250; Spence, "A Ramble Among the Archives," pp. 6-7.

two editors-in-chief were John Spencer Bassett, Hesperian, and G. N. Raper, Columbian. Besides these, each society had editors for reviews, exchanges, "locals," and reports on the alumni. Professor J. L. Armstrong acted as "censor."[135] An editorial in the first issue stated its purpose: "Training in journalism is a legitimate part of College work. A proposition, however, to establish a *Chair* of Journalism merits the jocular tone with which the press greeted it. The practical exercise afforded in publishing a paper helps to make ready writers, and is a valuable auxiliary to the regular course."[136]

Taking as its model the New York *Nation*, the *Archive* consisted largely of "solid matter." Each issue usually contained sixteen to eighteen pages of printed material, and about a third of this space was given to short editorials on college policies and state and national affairs. The remainder of the space was devoted to literary articles, book reviews, exchanges, accounts of the alumni, and stories and news items about local people. Most of the material was written by students. In 1892 the form of the magazine was changed; the size of the pages was reduced and their number increased. During that year the *Archive* began the publication of articles based on original research in the field of history. Beginning in 1892, the *Trinity Archive* gradually developed into a literary magazine rather than the miscellany that it previously had been.[137]

The editors of the *Trinity Archive* had no doubt about their "mission":

> The college paper is indispensable to the highest development of the college. It is the medium through which it communicates with the public. It is the expression of the life, thought, and work of the students. It is the organ through which those interested in the College may keep themselves posted as to its various phases. But one of the great advantages of such a periodical accrues to the students themselves. Without consuming a great deal of time, it affords them rare opportunities for training in journalism. The college paper should differ in class from the ordinary

[135] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 51; Minutes of the Columbian and Hesperian Literary Societies, 1887; *Trinity Archive*, I (Nov., 1887), 1-20; Barnard, "The Columbian Literary Society," pp. 172-173; Few, "Twenty-five Years of Trinity College," pp. 152 ff.

[136] P. 3.

[137] *Trinity Archive*, I-V, XVII; J. S. Bassett, *The Contribution of the Archive to History* (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series V, Durham, N. C., 1905), 50-56.

newspapers; its matter is, in the main, literary. Especially in Southern colleges is there opening up a rich field for the students who contribute to the college paper. The literary, as well as the industrial, capacities of the South are yet to be developed. The signs of the times indicate that before the dawn of the twentieth century shall appear, many of the richest gems of American literature will be the product of our own fair South land, and college students through college papers should not fail to secure their share of this honor.[138]

The journalistic activity of the students was encouraged by members of the faculty who were engaged in literary productions of their own. Crowell set an example by frequent contributions to magazines and newspapers, by publishing his annual reports to the board of trustees, and by seeking to improve the college bulletins and catalogues.[139]

During the academic year 1888-1889 the College Publication Society was organized at Trinity. Membership was open to anyone upon the payment of the annual fee of one dollar. The object of the Society was the publication, "for general distribution among the principal College and University Libraries of America and Europe," of such literary and scientific productions "as may be deemed of permanent value." The first publication of this society was five hundred copies of a pamphlet written by Colonel W. L. Saunders.[140] During its first year the College Publication Society also produced an English textbook by Professor J. L. Armstrong; and the next year, a text in arithmetic by Professor J. M. Bandy.[141] Announcements of works in progress were made from time to time.[142] In 1892 the *Trinity Archive* carried a list of titles published:

The following publications of the College are offered for free distribution by mail, except where the price is given, upon application to the

[138] *Trinity Archive*, II (Jan., 1889), 68.

[139] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 61-63; *Report of the President of Trinity College, 1887-1888; Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887, Aug. 22, 1888, Aug. 28, 1889, Aug. 5, 1891; *Trinity Archive*, V (Jan., 1892), 172; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, p. 50.

[140] Catalogue of Trinity College, 1888-1889, pp. 49-50; William L. Saunders, *Lessons from Our North Carolina Records: An Address Read before the Faculty and Students of Trinity College, November 27, 1888* (Trinity College Publications, No. 1, Trinity, N. C., 1889), pp. 26 ff.; *Trinity Archive*, II (May, 1889), 150-151.

[141] Joseph L. Armstrong, *A Grammar of English, Parts I and II* (Trinity, N. C., 1889); Bandy, *Analytical Arithmetic in Six Parts.*

[142] *Trinity College Bulletin*, No. 6, p. 3.

President. Other institutions are invited to exchange similar publications of their own:

1. *The President's Annual Report, 1888-'89.* An edition of 500 copies published by the Rev. Dr. L. L. Nash, for the College.

3. Saunders: *Lessons from North Carolina Records.* Price 20 cents. An introduction to the Colonial History of North Carolina.

4. Crowell: *A Program of Progress.* An outline of internal improvements for North Carolina.

5. Armstrong: *Grammar of English,* Part I. Price 40 cents.

6. Bandy: *An Analytical Arithmetic.* Price 40 cents.

7. *The Constitution of Brazil,* Translation. Price 20 cents. Published by the School of Political and Social Science.

8. *The Quarterly Bulletins.* Periodical announcements of Courses, Gifts, Awards, Appointments, etc.[143]

A steadily increasing number of students engaged in the numerous activities of Trinity. During Crowell's first year at Trinity there were twelve additions to the student body. The next year (1888-1889), the number suffered a drop of forty-three. This decrease was caused primarily by the abolition of the preparatory department. The following year brought an increase of only two students. In 1890-1891, when the preparatory department was restored, there were sixty-four additions, and the next year brought a further increase of fifty-two. These increases brought the number of students to the highest point since the Civil War.[144]

As in earlier years, Trinity drew most of its students from North Carolina. Since the organization of the College, most of the young men had come from central and eastern Carolina. Because of special efforts by Crowell, an increasing number began to enter from the western part of the state. Perhaps Crowell was responsible, too, for the first students who came from places outside the South. There were nine from Pennsylvania, two from Connecticut, one from New York, and one from Nebraska. The following Southern states contributed to the student body: North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Florida.[145]

During this period women were again officially admitted as students. With its progressive policies, Trinity could not long re-

[143] *Trinity Archive,* V (Jan., 1892), 172-173.

[144] See Appendix, Tables 1 and 2; Catalogues of Trinity College, 1888-1890; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College,* pp. 45-47, 103, 228-231; *Raleigh Christian Advocate,* July 10, 1889.

[145] *Ibid.*

main untouched by the demands of the times in regard to female education. The *Trinity Archive* carried editorials and articles supporting the education of women in general and coeducation in particular.[146] In these opinions the students were echoing the public and private utterances of Crowell.[147] During the academic year 1890-1891 he permitted the names of three young women to be included in the regular classification of students. They were listed in the college catalogue as follows: Carrie Wofford Carpenter and Nellie Edwards, both members of the junior class; and Myrtle Freeman, a member of the preparatory department.[148] The next year (1891-1892) the names of these young women did not appear in the catalogue, but the names of four others were listed: Fannie Carr, Ida Carr, Ella B. Martin, and Flory L. Martin, all members of the freshman class.[149] The records of the board of trustees reveal no official action in regard to the education of women until the close of the year 1891-1892. On August 3, 1892, "It was moved that women graduates be admitted to instruction in the College, but not to residence on the grounds."[150]

As in former years, Trinity continued to draw most of its students from the ranks of the plain people.[151] The catalogue no longer invited indigent students to write to Trinity for aid in continuing their education. Instead, the catalogue pointed out that the College had "no fund of any kind which it is authorized to use to pay the expense of a student at College." The payment of tuition might be made, however on "certain easy conditions" or postponed until "after graduation." As a general rule, the catalogues declared that "no student needs to leave College for want of money to pay his tuition bill." It was pointed out that only sons of the ministers in the North Carolina Conference were allowed free tuition.[152] Nevertheless, this traditional privilege was questioned, and in 1887 Crowell suggested to the trustees that they recommend that the North Caro-

[146] *Trinity Archive*, IV (Feb., 1891), 77-78; V (Nov., 1891), 47-54.

[147] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 13, 1891; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, p. 69.

[148] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, pp. 11, 14.

[149] *Ibid., 1891-1892*, pp. 85, 86.

[150] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, p. 69.

[151] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1859-1893; Alumni Records, 1849-1893.

[152] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1892.

lina Conference pay such tuition out of the funds of the Conference. The trustees were interested, but considered the suggestion "premature" at that time.[153] Later, however, they requested and received from the Conference funds that could be appropriated for this purpose.[154]

This policy did not mean that Trinity was no longer interested in the education of "poor boys." It meant that the College was placing such attempts upon a basis in keeping with what it was financially able to do. In 1890 Crowell defined his position in this respect in an article which was published by the press of the state. Among other things, he said: "Be the best that you can be, young man; then men and women will risk money on you, if you want them to, in your effort to get an education; for every dollar you earn with diligence, integrity and earnestness, you can borrow ten."[155] Josephus Daniels approved Crowell's stand and declared editorially that the attitude of the President of Trinity was expressed in "words of wisdom."[156]

By 1891 a plan for a loan fund was outlined. Before the coming of Crowell, some of the trustees had been working on this problem. In 1890 the Alumni Association took up the project, drafted a constitution for a loan association, and set themselves the task of carrying out its provisions. The organization was known as the Trinity Loan Association, and its service consisted "in getting the use of capital for the purpose of developing the spirit that is in young men."[157] In commenting upon this purpose, Crowell declared: "Millions of dollars go into the enterprises of material development, but we are far from having all we should have to get the spiritual resources of the people." Providing loans, not gifts, for worthy young men would help to conserve these resources. He believed firmly in helping students to help themselves, but he had no patience

[153] Minutes of the Transactions of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, 1887.

[154] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 138-139.

[155] J. F. Crowell, "The Education of Poor Boys," *State Chronicle*, Aug. 13, 1890; J. F. Crowell, *The Education of Poor Boys* (Educational Tract No. 2, pamphlet, Trinity, n. d.); *Trinity Archive*, III (May, 1890), 146-149.

[156] *State Chronicle*, Aug. 13, 1890.

[157] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 7, 1891. The Constitution also appears in this issue.

with young men who assumed the attitude that society owed them an education.[158]

During this period there was a steady increase in the number of young men graduating from Trinity. This number rose from eight in the class of 1888 to eighteen in the class of 1892. These young men, together with those who attended Trinity but did not graduate, entered various fields in the economic, political, and intellectual life of their region. In the years following their graduation many made distinguished names for themselves; among these were John Spencer Bassett, Daniel Calhoun Roper, George F. Ivey, Stonewall Jackson Durham, Plato Durham, Daniel T. Edwards, W. I. Cranford, T. C. Daniels, Fred Harper, Robert Lee Durham, W. T. McDowell, W. F. Wood, E. T. Bynum, the Reverends William B. Lee, Robert L. Davis, Jacob Robert Moore, A. W. Plyler, M. T. Plyler, L. S. Massey, W. H. Willis, and others.[159]

As in former years, the alumni sought ways of expressing their loyalty to Trinity. Meetings and banquets were held at the College and elsewhere. Plans were outlined for raising funds, donations were made, and students were urged to attend Trinity. The importance of the alumni in the affairs of the College received official recognition in 1891, when the provision was made that twelve of the thirty-six trustees be elected by "the graduates of the College."[160]

The Administration

In 1888 Crowell enumerated the specific goals of his administration:

1. To keep the College on a sound financial basis.
2. To widen the sphere of influence of the College, bringing it into more intimate contact with the outside world and thus secure patronage.
3. To establish new chairs of instruction, and strengthen those already established as fast as our means and needs of the times require. . . .
4. To enlist wealth in the cause of Christian education by private endowment, believing that noble-minded men and women will yet be found who will be the munificent patrons of learning and will place the College on a secure foundation by giving of their fortunes in trust for

[158] J. F. Crowell, *The Education of Poor Boys.*

[159] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1894-1895*, pp. 74-75; Alumni Records, 1887-1941; *Trinity* or *Duke Alumni Register*, I-XXVII (1915-1941).

[160] *Ibid.; History and Government of Duke University* (pamphlet), p. 12.

the maintenance of any kind of instruction or for furnishing this institution with buildings, libraries, laboratories, thus perpetuating their names and doing continuous service to mankind for centuries to come.[161]

Inspired by these goals, Crowell gave special attention to each division of the College. One of his main concerns was the assembling of a faculty of specialists. He was appreciative of the professors who had served the College before his coming and who had welcomed him on his arrival. He found them "cooperative" and an "earnest, eager, expectant group of teachers, everyone of whom was in love with his work, had ample experience, and meant to do the best possible work under the circumstances."[162] They had a kind of educational intensity which they imparted to their students. For the most part, they used the textbook method of instruction, which, Crowell was careful to point out, was also used to some extent during this period at Dartmouth, Yale, and other colleges of their rank. He held formal and informal conferences with the faculty; and together they worked out improvements in methods of instruction. Students were quick to respond to new ways of presenting material; and they searched the library, laboratories, and museum for supplementary data.[163]

The rapid increase in the number of courses offered called for a larger faculty, and in 1889 the *Archive* pointed out this need:

It has been more than hinted that Trinity is to have additions to her Faculty. However soon these additions may be made, it is certain that they will not be made before they are much needed. She already has in her Faculty eight earnest, energetic workers; but no eight men can do the work that should be required of twice that number. . . let the number of workmen increase. Think of this, friends and Trustees.[164]

Instead of having "men-of-all-work and hence of over-work," Crowell decided that Trinity must have more professors trained in fields of specialized knowledge. This opinion he made known during his first year at Trinity, and from that time until the end of his administration he advanced steadily toward his goal. He had

[161] *Report of the President of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1888*, pp. 3 ff.
[162] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 40, 77.
[163] *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, 49; *Trinity Archive*, II (Oct., Nov., 1888), 9-10, 39.
[164] *Trinity Archive*, II (June, 1889), 175-176.

specific ideas about the organization and qualification of the faculty that he hoped to assemble. Freshmen and sophomores should be instructed by "tutors of peculiar fitness to do the work laid out in that department—to give each student the discipline of mind and the store of useful knowledge needed for higher attainments." The range of the tutors' work should be limited; their aim was "to get the student ready to think with developed powers under his control." Crowell described such a tutor as follows:

> Hence a tutor must have patience for reiteration; has to insist on accuracy of statement and proof; has to require precision and familiarity in the knowledge of facts; has to assign tasks and see that they are done; then lastly, to secure for each student an orderly arrangement of acquired knowledge as the culminating part of his work in academic studies.[165]

For the instruction of juniors and seniors, Crowell advocated the employment of a "Scientific Faculty" whose work would require a technique different from that used by the tutors. This faculty should see that students during their last two years at college acquired "a knowledge *of scientific inquiry*"—a helpful acquisition in any field of endeavor. Concerning the function of this faculty, he declared:

> *The College, through its Scientific Faculty, must ceaselessly study humanity, not books alone.* It must be indefatigable in the collection of facts pertaining to the supreme concerns of men. It must impart light, out of the present facts and past history, to every problem that troubles the thoughts or touches the hearts of men. It must not teach everything it knows, but must interpret intelligently every tendency of the times by restless research. . . . *Each college chair should make good its claim to its own existence. A failure to do so must either be the fault of the incumbent or of the very nature of the subject taught. Every institution, or part of an institution of society, stands or falls according as it proves or fails to prove its indispensableness in doing the work of society, whatever that work.*

Crowell held that no member of this faculty had a right to claim public support if he did "absolutely nothing but receive a salary and teach a few hours of each livelong day the knowledge that other men have gleaned and winnowed, without ever giving directly a

[165] *Report of the President of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1888*, pp. 7 ff. The discussion of Crowell's ideas concerning the qualifications and organization of the faculty is drawn from the same source.

single hour out of a whole year to the services of the public either by writing or by speaking, or by bringing a solitary item of enlightenment of the public upon its rankling questions." He asserted further that there were already "too many colleges that are only self-exhibiting museums, colleges that have no conception at all of the relation of the college to the public or of its living duty to society." He described the place of the college as interpreted through its "Scientific Faculty":

The sphere of the college, through its Scientific Faculty, is then not only to teach young men, in the lecture or recitation room at college, what the world has thought or done, but to take possession of every available agency outside of college to teach society itself. . . .

The college of today in America must be a place where a courageous independence of thought is fostered side by side with an ardent love of truth and righteousness. There is no phase of civil, social, political and industrial life that it must not study so as to be able to show the true relation of every tendency to those higher interests, the moral and spiritual good of society.

Not only must the college be the leader in the intellectual life of society, but it must be the mother of reforms. The college of today may often have to defy the public on new questions, but it must bravely yet sympathetically instruct the public. It must fight against prejudice wisely. It must undermine that conservatism that never learns anything or never does anything. It must curb the fast spirit of the times that takes no account of the past. It must stand like a wall against a too one-sided development of society in any aspect whatever. It must have in it the eyes of prophets who foresee dangers and have the moral courage to forewarn us of them. . . .

That intellectual leadership, which is the one criterion of a living college, must interpret to Church and State rationally and understandingly the thoughts, the feelings, and the tendencies of the times. . . .

The American College has now forced upon it the duty of quickening civil life into a recognition of the moral forces which modern States are so prone to set at naught or underestimate. No institution, then, among those that do the work of society needs so much moral stamina as an American College that does even half of its duty. . . .

A College of this kind—an institution whose life depends upon its proving its indispensableness to human progress—must not be manned with mummies. . . . A college faculty must command the respect of the public as thinkers and leaders of thought. That narrow conception of the sphere of the college that would confine the expression of conclusions to the recitation-room alone is exactly three centuries behind the times. . . .

He who would gag any earnest thinker in presenting the results of his inquiries on any serious subject is born out of season and an enemy of his age.

Crowell emphasized two criteria in estimating the value of a teacher: (1) "fitness to raise up disciples," and (2) "productiveness" in scholarship. A teacher "must discipline young minds to patience in the search for truth, his enthusiasm must be contagious and his industry exemplary." Moreover, Crowell declared that "*no man is fit to be in a college chair, where thinking is a business, who does not leave his generation richer, either in the amount of knowledge or in the application of knowledge to human needs, than it was when he found it.*" He gave a thrust at recitation-room-minded teachers, as he pointed out contributions of American and European educational systems and challenged scholars in the South to rise to their opportunities:

> Some day some Yankee will invent a machine for hearing recitations and then there will be a great many persons thrown out of employment by competition with improved machinery. But while the Scotch schools, the English colleges, the German gymnasia, and the French lycees are giving contribution after contribution to questions of the day in literature, in science, and in practical life, I see no reason for unproductiveness except incompetency, indifference or overwork on the part of the faculties of American colleges in general. Yet the Northern colleges, and the Western, too, are marked by a literary activity that is highly commendable. But no portion of the world has such a career open for its young investigators and writers as the South has today. It must be left to us to study its educational needs, its industrial history in slave-labor and free-labor, its commercial development, including the history of its internal transportation from the days of turnpikes and plank-roads down through the development of the existing railway systems; its complex social problems—a field for the philosopher and the novelist—its system of local government, its land laws, its financial history by cities and States, the history of its individual schools; the defects of universal suffrage as exhibited in practical politics; the sanitation and morality of our cities; the history of our own Commonwealth yet to be re-written; the wealth of Colonial records to be studied, so that with the distant experience of colony and Commonwealth to guide us we may not repeat their mistakes in our progress in political and religious life.

With such standards it is small wonder that Crowell considered the securing of a faculty of specialists one of the most difficult tasks that faced him. To find such a faculty was difficult enough, but

to find one that would win the approval of the Methodists and at the same time command the respect of the nondenominational groups in North Carolina was a much greater problem.[166] There were many applicants, but few were fit. Crowell was firmly committed to the cause of Christian education, but he wanted to guard Trinity against sectarianism. The editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* demanded "Methodist Teachers for Methodist Schools."[167] Crowell found that able Methodist ministers would not desert their pulpits for a position on the faculty.[168] Many friends of Trinity opposed any policy that appeared to encourage sectarianism.[169]

By 1892 Crowell had collected a faculty wholly Methodist but one whose character and training commanded the respect of the state. They were a group of able young men trained in "Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Yale, Toronto, Michigan, Virginia and North Carolina." The majority of them were natives either of North Carolina or the South; but the North, the West, Canada, and Australia were represented.[170]

Of these teachers, Gannaway, Pegram, Heitman, Bandy, and English continued their services of former years. The first new member to be added to the faculty was Joseph L. Armstrong, "Professor of English"—the first professor so listed in the college catalogue. A graduate of Randolph-Macon College, he had studied at Johns Hopkins and in Cambridge and Berlin before coming to Trinity. One of the ablest members of the faculty, he wrote for publication, organized instruction in English on a graduate level, lectured at various places in North Carolina, and supported actively the Modern Language Association.[171]

For the year 1888-1889 William Price was appointed Professor of French, the first full-time professor to be "assigned to French only." Price had been a classmate of Crowell at Yale, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He traveled and studied

[166] *State Chronicle*, May 12, 1891.
[167] July 6, 1892.
[168] *State Chronicle*, May 12, 1891.
[169] *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1890.
[170] *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1890, May 12, 1891; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1891; catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1892; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1887-1892.
[171] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1887, pp. 112-114; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 13, June 7, 1887, Oct. 30, Nov. 4, 1889, Jan. 6, 1892; Armstrong, *Grammar of English, Parts I and II.*

two years in Europe and taught in the Sheffield Scientific School and Yale College before he came to Trinity. Considered one of the finest French scholars in America, he was a teacher of great promise, but ill health forced him to give up his work after one year at Trinity.[172]

Only one new member was added to the faculty for the year 1889-1890. Frank E. Welch was made Instructor in Greek and Latin, and the next year his rank was raised to that of full professor. A graduate of the University of Michigan, he had spent almost three years studying in Europe. He was considered able and original, though somewhat eccentric.[173]

The academic year 1890-1891 saw seven additions to the instructional staff. These appointments included one professor and five instructors, some of whom taught in the preparatory department.[174] The Reverend L. W. Crawford was chosen Professor of Pastoral Theology and Chaplain of the College. A graduate and postgraduate of the University of Virginia, for several years he had been a popular minister and member of the North Carolina Conference.[175] Of the other six members of the faculty elected in 1890, all but one were graduates of Trinity or were later to receive degrees from the College.

A prominent member of the class of 1888, John Spencer Bassett, had taught two years in the Durham Graded School before he was appointed Principal of the High School and instructor in English at Trinity. There he taught for one year before leaving to enter Johns Hopkins, where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1894. He returned to Trinity as Professor of History in 1893 and remained until 1906. During that time he became well known as a teacher and writer.[176]

[172] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 178-179; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 49-60; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 20, 1888, Oct. 30, 1889; *Trinity Archive*, III (Dec., 1889-Jan., 1890), 67.

[173] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1889-1890*, p. 4; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 214-215; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 19, 1889.

[174] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1890-1892.

[175] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1890-1891, pp. 214-215; *Trinity College Bulletin* (Supplement), No. 6, p. 4; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 5, Dec. 24, 1890, June 24, 1891.

[176] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 214-215; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 25, 1890; W. T. Laprade, "Administration of Presi-

William Ivey Cranford, who received his degree from Trinity in 1891, had taught school a year before he was appointed instructor in Greek; the next year he became instructor in Greek and English. In this way began the career of one of the best-known teachers and administrators at Trinity.[177] A classmate of Cranford was William Thomas McDowell, who was employed as instructor in Mathematics.[178]

Blake Baker Nicholson, a graduate of the class of 1890 and a recipient of the Brantley York Fellowship in the same year, was made "Instructor in High School" for the year 1890-1891. During the year the catalogue also listed him as the only "Post-Graduate"—the first person to be so specified in any catalogue. He studied law the following summer at the University of Virginia and the next year became instructor in law at Trinity.[179]

For the year 1890-1891 the college catalogue listed George C. Sutton as instructor in stenography. In March, 1890, he resigned to accept a position in Arkansas.[180]

The greatest expansion in the faculty came for the year 1891-1892. A large increase in the enrollment was expected, and ten new men were added to the faculty, but three were unable to assume their duties. A. C. Avery, Dean of the Law School, began his work the following year. The Reverend T. N. Ivey, who was appointed instructor in Latin and history, was an active member of the North

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dent Kilgo," *Trinity Alumni Register*, VIII (April, 1922), 4 ff.; Paul N. Garber, *John Carlisle Kilgo: President of Trinity College, 1894-1910* (Durham, 1937), pp. 239-279; *Trinity Alumni Register*, II (April, 1916), 11; *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 154; "Program of Commencement Exercises, June 14, 1888" (Trinity College Papers); *Who's Who in America, 1926-1927*, pp. 235-236; *In Memoriam: William Kenneth Boyd* (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXII, Durham, N. C., 1938), p. 5; Tilley, *Trinity College Historical Society, 1891-1941*, pp. 23-26; *D.A.B.*, II, 38-39.

[177] Alumni Records, 1887-1935; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 17, Sept. 2, 1891; *Trinity Archive*, V (Nov., 1891), 61-62; "A Quadragenarian," "Trinity in the Last Days of the Past Century," p. 184.

[178] Alumni Records, 1887-1930; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 17, 1891; *Trinity Archive*, V (Nov., 1891), 61 ff.

[179] Alumni Records, 1885-1930; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, pp. 10, 11, 18; *Trinity Archive*, V (Nov., 1891), 62; R. L. Flowers, "Blake Baker Nicholson," *Trinity Alumni Register*, III (Oct., 1917), 203-205; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1891.

[180] *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, p. 10; *Trinity Archive*, IV (Feb., May, 1890), 78, 84, 133.

Carolina Conference; and during 1891-1892 he was filling out an unexpired term as pastor. He never became an active member of the faculty because financial difficulties forced contraction in the teaching staff. The same conditions prevented the Reverend S. B. Turrentine from assuming his position of instructor in New Testament, Greek, and Hebrew.[181]

Of the seven active new members of the faculty in 1891-1892, four were professors, two were instructors, and one was "Director of Physical Education." Of these men, only one had been educated at Trinity.

The first full-time professor of biology was J. M. Stedman, educated at the State Normal School of his native state of New York and at Cornell. After holding an instructorship at Cornell for two years, he accepted a position with the United States Department of Agriculture and came from this position to Trinity. An author and a collector, he brought with him a library and scientific equipment of various kinds.[182]

In 1891 C. B. Hinde, of Missouri, became the first full-time professor of physics. A graduate of Central College in his native state, he studied two years at Johns Hopkins. He was professor of chemistry and physics in the State Normal College, Missouri, when he was elected to a position in Trinity.[183]

The catalogue for 1891-1892 listed for the first time a full professor of history, Stephen B. Weeks. A North Carolinian, he held the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts as well as Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Carolina. Entering Johns Hopkins later, he also received a doctorate from that institution. A young scholar of promise, he became a writer and collector of distinction.[184]

[181] President Crowell, "Trinity Matters," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 16, 1891; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 59-61.

[182] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, Sept. 2, 1891; *Trinity Archive*, V (Oct., 1891), 7-10; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1891-1892*.

[183] *Ibid.*

[184] *D. A. B.*, XIX, 603-604; S. B. Weeks, "North Carolina—Old and New," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, Sept. 23, 1891; *Trinity Archive*, V (Oct., 1891), 7-10; *Trinity Alumni Register*, IV (July, 1918), 126-127; *Who's Who In America, 1916-1917*, p. 2611; Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 434-441; S. B. Weeks, "Our Baltimore Letter," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 28, 1888; Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 655; Tilley, *Trinity College Historical Society, 1891-1941*, pp. 1-22.

H. Austin Aikins, a young Canadian, was elected Professor of Logic and Philosophy in 1891. He had received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Toronto in 1887; and after teaching a year in the University of Southern California, he entered Yale, where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1891.[185]

Thomas Wood Valentine, an Australian, was elected instructor in Latin for the year 1891-1892. He was educated mainly in England at King Edward's School, Birmingham. About 1882 he came to the United States and taught several years in South Carolina. He later entered the University of North Carolina and studied there two years before joining the faculty at Trinity.[186]

Thomas Cooper Daniels, a North Carolinian and a member of the class of 1891, became the first "Director of Physical Culture" at Trinity. After his graduation he also studied law at the College. During his college career he played and coached football and became one of the first coaches of that sport in the South.[187]

A keen judge of men, Crowell added to his faculty of 1891-1892 a young instructor destined to become one of the most beloved teachers and administrators in the history of Trinity College. In 1891 Robert Lee Flowers was elected "Instructor in Mathematics and Electrical Engineering." He was born in 1870 at York Institute, Alexander County, North Carolina. His father, Colonel George Washington Flowers, was for many years a friend and official of Trinity. Robert Lee Flowers attended the public schools of his native county and prepared for college at the Taylorsville Male Academy. In 1887 he was appointed to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. Having fulfilled the requirements for a commission, he was graduated in 1891. With a high record for excellent service, he was granted a discharge from the Navy in order that he might return to North Carolina and accept a teaching position in Trinity. At the time of his appointment, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* stated that Flowers was a "young man of the finest Chris-

[185] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1891; *Trinity Archive*, V (Oct., 1891), 7-10; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1891-1892*, p. 28.

[186] *Ibid.*; Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 634.

[187] Alumni Records, 1888-1942; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 2, 1891; *Trinity Archive*, V (Oct., 1891), 23-24.

A Faculty Group about 1891

Standing, left to right: D. A. Houston, Robert L. Flowers. *Sitting:* S. B. Weeks, J. M. Bandy, J. L. Armstrong, F. E. Welch.

Theological Society, 1891

Invitation to the Commencement Party, 1888

The picture appearing on the lower right corner of the card is that of President John F. Crowell.

Invitation to the Last Commencement Held at Trinity College in Randolph County, 1891

tian character"; and that in addition to his duties as instructor in mathematics, he would be in charge of "electrical engineering, for which department the College has just purchased an entire electric plant . . . which will constitute a part of the school of Technology." The *Advocate* announced further that the young instructor would "spend the summer . . . at Asheville in the electric plant there" in order to add to the training that he had received from his studies at the Naval Academy. The editor of the *Advocate* was enthusiastic about this new addition to the faculty: "Young and popular in manners, he will be sure to attract by his superior personal and professional qualities."[188] When the time came for Flowers to take up his studies with the electric company, a better way was found for him to extend his training by immediate service with the College. During the summer of 1891 Crowell was busy supervising the erection of new college buildings in Durham. When Flowers came to Durham on his way to his summer work, Crowell decided to have him remain in Durham to help install electrical fixtures. As a result, he spent the summer wiring the college buildings, including new homes for the faculty. In the fall of 1891, when the College opened for its last academic year in Randolph County, Flowers took up his teaching duties at Trinity. A student, writing for the *Trinity Archive*, commented prophetically in 1891: "Mr. Flowers, besides being exceedingly well-posted along his particular branch, is enterprising, a natural-born instructor, and destined to be of great benefit to this institution in the future."[189]

To aid him in the administration of the College, Crowell organized the faculty into "Permanent Committees." These committees included from one to five members appointed by the President, and were as follows: Financial, Program, Reading-Room, and Publication. Besides meeting with these committees from time to time,

[188] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1891.

[189] *Trinity Archive*, V (Nov., 1891). This sketch is based on the following references: "Professor Robert Lee Flowers," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XI (April, 1925), 167-170; *Trinity Archive*, IV (Feb., 1891), 83; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 24, 1891; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1891-1892*, p. 28; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 60; *Who's Who in America, 1940-1941*, p. 944; *Who's Who in the South, 1927* (Washington, 1927), p. 264; Conner, *North Carolina: Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth*, III, 487; A. A. McKethan, Jr., to "Mother," Dec. 6, 1890 (McKethan Papers).

Crowell presided over the weekly faculty meetings.[190] To aid with discipline and at the same time to bring the faculty and students into closer relationship, Crowell appointed a "dean" for each class. The dean worked with a student "monitor" in handling such routine matters as attendance and ordinary infringement of college regulations.[191] These rules, written out in detail and published in the college catalogue, followed closely the pattern set in former years.[192]

Two professorships were endowed during this period. The "J. S. Carr Chair of Greek and Metaphysics" was established by Julian S. Carr, but was mentioned in only one year, 1888-1889. It was supported by Carr's contribution to the endowment fund of the College. The other professorship was the "Winston Chair of History and Political and Social Science," held by Crowell between 1888 and 1893 and supported by the Centenary Methodist Church, Winston, North Carolina.[193]

The salaries of the faculty were little more than those of previous years, nor were they much better paid. For his first year at Trinity Crowell received a salary of $1,500 and traveling expenses, and the following year he received $2,000. There was no further change during this period. For months after he came to Trinity, he denied himself any payment in order that the faculty might receive theirs without delay. He believed that the first obligation of a college president to his faculty was prompt payment of salaries, and he sometimes contributed from his own private means for this purpose.[194]

After Crowell had remained unpaid for several months during his first year at Trinity, he discussed the matter with Alspaugh, president of the board of trustees. Alspaugh was a member of the Centenary Methodist Church of Winston, which at that time was contributing $1,500 annually toward the support of Trinity. Learning of Crowell's dilemma, the members of Centenary in June, 1888,

[190] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1892.

[191] Minutes of the Transactions of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, Sept., 1887; *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 150-151.

[192] See catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1890.

[193] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1888, 1892; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 158, 182.

[194] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 207-208; Minutes of the Transactions of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, 1887; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 114-115, 127, 149, 165, 178-179, 1891-1900, p. 54.

agreed to guarantee the President's annual salary of $2,000 for the next three years. In reporting this donation to the board of trustees, James A. Gray, treasurer of the endowment fund, stated that this was equivalent to holding a $25,000 endowment for three years at 8 per cent interest.[195]

From 1887 to 1892 the salaries of the professors ranged from $500 to $1,200 a year. During the first three years of this period most of the professors were supposed to receive an annual salary of $1,000. During the year 1889-1890 there was some agitation for increase in salaries, and the next year they were raised to $1,100. The following year, 1891-1892, they were set at the highest figure of this period—$1,200.[196] The salaries of the instructors were seldom stated in the official records of the College. The few listed ranged in amount from $600 to $800 a year.[197]

Difficulty over salaries was one of the causes leading to severe dissension between Crowell and his faculty during the last years of the College in Randolph County. Moreover, question over the removal of Trinity widened a rift already developing between some of the older members of the faculty and Crowell. They wished the College to remain in Randolph, where they had built their homes and established their families. Furthermore, they did not want to leave Randolph County with its traditions of Braxton Craven, just as they sought to cling to the patterns of thought and activity of the Craven administration. They could not always agree with Crowell in his reorganization of the curriculum, in his methods of dealing with students, and in his belief in student self-government. New members of the faculty, disappointed over the failure to secure prompt payment of their salaries and irritated by the authoritative

[195] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 158; V. A. Sharp, "Trinity College Matters," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 10, 1888.

[196] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 127, 140, 149, 165, 178-179, 214-215, 1891-1900, p. 54. An editorial in the college magazine declared:

"There is not a man in the faculty of Trinity who does not have the energy and the ability to fill stations which bring ample rewards to their occupants. Such men are in demand at all times, and liberal rewards are offered for their services. But are these rewards offered at Trinity? Are the Professors' salaries what they should be? Are these salaries, small as they are, always paid in full? Can these men afford to continue in this way? A more important question is, *Will they do it?*" *Trinity Archive*, II (June, 1889), 176.

[197] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 165, 178-179, 1891-1900, p. 54.

methods of the president, joined the ranks of disgruntled members. Dissensions beginning in 1888 or earlier grew in bitterness during the next four years.[198] After the trustees had increased salaries in 1891, the board became involved in financial difficulties and asked the faculty to accept reductions in salary; they refused. They, in turn, asked the board to define their authority and that of the President in the administration of the College. The board placed the authority of the President above that of the faculty.[199]

In spite of dissensions among the faculty, there is no indication that they allowed their quarrels to interfere seriously with their professional responsibilities. By study, travel, writing, and attendance of meetings of learned societies, they sought professional growth.[200] Both as teachers in the classroom and as advisers for extracurricular activities, they sought to train the students in the ways of scholarship and citizenship. The students were quick to respond in educational growth and personal esteem for the faculty.[201] The serious attitude of the students toward their studies and the faculty in no way, however, interfered with the age-old sport of nicknaming the faculty and laughing at the ways of teachers.[202]

The President, faculty, and students were directed by the board of trustees which before January, 1892, functioned under the charter of 1859. The majority were Methodist ministers who had either attended or held degrees from Trinity. The policy of adding influential and wealthy Methodist laymen to the trustees was continued from former years. John H. Ferree, W. R. Odell, E. T. Boykin, Walter Clark, and B. N. Duke added financial strength as well as

[198] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 14, Oct. 9, 23, Nov. 6, 20, 1889; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1888-1892; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 202 ff.

[199] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, pp. 33-35, 39-40, 50-53.

[200] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 12, 1888, Dec. 24, 1890; *Trinity Archive*, VI (Sept., 1892), 34.

[201] M. T. Plyler, "In the Days of Crowell," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XIII (Dec., 1927), 386; W. P. Few, "Report of the President of Trinity College to the Board of Trustees, June, 1919," *Trinity Alumni Register*, V (July, 1919), 86; W. H. Pegram, "From Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 26, 1888.

[202] Moose, "Memories of Old Trinity," pp. 262-263; W. F. Wood, "Some Reminiscences of Old Trinity," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XVI (May, 1930), 184; *Trinity Archive*, I (June, 1888), 155 ff.; Spence, "A Ramble among the Archives," p. 7.

prestige and ability to the board. Notwithstanding the addition of these men, Crowell said later that the trustees were "rather too largely clerical, not sufficiently representative of prominent business men and quite inadequate in graduate representation."[203]

Many years after Crowell left Trinity he wrote that his relations with the board of trustees had not been entirely satisfactory. Intrusted with the property of the College and the election of the faculty and officers, the trustees actually functioned in such matters only upon the recommendation of the president. The conferring of degrees was also the function of the board, and again the trustees acted in these affairs only upon the recommendation of the President and faculty. Ordinarily the board met twice a year; other meetings were special and attendance was small. Only the most important matters could insure the presence of a majority. In an attempt to remedy this, in 1888 the board decided that two absences without "satisfactory excuse . . . shall work the exclusion of such persons from the membership of this Board."[204] Poor attendance at meetings was due to the fact that the trustees not only were busy with their own work, but also were scattered throughout the state. Moreover, they paid their own traveling expenses. As a result, the executive committee of the board handled the business of the College, subject to the approval of the trustees at their annual meetings. The outcome of this system was "to throw the operation of the College, its planning and its prosecution of projects" upon Crowell.[205]

During the first two or three years of Crowell's administration this system worked fairly well. The board functioned along traditional lines and under somewhat settled conditions. When complicating factors arose from an expanding curriculum, instructional staff, student body, and relations with the public, Crowell felt, however, a pressing need for administrative assistance. He received little, and felt that his conduct of the College lacked efficiency just at a time when it was sorely needed. Even this defect did not worry him so much as his belief that the trustees as a whole failed to sense the

[203] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 221; *History and Government of Duke University*, p. 12; catalogues of Trinity College, 1867-1895.

[204] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 165.

[205] *Ibid.*, 1887-1894; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 217-218.

significance of the changes taking place at Trinity. To this lack of understanding Crowell traced many of his administrative difficulties.[206]

Crowell's criticism was written years after he left Trinity. The official records of the trustees do not always agree with his statements. Including both conservative and liberal men, the trustees were as a whole progressive in their outlook. The election of Crowell was an indication of this fact. Every major policy of Crowell's administration had been discussed by the board before the coming of the young president whose enthusiasm and energy transformed ideas into actualities. Agreeing with his policies on the whole, the trustees often questioned his methods. Even when they differed with him, they often supported his stand. Perhaps their greatest mistake was the failure to provide adequate administrative assistance for Crowell at a time when it was badly needed.[207]

Crowell's relationship with the Methodist conferences was similar to that of his predecessors. He was officially introduced to the North Carolina Conference on December 1, 1887, and a few days later presented his first full report on the College. He began his address by reminding his hearers of his purpose in coming to Trinity: "To take things as they are and to join hands with you in trying to make them as they ought to be." He then described specifically the work of the College, improvements, and plans for the future.[208] The Conference was impressed with both Crowell and his report, and the presiding bishop observed "very earnestly and enthusiastically": "You all have got the right man, I don't care where you got him from. The man and the occasion have met." The Conference "was in full accord with the Bishop's expression and sentiment."[209]

During the years that followed, Crowell made the traditional oral and written reports to the North Carolina Conference; and after the division of the Conference he made similar reports to both

[206] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 217-222.

[207] Minutes of the Transactions of the Executive Committee, 1887; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1892.

[208] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 82 ff.; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 133-141; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887.

[209] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1887; *State Chronicle*, Dec. 8, 1887.

branches of Methodism.[210] As the owner of Trinity, the Conference functioned as it had in the past. It reviewed the work of the College; approved trustee, presidential, faculty, and alumni appointees; raised money for the College; solicited students; approved administrative policies; aided in the function of the board of visitors; and in general gave the work of the College its support and criticism.[211] When the Western North Carolina Conference was organized in 1890 as co-owner of the College, it shared in these activities.[212] There was, however, a movement among the members of the newly organized Conference to sell its interest in Trinity and to establish a college of its own. Although this movement showed considerable strength and resulted in some enmity toward Trinity, the Western Conference finally decided to give its support to the College.[213]

Shortly after Crowell assumed his duties at Trinity he became a local preacher in the Methodist Church. Upon the organization of the Western North Carolina Conference and upon the recommendation of the Quarterly Conference of Randolph Circuit, he was "admitted on trial" as a regular minister of the Conference. The next year, at his request, he was "continued in the class of the first year"; and in 1892 he was admitted into "full connection" as a member of the Western North Carolina Conference.[214]

In another way Crowell sought to bind the conferences more closely to Trinity. Ministers were appointed to the faculty. This brought both approval and disapproval, since some Methodists believed that the College was robbing the ministry of some of its ablest men. Animosities of previous years had not entirely died out, and

[210] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 112-114, 174-175, 206-207, 233-237, 261, 1890-1893, pp. 24, 51-54, 70, 87, 92, 109-110; Journal of the Western North Carolina Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 12, 45; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 238-239.

[211] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 112-114, 174-175, 206-207, 233, 237, 261, 1889-1893, pp. 24, 51-54, 70, 87, 92, 109-110; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 4, 1889.

[212] Journal of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 12, 45; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 28, 1890; *Trinity Archive*, V (Jan., 1892), 174-175.

[213] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 30, 1892, April 13, 1893; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 83-84.

[214] Journal of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference, Nov. 26-Dec. 1, 1890, p. 24, Nov. 11-16, 1891, p. 12, Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 1892, p. 13; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 25, 1889, Dec. 10, 1890, Nov. 18, 1891, Dec. 7, 1892.

new ideas fanned old embers and kindled new ones. Some of the graduates of the College thought that the trustees included too many preachers "who were not particularly fitted to contribute wisely" to the administration of the College. Nevertheless, Crowell found great loyalty among the ministerial ranks; and he considered this support one of the greatest assets of the College.[215] He declared later, however, that this loyalty, valuable as it was, could not wholly compensate for the most serious shortcoming of the ministry. The College was "striving to be adaptive and progressive in its aims and spirit"; and, "on the whole," the conferences were conservative and often reactionary.[216] The progressive spirit was "a disturber of the status quo," and this the ministers could not accept. It seemed to Crowell that they no longer saw eye to eye with John Wesley, who declared, "The World is my parish." Instead, the preachers reversed "that inspiring watchword into the deadening substitute '*The parish is my world.*' "[217]

This criticism, like that of the trustees, was written long after Crowell left Trinity. There is little evidence of major disagreements between him and the conferences during this period (1887-1892). While they differed with him in detail, they supported his major policies.[218]

Notwithstanding the reactionary attitude of some of the ministers, Crowell worked constantly to expand the educational interests of Methodism. In order to unify the efforts of the North Carolina and the Western North Carolina conferences and at the same time win the support of the individual clergy in both bodies, Crowell proposed educational meetings of representatives from both conferences. The educational societies of the two conferences approved this proposal, and as a result a Methodist educational convention was organized, which held its first meeting in May, 1891. Crowell was one of its most influential leaders; he served on various committees,

[215] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 60-61, 130-134, 233-241.

[216] *Ibid.*, pp. 239-241.

[217] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[218] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1887-1892; Journal of the Western North Carolina Conference, 1890-1892; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, 1887-1892.

spoke at each session, and aided in the permanent organization of the convention. The work of this body was followed by "educational mass meetings" in each presiding elder's district to inform Methodism of the work of the Convention.[219]

The College was not satisfied to be merely an arouser of public sentiment. Under the leadership of Crowell and representative Methodists, preparatory and elementary schools were organized throughout North Carolina. This was a revival of the old idea of Conference preparatory schools as proposed during the administration of Craven. In reviving this plan, the Methodists had three aims in view: (1) To establish more efficient preparatory and intermediate high schools, (2) to afford high-school training for the "masses" of the people who were "practically deprived of high-school and college education," and (3) to create "feeders" for Trinity College. With these purposes in view, Crowell, the board of trustees, and the Methodist conferences directed their efforts toward the establishment of a preparatory school in each presiding elder's district in North Carolina.[220]

By 1892 the Methodist conferences had increased their appropriations for educational purposes and, acting upon the recommendation of the trustees, stated the conditions under which the two conferences sponsored the establishment of preparatory schools. The "scope and superintending the operations" of these schools were "put into the hands of the Board of Trustees of Trinity College" with the provision that "such schools shall be built and operated without in any way putting the [North Carolina] Conferences under financial obligations," that the properties be deeded to the trustees of Trinity, and the institutions be so situated as not to interfere with any of the Conference schools already in existence. Moreover, all the prepara-

[219] J. F. Crowell, "The Proposed Educational Conference," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 1, 1891; see also issues for May 13, 1891, Jan. 27, April 20, July 13, 1892; *Proceedings of the First Educational Convention of the North Carolina Conferences Held in Durham, N. C., May 5, 6, 1891* (pamphlet); *Trinity Archive*, II (April, 1889), 128; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, pp. 40-41.

[220] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 64-94; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 14, 1887, Sept. 26, 1888, April 10, May 8, 1889, Feb. 12, 1890, Aug. 12, 1891, June 29, Oct. 12, 1892; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 219, 1891-1900, pp. 242, 263-265; Laprade, "Administration of President Kilgo," p. 14; *Trinity Archive*, II (April, 1889), 128, V (Jan., 1892), 174-175.

tory schools within the jurisdiction of the North Carolina Conference were transferred to the trustees of Trinity and were conducted through an executive committee composed of the President of Trinity, the presiding elder of the district, the preacher in charge, and the principal of the school.[221] Following these plans, Crowell traveled throughout the state investigating and helping to establish Methodist preparatory schools; by 1893 seven such schools had been opened as affiliates of Trinity.[222]

Financial Affairs

The expanding activities of Trinity created a continuous strain upon the financial resources of the College. The income from student fees furnished the chief source of funds. While such fees as those for matriculation and tuition, as well as the cost of room and board, remained constant between 1887 and 1892, there was a gradual increase in the expenses of the students. This was caused largely by the increase in "incidental" items such as the cost of books, membership fees in organizations, breakage fees, and similar items.[223] The annual matriculation fee was $10.00; tuition, $50.00; commencement, $2.50; "graduation," $5.00; plus a breakage fee in some of the science courses. Room and board cost monthly $7.00 to $12.00; washing, from 75 cents to $1.00 a month; fuel, about $1.50 for the "cold months"; and textbooks, from $7.00 to $10.00 a year. The estimated annual expenses of students ranged from $141.50 to $202.50.[224]

Besides the fees of students, the income included a few more items. The proceeds from the sale of textbooks added small sums. From 1887 through 1890 the North Carolina Conference assessed its membership $5,000 each year for Trinity. After the division of the Conference, the Western and Eastern conferences together agreed to raise the same sum. The full amount was never raised for any

[221] *Trinity Archive*, V (Jan., 1892), 174-175; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 17, Aug. 12, 1891; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 219.

[222] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 12, 1891; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 76 ff.; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900; *Annual Report of the President of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., to the North Carolina Conference, 1883*, p. 35.

[223] Catalogues of Trinity College, 1887-1892.

[224] *Ibid.*

year; the College was fortunate if it received half of the annual assessment.[225]

Crowell was unable to accustom himself to the fact that the Methodists did not pay their obligations to the College and that Trinity therefore could not hope to meet its annual expenses. In 1888 he stated that the time was past when the North Carolina Conference could expect the faculty to teach without paying them their full salaries. He declared that the policy of scaling down salaries pro rata was an abuse that must not be continued. If there were deficits, arrangements must be made to meet them rather than to expect the faculty to assume the loss. This ideal he never attained. Attempts were made to meet them by popular subscription, loans, and donations from the Alumni Association. Regardless of the continuous deficits, however, Crowell did not despair. He stated in 1888 that Trinity was doing "what no other college of equal rank in the State is doing—maintaining the whole institution with a total income of about $9000 per annum." By 1892 the estimated income from all sources for the ensuing year had risen to $11,980, and expenses were estimated at $16,200. To provide for the deficit, B. N. Duke began a practice which he continued for many years: he pledged to donate as much as $3,000, "if necessary."[226]

Like other friends of Trinity, Crowell believed that the financial problems of the College could be solved only by an adequate endowment. In 1888 he declared that "the most prosperous and happy States of the Union are those which are most richly endowed with educational institutions through private munificence."[227] When he came to North Carolina, he found the beginning of such a fund and the Methodists already committed to the plan of raising $100,000. It was necessary for the College to have the income from this amount and more if it was to meet current expenses and at the same time follow the plan for expansion as outlined by its president.

[225] Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 112-114, 174-175, 261, 1890-1893, pp. 51-54, 109-110; Journal of the Western North Carolina Conference, 1891, p. 45; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 138-140, 160.

[226] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, p. 33; *Report of the President of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, pp. 28-30; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 269.

[227] *Report of the President of Trinity College, 1887-1888*, p. 17.

By December, 1887, less than $40,000 of the proposed sum had been raised in pledges and cash. Upon the recommendation of the trustees in the same year, a financial agent was appointed by the North Carolina Conference to serve as treasurer of the faculty and to solicit patronage and funds for the College. Such financial agents had proved impracticable in previous years, and the new agent proved no more successful. The agency was discontinued, and Crowell, under the direction of the trustees, assumed full responsibility for raising funds and carrying on the financial affairs of the College.[228]

Authorized by the governing bodies of Trinity, Crowell traveled throughout North Carolina soliciting funds for the endowment. He was ably supported by the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, which reported his activities and printed his appeals for financial support of Trinity. His energy, together with that of other friends of the College, resulted in the final establishment of the first productive endowment for Trinity.[229]

It was after Crowell had convinced the North Carolina Conference in 1889 that Trinity must be removed from its rural site in Randolph County that the endowment reached in subscribed sums more than $100,000. This amount was attained through a donation by Washington Duke of $35,000, together with many smaller gifts by other friends of the College. In 1890 the "value of the endowment" was set at $127,000. Enthusiastically a campaign was begun to increase this sum to $200,000 by September, 1891. The Senior Class of that year helped to inaugurate the campaign by subscribing $100 each, making a total sum of $1,200. The North Carolina Conference pledged its full support and directed the presiding elders to arrange mass meetings to aid in raising additional funds.[230]

This enthusiasm was dissipated by the ensuing financial depression throughout the United States and by unfortunate publicity regarding the probability of further donations to Trinity by Washington

[228] *State Chronicle*, Dec. 8, 1887; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1888-1889*, p. 49; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 157; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1887, pp. 112-114; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 22, March 14, June 20, Sept. 26, Oct. 10, 1888; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 236.

[229] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 269.

[230] Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 24, 51, 54; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 18, 1890.

Duke.[231] During the summer of 1891 newspapers announced that Duke was going to endow Trinity to the extent of one half million dollars and that the name of the institution was to be changed to Duke's College.[232] Such a plan was emphatically denied by Duke and his friends.[233] Perhaps the fact that the "Durham Millionaire" could, and probably would, make liberal contributions influenced the already financial embarrassed Methodists to leave the endowment of Trinity in his hands.

Instead of reaching the goal of $200,000 in 1891, the "value of the endowment" had shrunk to $110,000.[234] Contributing to this shrinkage was the fact that some of the funds had been earmarked for building purposes. In June, 1892, the endowment figure was reported as $23,629.94, which was more than offset by a bonded indebtedness of $40,000.[235]

In his program for the expansion of Trinity, Crowell was experiencing some of the same financial difficulties that had followed Braxton Craven to his grave. Added to Crowell's discouragements was the fact that Washington Duke was losing interest in Trinity. The Durham manufacturer felt that "the Church in this State" had not "manifested any appreciation for his donation to the College by any adequate plan for raising an endowment."[236] This problem, like many others, was closely connected with the subject of the removal of the College.

[231] Durham *Daily Globe*, Aug. 18, 20, 1891; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 268-270.
[232] Durham *Daily Globe*, Aug. 20, 1891.
[233] *Ibid.*
[234] Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 92, 131.
[235] Few, "Twenty-five Years of Trinity College," p. 146.
[236] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900 (June 8, 1892), pp. 48-49.

CHAPTER X

The Removal To Durham (1892)

Decision to Move the College

THE FIRST OFFICIAL reference to the removal of Trinity during Crowell's administration came at a meeting of the trustees on December 4, 1888. At that time Crowell stated that "the removal of the College to some larger town had been proposed by a member of the Board of Trustees, and that it met with considerable favor among the friends of the Institution throughout the state. . . ." He stated further that Trinity would soon "want new buildings, had outgrown the present accommodations, and that the question whether we would build here or elsewhere had to be settled before long." The trustees discussed the problem at some length, but "no action was taken except that the President of the College was instructed to see what inducements the different cities could offer for removal, and to report at the next meeting of the Board."[1]

This discussion by the trustees had been caused by Crowell's conviction that further development of Trinity was dependent upon its location near an urban district of growing prosperity and financial stability. Among desirable features of such a location would be the financial support that might be attracted to the College. Moreover, social conditions in the village of Trinity "were not so much causes as occasions for precipitating the question."[2]

Two problems in the village especially concerned the College: "one was that of keeping out intoxicants and the other that of pro-

[1] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 168.
[2] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 145 ff.

tecting the morals of the young men from social vices incident to youth." The charter of the College forbade the selling of alcoholic beverages within or near the college community; but since Trinity was located near routes over which whiskey was sent by wagons to other markets, near-by camps sold whiskey and encouraged the hawking of their illicit wares at Trinity. There was no "local constabulary which made it a business to be on the alert" against selling whiskey to students. Another less serious matter aroused Crowell; the businessmen of the village, by their refusal to close their stores at a reasonable hour at night, tempted students away from their studies and encouraged trouble-makers. After pointing out these problems to a special meeting of the businessmen and receiving no action, Crowell warned them that such an attitude might contribute to a decision to remove the College "to some place where the authorities would gladly give us their assistance."[3]

After this experience, Crowell "broached the question of removal to a few prominent business men who were supporters and friends of the College." The first of these was J. M. Odell, a leading manufacturer and trustee of Trinity. His reaction at this time was entirely favorable; and he declared that the suggestion was "excellent," but that the Methodist preachers would never permit Trinity to be moved.[4] Odell's opinion was not substantiated by subsequent events, which showed that a majority of the ministers favored removal.[5]

People who had their homes and businesses at Trinity and in the surrounding territory of Randolph, Guilford, and Davidson counties were almost unanimous in their opposition to the proposal. To most of them, discussion of such a possibility was repugnant, and they even resented the presence of those who raised the question. The livelihood of many of them was seriously involved. The College was the main industry of the village; farmers from miles around brought their surplus produce to sell in the little town; and it was estimated that the students brought approximately $25,000 annually in business to the village. The removal of Trinity would deal a fatal blow to dependent concerns and boardinghouses.[6]

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[5] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 193.

[6] *State Chronicle*, June 14, 1889; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 9, 23, Nov. 6, 20, 1889, March 19, 1890; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*,

To this argument, many others were added. It was said that the spiritual heart of the College was located at Trinity. There the institution had grown from an ordinary country school to a college; there Braxton Craven had fought and died for the institution, and his bones now rested in a churchyard within sight of the College. Like the entailed ground upon which Trinity stood, the spirit and the tradition of the place could not be transplanted elsewhere. Many of the alumni opposed removal, and in 1889 the Alumni Association passed a resolution to that effect. As far as attracting financial support in some other location was concerned, the friends of Old Trinity declared that honest supporters would aid the College even more quickly when it was anchored upon the secure foundation of its past rather than upon some unreliable dream of the future. The idea of leaving the rural graciousness of its ancient site for some spot near a growing town was also repellent to the opponents of removal. They were indignant that Crowell should besmirch the reputation of their legally dry region by referring to a few local problems that could not compare in seriousness with the degradation and vice of towns and cities. How could a few hawkers of whiskey and a few camp followers compare with "beer-guzzling," open saloons, and the red-light districts of urban centers? In view of everything that could be said against removal, why did the officials of the College insist on drawing public attention to the subject, friends of Old Trinity wanted to know. They answered their own question. The difficulty lay not with the board of trustees, but with John Franklin Crowell. They turned their wrath against "that Yankee." He was not one of them, not a Southerner; he did not and could not understand the problems of their region. Carried away by their indignation, they heaped insults upon him, and he and members of his family were openly scorned and publicly ridiculed.[7]

So violent was the opposition that a reporter of the *State Chronicle* in June, 1889, declared that it looked as if the College would certainly remain at Old Trinity.[8] This reporter had not reckoned with

pp. 145 ff.; *Trinity Archive*, I (Feb., 1888), 61-80; Jas. A. Leach, "The Proposed Removal of Trinity College," *News and Observer*, Jan. 11, 1889.

[7] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 145 ff.

[8] *State Chronicle*, June 14, 1889.

the spirit and determination of Crowell.[9] To inform the Methodists of North Carolina of his position, he wrote a special article which was printed in two installments in the *Raleigh Christian Advocate.* In this article Crowell summarized his reasons for proposing such action:

The removal of the College is necessary for its growth. I believe that at its present location its limits of growth can be extended only slowly, and with great difficulty.

These are my reasons:

1. In New England and the West it is very difficult to keep young men at the country college until graduation. They finish one or two years there, and then go to the colleges in the city or leave college once for all. The city colleges are constantly being recruited by the best minds out of the country colleges. The country colleges rarely get any from the city colleges except those who fail in their examinations, and wish to get into college somewhere again. Though the country college is still doing a good work, it is never likely to rank among the foremost, save in the most exceptional cases.

But it is equally as hard to keep a first class faculty for any length of time in a country college. The young professor comes there, makes a reputation in a few years in his chair, and then is called to a college which offers him a larger field and better association for himself and family. That portion of the faculty whose resignation should be a blessing to these colleges never goes, if there are such. This is the story over and over again. Dartmouth has lost her strongest men in two chairs recently. Such men have spent money and time in preparation for their work. They have had wide contact with men. To shut themselves up in a village with limited association, circumscribed by most uninspiring types of rusticity, without the relief of congenial acquaintance and nearness to the stir of trade and industry, is next to intellectual death to all but a very few such men.

2. There is a social poverty in a country village that makes it unfavorable for the education of young men. Young men want society; they will get it. If there be not good society enough they will get bad society. Bad society often means licentiousness and other phases of moral depravity, from which the village is not free by any means.

Without the advantages of good society a student in a country town is apt to sink into boorishness. With only a half-dozen families that afford social privileges to young men in a village the manners of the majority are likely to suffer. And a young man without good manners, such as

[9] J. F. Crowell, "The Removal of Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 26, July 3, 1889; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 145 ff.; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1888-1890.

society at home or at college must give him if he ever gets them, is always standing in his own way of life. It is with good manners that he could unlock the palace and the parlor of the best society and thence advance to the highest success. . . .

3. The present location is generally regarded as an out-of-way place. It takes too long for a busy world to get there and too long to get away. Visitors rarely reach us except at commencement.

4. Men who have the means to help build up the college do not want to put their money there; they wish to place it where it can be seen, if they give it at all.

5. The place itself is capable of doing little or nothing for the college.

6. The young man finds very little to stimulate his ambition or efforts in the surroundings of the place.

7. If the College there ever grows to what we want it to be, we shall have to build a town and college both. For that we have no means. The town itself has stood still for many years. There are local jealousies that keep a watchful and prayerful check upon any strong, united action for improvement.

The bugbear of removal has always been the "gilded voices" of the city. Most of these objectors may not have been in the city a month of their lives. My own observation is that in a little village in which I spent more than a year in College there was three times as much licentiousness and hypocrisy as in the large city where the college stood in the center of a population of 60,000. As for drunkenness, the advantage was in favor of the large city, for the social restraints and the stronger religious influence of the students acted powerfully to keep the young men from vices. . . .

There are bawdy houses in the city, it is true, but in the village in the country these harlots stalk the streets, and nothing but violence can frighten them away. They frequent college towns, and get into families as servants. The owners of property near the college buildings may not scruple to rent these quarters to these lewd wretches, and so we be in a worse plight than in the city where the police force could give us protection, and help bring justice to such offenders. In my own experience, I have found it the hardest task to get an offender before a court of a small village; whereas in the city the police officer makes it his business to apprehend such characters, knows them by reputation, and thus guarantees us greater safety and security than in the country.

The restraining and elevating influence of good society are realities which every young man feels. The assertion that he will go astray in spite of them does not make it so. Educate him to hate evil and to love the good and pure, put into him that which resists evil, warn him of, and teach him to resist temptation, and he will be in the city, what he was in the village—an honest man.

While the city has vices, it has greater agencies constantly at work to

prevent them. Almost everybody is interested in keeping young men from evil. In the country it is almost nobody's business but that of the Faculty.

In the city there are many proper diversions—in the country there are few or none. Give young men legitimate enjoyment, and they will not be apt to go into that which is evil. . . .

As to expenses in a city, they need be no higher than in a village. Nearly all of the Trinity students get their clothing at Greensboro, and the cost of travel to and from college is no less than ten per cent on a twenty dollar suit; in or near the city that would be saved. Books are just as cheap. The cost of tuition is no greater. The cost of board at Greensboro Female College is ten dollars per month; at Trinity College it is from eight dollars to twelve dollars per month, just about the same. By establishing a Dining Hall at the College in the city, the price of board could be kept even lower than in the country. Room and rent is cheaper in dormitories than in private houses in the country, and Trinity will soon have dormitories.

Moreover, a poor young man has ten chances in the city to one in the country to help himself through college, or get others to help him through. As a Saturday night clerk in a store, as an assistant in the professional office and at almost anything at which he can earn something to pay his way, he will work. I have seen many a student graduate by such efforts. In the country village he finds no chance to do anything of the kind. . . .

The salaries of the Faculty will have to be gradually raised whether Trinity is moved or not. All they want is a competence and a free field. . . .

I have said nothing of how much greater advantage students will have to start in public or professional life, how the college will impress itself upon the people, and in that way command wealth to carry out its enterprises, and the advantages of libraries, courts, churches, and conventions in the city. This is self-evident. . . .

Its removal will break the prejudices that have so long held it back, and the old building would be made the head of extensive preparation system to feed the College. This is necessary for the highest development into a college of national importance. For that, Trinity has her face to the future, her roots strike deep into the past; today she is filled with new hope and pride in the redemption of the glory of our dear South, in the proof of her love for her native land. The tide of the century is with us; let us not wait.[10]

These arguments were convincing to many friends of Trinity. In 1889 the students were "very nearly united" for removal, the major-

[10] J. F. Crowell, "The Removal of Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 26, July 3, 1889.

ity of the trustees seemed favorable, and Methodism in the state was open to conviction.[11]

There was speculation concerning the "urban center" that might be interested in furnishing Trinity a new location. In February, 1889, the *Trinity Archive* stated that the cities likely to offer inducements to Trinity were Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, and Winston. Of these places, Crowell believed that Greensboro would be acceptable if the city bestirred itself in behalf of Trinity. With that in view and before any official action, he purchased a thirty-acre tract of land in the suburbs of Greensboro, "to be available in the event of need for College purposes."[12]

Amid a gale of discussion, representatives of Raleigh and Greensboro approached members of the board about moving Trinity to their vicinities. These proposals together with other affairs of the College necessitated a called meeting of the trustees in Greensboro on May 7, 1889. To this all-day session the two cities submitted communications requesting favorable action. The trustees tabled these communications until they had debated the following questions: "Is it wise to remove the College on any condition? If so, on what condition?"[13] All day the trustees debated these questions, and from time to time resolutions were proposed and voted down. Finally the board voted for removal:

> *Resolved 1:* That after mature and prayerful consideration, we believe it best for the interest of Methodism in North Carolina, and the cause of God to move Trinity College to some prominent centre within this State; provided, there shall be tendered to this Board, a proper guarantee of a suitable site, with buildings on it of at least equal value, and as well suited for the uses of the College as those on the present site.
>
> *Resolved 2:* That a committee of five be appointed to carry out the true intent of the above resolution, and to report to the next annual meeting of the Board of Trustees.[14]

The following committee of five was appointed: J. W. Alspaugh, J. F. Crowell, J. E. Mann, W. S. Black, and J. A. Cunniggim. In noting the decision of the trustees, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*

[11] *State Chronicle*, June 14, 1889; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 29, 1890.

[12] *Trinity Archive*, II (Feb., 1889), 87-88; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 160-161.

[13] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 169-171.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

reminded people that the final decision lay with the North Carolina Conference and advised everyone to "keep cool" and see how the problem would finally be solved.[15]

At the annual meeting of the trustees during commencement week in June, 1889, the committee of five reported that on investigation it had been found that a sum of $20,500 would be required to build "a structure similar to Trinity College" and to furnish the building in the same way. Furthermore, the committee had received a communication offering $20,500 and a site in Raleigh if Trinity would locate in that city. In answer to this proposal, the trustees thanked the citizens of Raleigh, but because of the pressure of other business at this time postponed the consideration of the proposition until the next month. At the same time they recorded that the board was in no way committed "to the Raleigh proposition or on any other."[16]

Perhaps there was another reason for the postponement of definite action. It seemed that with the exception of the sentiment among students and some of the trustees, the feeling among the alumni, villagers, and guests at the commencement of 1889 was definitely unfavorable to removal under any conditions.[17] Since Crowell was strongly committed to removal, he spoke unreservedly in its favor. A witness described him at the meeting of the trustees:

> The meeting was called to discuss removal, and was held in the President's office in the college building. The weather was warm, and the window was up. A number of us was [*sic*] standing near listening to General J. M. B. Leach against removal. It was a great speech and lasted two hours. He advanced argument after argument. At last he finished and took his seat. A feeling of oppression and helplessness came over us. Then President Crowell arose, his eyes flashing and his whole frame quivering under suppressed excitement. Slowly, in a well-modulated voice he began to appeal to the trustees. Warming to his work, his voice grew stronger, his words were uttered faster, and his dilating form was shaking from crown to heel. He did not argue long. Seeming to remember for whose sake he was pleading, his eyes filled with tears which trickled down his cheek. With one tiger-like bound, he cleared all his

[15] *Ibid.*; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 15, 1889.

[16] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1890, pp. 183-185; *State Chronicle*, June 14, 1889.

[17] *State Chronicle*, June 14, 1889; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 29, 1890; *Trinity Archive*, II (June, 1889), 177.

opponent's obstructions and found himself free. He shook off the bands of argument that had been slowly wound around him, as a lion would shake off a net of cobwebs. We never knew how he did it, but we all saw the man and felt the force of his eloquence. We never felt so proud of our "little President" before, and we shall never forget how he looked when he stood there with pale face, clenched fist, and quivering frame, pouring forth such a flood of eloquence and passionate pleading for a broader field and larger scope of work for his boys, that all who heard it were melted to tears. When he ceased, the students gathered around to thank him, and shake his hand.[18]

With such an existing state of emotion, it is not surprising that the trustees postponed definite action for a month and moved the seat of their deliberations from Trinity to Greensboro. Sensing the excited state of the Methodist pulse, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* again advised the people to remain calm and follow the lead of the trustees in whatever decision they saw fit to make at their scheduled meeting on July 9, 1889.[19]

On that date the board met; from three o'clock in the afternoon until seven, and from eight-thirty until a late hour, the trustees wrestled with their problem. General J. M. B. Leach was one of the main leaders of the opposition, and it was recorded during the afternoon that he "speaketh much." He was ably assisted by Colonel W. Mack Robins. They argued eloquently "in favor of squashing the sentiment of removal as injurious to the present and future interests of the College." They reviewed the tragedy of the losses to the people who had their homes and businesses at Trinity and the lack of wisdom in departing "from settled ways of collegiate education in small towns." Colonel Robins declared that the raising of such a question was due to Crowell's lack "of acquaintance with conditions of people" among whom he "had come too recently to understand their needs."[20]

During the discussion a motion was introduced "to indefinitely postpone the question of removal, embracing also the question of removal under the proposition from the citizens of Raleigh." Before the motion could be brought to a vote, the meeting recessed at seven

[18] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 29, 1890.

[19] *Ibid.*, June 26, July 3, 1889.

[20] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 190-194; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 152-160.

o'clock to meet again at eight-thirty. When the session reopened, Crowell led the debate, and the burden of supporting removal fell upon him. He had listened to the opposition and had been "somewhat stirred" by the "personal attacks" upon himself. When the chairman of the meeting finally called him to defend the report of the committee on removal, he could not refrain from responding to these assaults. He asked why, as a part of the discussion, he should be "taunted with having come from the North as a disquieting element in the otherwise peaceful work of the College." He had lived in the state long enough to prove that he was indeed a North Carolinian, loyal to the best interests of the South's people. "Why then in the name of heaven or earth, or of the nether regions" should such "ungallant flings be taken at the section" in which he happened to be born? He expressed the hope that he had heard the last of "such things," and that the trustees would believe that he was "working solely for our common good." He took pains to explain that this was "not a personal question but an institutional one," and that "no individual attitude should stand in the way of what was best for the College as a permanent matter."[21]

After Crowell's argument, the trustees considered renewed proposals from Raleigh. Judge Walter Clark reported upon the possible effect of the removal upon the present property of the College: ". . . no harm could result." Whereupon W. M. Robey called for a vote on the previous question: "To indefinitely postpone the whole subject." The ayes and noes were called, and the motion was lost by a vote of eighteen to eleven.[22] Whereupon the Reverend Marquis L. Wood offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

1. That when the provisions in the Resolutions passed by this Board, May 7th, 1889, are fully met by the citizens of Raleigh, then we will move Trinity College to that city.

2. That a committee of five be authorized to negotiate with the authorized Committee of the citizens of Raleigh for the purpose of determining upon the exact terms of the agreement in accordance with which the removal will take place, and

That such agreement be committed in writing on both sides, and together with plans and specifications of the Proposed Building be sub-

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 192-193.

mitted for approval to the Board of Trustees at the annual Conference at Greensboro.[23]

The following building committee was elected: J. F. Crowell, J. T. Harris, J. S. Carr, W. F. Kornegay, and W. R. Odell.

The action of the board was eagerly awaited. Telegrams sent the decision to the public press, and editorials and news items appeared in various newspapers and periodicals. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* attempted to unify various factions by urging all to forget their differences and to rally to the support of an action so vital to education in North Carolina. Notwithstanding this appeal, the opponents of removal had one more chance—at the meeting of the North Carolina Conference in December, where the question would be finally decided. While the victors went about the work of investigating the proposals from Raleigh and gathering data to support their action, the opponents concentrated upon arousing sentiment for a final effort to defeat the removal of Trinity.[24]

The citizens of Raleigh, together with Crowell and the building committee, pushed ahead in their efforts to obtain funds and a site for the College. The Committee reported its success at a meeting of the trustees on November 30, 1889. A site was suggested on or near what is now the State College campus. Architects were chosen, the required sum of $20,500 was guaranteed, and plans were made for the erection of a building to be completed by October 1, 1891. The board accepted the report of the committee and agreed to submit the whole matter to the North Carolina Conference for final decision at its meeting two days later.[25]

At this session, held in West Market Methodist Church in Greensboro, both friends and foes of removal were determined to win the final decision that would close the whole matter. The opposition repeated its earlier arguments and endeavored to prevent Crowell from speaking to the Conference. They declared that since he was not a member of the Conference, he could not be admitted to the floor. To this contention, the Reverend N. M. Jurney, an

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

[24] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 10, 17, 24, Aug. 14, Oct. 9, 23, Nov. 6, 20, 1899; *Trinity Archive*, II (Oct., Nov., 1888), 16, 30-31; *State Chronicle*, July 19, 1889.

[25] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 196-198.

alumnus of the College, replied: "Things have come to a pretty pass when an annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not at liberty to invite the president of its own college to speak before it on a question of such vital importance." With that, the Conference invited Crowell to speak.[26]

When the afternoon session closed to meet again in the evening, news spread rapidly that Crowell would speak and that the question of removal would come to a final vote that night. Before the presiding officer rapped for order that evening, the church was packed to the doors. After a few minutes of routine business, the question of removal was reopened. The Reverends C. M. Pepper, W. C. Gannon, and J. F. Heitman represented the opposition; and J. W. Mauney and Crowell spoke in favor of locating Trinity elsewhere.[27]

When Crowell arose to discuss the question of removal, he sensed that the audience was tense with the drama of the moment. Crowell himself was even more affected. Long afterwards he wrote:

> In point of dramatic importance and of future consequence this was easily the most notable public occasion of my educational career of more than fifty years. The question itself, the public interest evinced by the presence of that splendid audience keyed to high intensity of attention, together with the strength of feeling and conviction on both sides of the issue—all conspired to give this occasion the character of an historic event of first rank in the history of Southern education. Here was fought out in quick direct blows of argument the issues between the reactionary and the progressive spirit of the times. . . . I shall never forget the effect of those thousand or more faces focused upon me as I stepped forward and first heard the sound of my own voice break the tense silence of interest that awaited me. There were the men and women of foremost rank in the community and State. There were the clerical and lay exponents of the learning and religious life of all leading professions and denominations. It seemed as if every face said, "Yours is the task of turning the stream of events backward or forward, possibly forever."[28]

The efforts to "stifle" Crowell's discussion had "stirred" his feeling, since he regarded their attempt as an attack upon freedom

[26] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 152-155; *Trinity Archive*, III (Dec., 1889-Jan., 1890), 67-68.

[27] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 4, 1889; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 152-153; Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 215-217.

[28] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 155.

of discussion. This fact, together with the tense expectancy of the audience before him, caused him to speak "with a touch of emotion which soon commanded the utmost attention." He told the audience that the question of removal was not of his making, that it meant for him extra work and thought. For purely selfish considerations, he would not turn his hand to move Trinity; the quiet village was pleasing and ideal for him "from the standpoint of reflective educational life." But there was "a larger consideration—a consideration of a great commonwealth still half asleep but slowly awakening like a giant to the assertion of its rights and the opportunities of its people." No personal or local interest must come before the compelling need of the state. The plan for a "Greater Trinity" would be an attempt to meet the obvious needs of North Carolina. Crowell then turned to a chart that hung behind him and stated that regardless of what his opponents had said about it, he "gloried in the capacity to make pictures of things present and things to come." In this he was not "in bad company"; the Lord and Master had used this pictorial method of parable and simile. His chart demonstrated how his plans for a "Greater Trinity" would bring to North Carolinians a broad understanding of the humanities ("languages, literature, history, social sciences, and liberal arts generally"), mathematics, the natural sciences, and the divinities ("revelation of the world's religions, and the civilization of Christendom"). Besides this understanding, special training would be offered in graduate and professional schools. Technology, as an urgent need of industry, would be emphasized; and just as much stress would be placed on scientific investigation "into the sanitary and health problems of these much neglected people." In conclusion Crowell "appealed to the Conference to decide whether or not they should deliver Trinity College, this child of Providence, from the bondage of its birthplace and thus lead it out into the open world of grander opportunity in the service of Conference and commonwealth."[29] When Crowell finished, he felt that the cause of Trinity had been won, and indeed it had been. The audience was swept along by the sincerity of his belief in the destiny of a "Greater Trinity," and the Conference responded nobly to "one of the happiest efforts of his life."[30]

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-155, 178-180.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 155; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Dec. 4, 1889.

All attempts to postpone the question of removal or to kill the whole idea were rapidly voted down. In the afternoon J. W. Mauney had introduced a set of resolutions authorizing the board of trustees "to move Trinity College to the city of Raleigh" after certain specified conditions had been met. Now these resolutions were passed by a vote of 143 to 41.[31]

Once more the friends of the College urged factions to forget their differences and join in efforts to build a greater Trinity. Many opponents of removal, like General J. M. B. Leach, Colonel W. Mack Robins, and Colonel J. W. Alspaugh, heartily adopted this advice and lent their time and influence to the cause of Trinity, wherever its new location might be; others continued to hamper the College by adverse criticism of its plans and officials.[32]

Durham's Offer Accepted

Scarcely had official action in regard to the removal of Trinity to Raleigh been recorded, when the question was again reopened. Early in 1890 it was rumored that the town of Durham was planning to make a bid for the College. The public press was agog and tossed the rumor back and forth between the two towns.[33]

Both Raleigh and Durham, along with other towns in the state, had recently engaged in a contest to acquire the Baptist Female University (Meredith College). Regardless of the fact that Durham had offered $20,000 more than its closest competitor and twice as much as Raleigh, the trustees of the Baptist Female University voted to establish the school at Raleigh.[34] In reporting on this decision, the *State Chronicle* stated: "It is evident that the money offer did not appeal to them [the trustees] the strongest; for if it had, Durham, the biggest town in the world of its size and the most go-ahead liberal town in the State, would have been the lucky one."[35]

For several years ill feeling had existed between Durham, a rapidly growing new center with wealthy industrial leaders, and the older towns of the state; and the contest over the site for the

[31] Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 215 ff.

[32] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 157-161, 196-216; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Oct. 9, 23, Nov. 6, 20, 1889, Jan. 29, 1890.

[33] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 26, March 5, 1890.

[34] *State Chronicle*, Feb. 14, 1890; Boyd, *Story of Durham*, pp. 164-173.

[35] Feb. 14, 1890.

Baptist Female University heightened this antagonism. Now when it was rumored that Durham was making a bid for Trinity, the press of the two towns joined in a colorful debate.[36]

In March, 1890, it was confirmed that the Methodists and other interested citizens of Durham were taking steps to attract Trinity. The lead in the matter was taken by Washington Duke, who had been influenced by Methodist friends and by his son, B. N. Duke, a member of the board of trustees.

A North Carolinian, Washington Duke had been born in 1820 a few miles from Durham.[37] He was the son of Taylor Duke, a small farmer whose character and industry had won great respect in a rural community where "nobody was very rich and nobody was very poor." Belonging to the class of small farmers who often found it difficult to earn a living in North Carolina before 1860, Taylor Duke had worked hard to provide for his family of ten children. To give them the advantages of a formal education was impossible; a few

[36] *Ibid.; Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 5, 19, 1890; Boyd, *Story of Durham*, pp. 165 ff. See also John Spencer Bassett (ed.), "Old Durham Traditions" (*Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series VI, Durham, 1906), pp. 27-36; W. S. Lockhart, "The Pinhook Settlement," *ibid.*, pp. 32-36; Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 377-378.

[37] Unless otherwise indicated, this sketch of Washington Duke is based on the following references: Ashe (editor-in-chief), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 84 ff.; Boyd, *Story of Durham*, pp. 77 ff., 191 ff.; J. W. Jenkins, *James B. Duke: Master Builder* (New York, 1927), pp. 19 ff.; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 162 ff.; *D. A. B.*, V, 496-498; *Who's Who in America, 1903-1905*, p. 422; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XVII, 389; *Trinity Archive*, III, 143-144, V, 210-211, VII, 1-4, XIV, 92, XVIII, 407-413, 458, 462; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 12, 26, June 25, 1890, Jan. 22, 1892; Durham *Daily Globe*, Jan. 22, March 26, Dec. 14, 1892; *Trinity Alumni Register*, I, 204, II, 275, III, 146-147, VIII, 104-105, 215-218, 359-360; *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XI, 38, 387, 389, XII, 260-262, XVI, 229; Minutes of the Executive Committee of Trinity College, April 22, 1893—April 27, 1901, pp. 100-101; Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 468 ff.; R. W. Winston, *It's a Far Cry* (New York, 1937), pp. 224 ff.; R. L. Flowers, "Washington Duke," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XI (Jan., 1925), 36-37; W. P. Few, Answers to Miss Nora C. Chaffin's Questions, Aug., 1937 (Private Collection); W. P. Few, "Washington Duke," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, IV (July, 1905), 203-208; W. H. Wannamaker, "Trinity College," *Southern Christian Advocate*, Spartanburg, S. C., Oct. 13, 1912; Gilbert Rowe, "Washington Duke," *Trinity Archive*, VII (March, 1894), 1-4; Wilbur Fisk Tillett, "Duke University and Its Benefactors," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XV (July, 1929), 240-243; Wilbur Fisk Tillett, "Honor to Whom Honor Is Due," *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XII (Oct., 1926), 260-261; John K. Winkler, *Tobacco Tycoon: The Story of James Buchanan Duke* (New York, 1942), pp. 5-140.

sessions in the neighborhood schools constituted their only opportunities.

Washington Duke, who attended school about six months during his whole life, shared the toil and responsibilities of his father's farm until he was twenty-one years old. At that age, with no capital but a strong body and a determined will to make a place for himself, he left his father's house. For four years he rented land, and at the end of that time he had saved enough money to buy a farm of his own. Among other products, he raised a small quantity of tobacco.

By 1860 Duke had been twice married; first, in 1844, to Mary C. Clinton, who died in 1847; then, five years later, to Artelia Roney, who died in 1858. By his first marriage he had two children; Samuel T., who died at the age of fourteen, and Brodie L. By his second marriage he had three children: Mary Elizabeth, Benjamin Newton, and James Buchanan.

Although he later became a Republican, Washington Duke was a Democrat before 1860 and had named his youngest son in honor of the Democratic president, James Buchanan. This fact, however, did not prevent his opposition to secession. When his state finally voted to leave the Union, he remained on his farm to care for his family until he was drafted into the Confederate Army in 1863. After sending his children to live with relatives, he entered the army and served for the remainder of the war. Following the surrender of the Confederate Army, he was kept for a time in a military prison, but was finally discharged and sent to New Bern, North Carolina. From there he walked more than a hundred miles to his home near Durham.

He found that raids of Federal soldiers had left his farm destitute of supplies. Besides his land with its buildings, his capital consisted of two blind mules and fifty cents in "good money," which a Federal officer had given him for a five-dollar Confederate bill. Undaunted, he sent for his children and resumed his farming. In order to meet his immediate needs, he sold his farm and rented a part of it. Since the purchaser was unable to make payment, the farm soon reverted to him.

When Duke returned to his home, he found a small quantity of tobacco which the soldiers had not carried away. In a small log

cabin on the farm he and his boys beat, sifted, packed into bags, and labeled this tobacco "Pro Bono Publico." They loaded the tobacco, along with two barrels of flour, into a wagon; and with meager camping equipment, Duke and his boys peddled their wares in Eastern Carolina. His venture was profitable, and he decided to continue the home manufacture of tobacco. His two sons, James Buchanan and Benjamin Newton, assisted their father, and Duke began to prosper.

Meanwhile Brodie L., who like his father had served in the Confederate Army and had returned to farm for himself, decided to join his father and brothers in their tobacco business. Finally he moved to Durham to enter business for himself and there found the village thriving with rival tobacco concerns.

In 1874 Washington Duke and his other two sons joined Brodie L. in Durham. When business continued to grow, they expanded their enterprise. In 1878 George W. Watts, a capitalist of Baltimore, joined the business; and two years later R. H. Wright, a tobacco manufacturer, joined the company. Because of excellent foresight and business methods, the enterprise became so profitable that in 1884 an office was opened in New York. There James Buchanan Duke took charge of the interests of the company and displayed the genius that was to make him one of the great businessmen of his time. Benjamin Newton Duke remained in Durham during this period to aid in furthering the manufacture of the finished product. Because of the combined efforts of the Duke family and their business associates, by 1889 the company was furnishing half of the cigarettes consumed in the United States. Even this market did not satisfy them, and representatives sent to foreign lands sold tobacco throughout the world. After keen competition with other companies, in 1890 W. Duke Sons and Company combined with four rivals to form the American Tobacco Company, capitalized at $25,000,000, and doing millions of dollars' worth of business annually.[38]

[38] The following description of the Dukes appeared during the same year in which the American Tobacco Company was organized:

"On last Wednesday we had the compliment of a visit from and a long chat with our old friend, Mr. Washington Duke, of Durham, North Carolina. He is the livest man of his age to be found, and is a Methodist of the old, genuine type.

Aside from his business, the chief interest of Washington Duke was his church. Converted at the age of twelve, he had long been an active member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Circuit-riding Methodists ministers brought him aid and encouragement during the trying days of his early life just as they did in the time of his later prosperity. For their help and comfort he was grateful as long as he lived. His son James Buchanan often remarked that his father claimed "that if he amounted to anything in life it was due to the Methodist circuit riders who frequently visited his home and whose preaching and counsel brought out the best that was in him. . . ."[39]

As a loyal citizen of Durham as well as a church member, Washington Duke aided in the organization of Methodist churches and generously supported them. He was recognized throughout North Carolina as a "loyal Methodist layman"; and since the amassing of his great fortune, he "had been for several years fixing his mind upon some large benefaction to the educational work of his church and town."[40] In this he had been influenced by Methodist ministers, especially those who served the church in which he was a member. The two ministers whose influence had an immediate bearing upon his decision of 1890 to turn his benefactions to Trinity were the

His church is going to hear from him when he gets ready to make a large donation of any kind. He believes thoroughly in the Methodist Church. By the way, the *North State* has the following to say of one of his sons: Very few of the young men of North Carolina have achieved anything like the distinction in the business world won by J. B. Duke, son of Washington Duke and member of the firm of Washington Duke Sons and Company. Not many years ago 'Buck' as his father loves to call him, broke the shell and planted himself down in the city of New York, determined right there in the greatest commercial and money center of the continent, to make all cigarette concerns take off their hats to Washington Duke Sons and Company. Upward and onward he went. The country boy was as much at home in the great metropolis, driving his business with all the artful management that industry and genius could control and devise, as if he had never been out of the great city. All who know him and come in contact with him admit that he has phenomenal business and commercial gifts. The American Tobacco Company, the wealthiest and greatest corporation of its kind in the world, is organized with a capital of $25,000,000. Mr. J. B. Duke is the President of the Company. North Carolina may well feel proud of her young son who went forth among strangers and reached the topmost round of the business ladder in so short a time" (*Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 12, 1890).

[39] Jenkins, *James B. Duke: Master Builder*, p. 27.

[40] E. A. Yates, "Trinity College, Raleigh and Durham," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 19, 1890; see also editorial in the same issue.

Reverends R. F. Bumpass and E. A. Yates.[41] Prior to that time, he had evinced his interest in Trinity upon at least two occasions. Three years before, he and his sons had made a contribution of $1,000 to the endowment of the College.[42] In 1889, unknown to Crowell, Duke had attended commencement at Trinity; at this time the Reverend R. F. Bumpass "spoke to Mr. Duke of how fine a thing it would be if Trinity College, whose removal was in the air then, could be brought to Durham."[43]

Late in 1889 or early in 1890, when Raleigh was slow in fulfilling its pledge to Trinity, the Reverend E. A. Yates called upon Washington Duke and suggested that "it would be a splendid thing for the people of Durham, for the future of Methodism, and for the College if Trinity were brought to Durham as its permanent home." Their discussion brought out the fact that an offer of $35,000 had come from Raleigh and that this sum was not regarded as adequate by "some people of Durham." In the course of the discussion, Duke remarked that "Durham would give that herself and add fifty thousand dollars for an endowment if they brought the College to Durham." Yates requested that he be permitted to wire that as an offer to Crowell. Duke was hesitant, but finally consented to Yates's inviting Crowell to Durham for a conference.[44]

When Crowell arrived, he talked first with Yates; then together they called upon Washington Duke. After reviewing his former discussion with Yates, Duke reiterated his belief that Durham could and would offer more than Raleigh. In fact, he thought that $35,000 could be raised for building and $50,000 more for endowment. Furthermore, he was willing to have the matter considered and to do his part for the College and for Durham. When the question of a possible site was introduced, it was suggested that the "fair grounds to the west of the city," controlled by Julian S. Carr, would be the best location for the College. At this stage of the discussion, Duke was asked frankly: "May we go to Colonel Carr and say that you will guarantee eighty-five thousand dollars for the removal of the

[41] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 19, 1890; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 162-167.

[42] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 10, 1887.

[43] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 263. For an account that differs with this point of view, see Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 377-380.

[44] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 262-265.

College provided Colonel Carr will give the fair grounds for its location?" Duke readily assented, and after further discussion of plans and possibilities, Yates and Crowell departed to interview Julian S. Carr. They immediately laid the proposition before him. He thought for a moment and then responded in the affirmative. The two men congratulated Carr upon helping to make possible Trinity's removal to Durham. When Crowell left for home that day, he felt with great satisfaction that "old things had passed away and, behold, all things were becoming new."[45]

These events took place in January and February, 1890, and the rumor which found its way into newspapers and periodicals was confirmed late in February and early in March. The question was immediately raised, "What would Raleigh do when Durham made its formal offer?" The College was already committed to the capital city, provided certain terms were met. Meanwhile enthusiastic mass meetings were held in Durham, and more than $100,000 was pledged to Trinity.[46]

The formal offer of Washington Duke, Julian S. Carr, and the town of Durham was made to the board of trustees at a called meeting in Durham on March 20, 1890. B. N. Duke presented the following offer from his father:

To the Board of Trustees of Trinity College:

Sirs:

I agree to place at the disposal of the Board of Trustees for the permanent use of the College upon the condition of the removal of Trinity College to Durham, N. C., the sum of $85,000 to be used as follows, namely:

An amount not exceeding $50,000 for the erection of the main Central Building (which must be first class in every respect) on the site known as 'Blackwell's Park' near the City of Durham, N. C. *The remainder to be applied to the Endowment Fund of said College.*

The money to be used in the erection of the building to be paid from time to time, as the work progresses, and the amount appropriated to the Endowment Fund to be turned over to the Trustees upon the opening of the College at this place.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.

[46] *State Chronicle*, March 12, 1890; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Feb. 26, March 2, 5, 19, 26, 1890; Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 201-208; Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 51 ff.

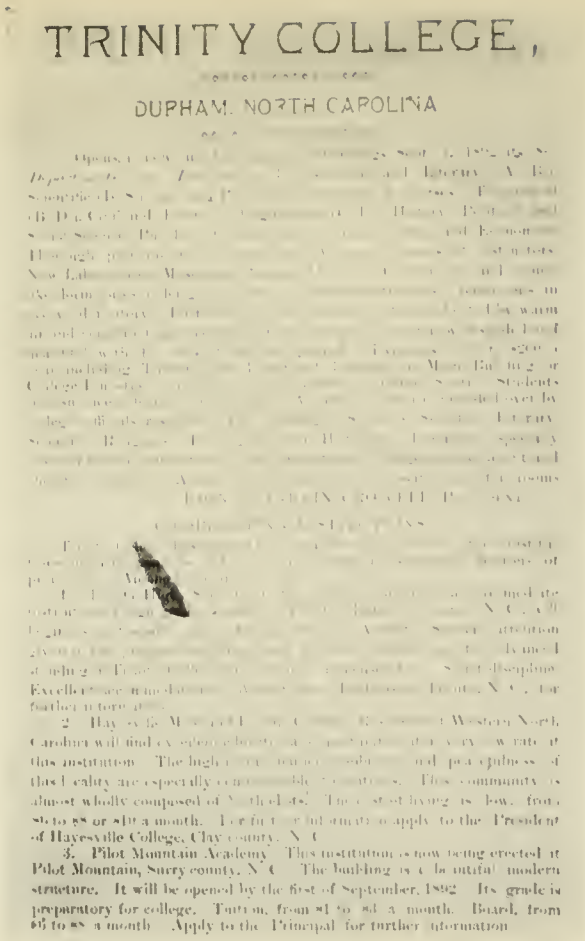
I make this gift, not with any spirit or intent of rivalry with the city of Raleigh, but for the sole purpose of assisting in placing the College upon a sure foundation from which it may grow in usefulness and power to the extent of enabling it to rival the best Colleges elsewhere, and attract students by its superior advantages. I desire to promote the highest learning under the guidance of Christian men. To do so, the financial resources of the Board of Trustees must be increased so as to enable them to get and keep the most talented professors and instructors in the Faculty, to thoroughly equip every department of the College with the best and most approved buildings and appliances for doing this work, and secure the largest possible patronage by opening these advantages to all young men of whatever financial ability, who are prepared to avail themselves of them. I am aware that this gift is not large enough to do all for the College that I desire to see done for it, but make it with the expectation that it will be speedily supplemented by liberal donations from the Methodists and friends of the Institution throughout the State, and that they also rally heartily to the support of the College by sending their sons to this, the College of their own Church, and thus make this great work an assured success.

If I did not feel assured that my expectations as above stated would be realized, I would not feel justified in making this donation; and if such should not be the result, I shall be disappointed in the purpose of the gift, but with confidence in you gentlemen and the Methodists of the State, I am

Yours truly,
WASHINGTON DUKE
By B. N. D.[47]

Following the reading of this letter, "a proposition was also read from Julian S. Carr, donating sixty acres of land including the 'Blackwell Park,' as a site for the proposed College Buildings." This was followed by an offer from the citizens of Durham of $10,000 as "additional to the Endowment Fund in event of the College being located there." A set of resolutions from the citizens of Raleigh stated that the city still hoped to match the proposition from Durham. At Crowell's suggestion, resolutions were adopted to the effect that the College was still bound to remove to Raleigh; but in the event that Raleigh failed to meet the offer of Durham and decided to release Trinity from its obligations to the capital city, that the College would remove to Durham. A committee of three was appointed by the trustees to meet with the citizens of Raleigh to review the whole matter and to recommend definite action.[48]

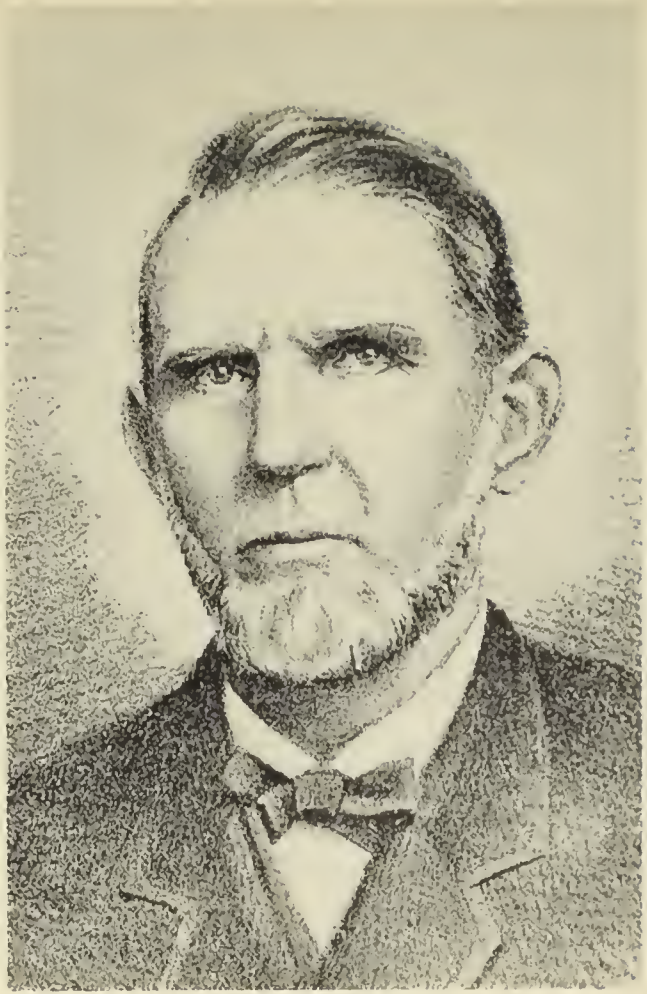
[47] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, pp. 201 ff.
[48] *Ibid.*



TRINITY COLLEGE,

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Broadside Announcing the Opening of Trinity College in Durham, 1892



Washington Duke

THREE COLLEGE BUILDINGS IN DURHAM, 1892
Technical Building Main Building College Inn

FACULTY AVENUE, ABOUT 1892

On March 28 a called meeting of the Executive Committee of the trustees heard the results of the work of this committee. These results were presented in the following resolutions:

The Committee of Three herewith beg leave to submit to the Citizens Committee of Raleigh on Trinity College some particular reasons which have led the Board of Trustees of Trinity College to ask a voluntary release from the obligations to remove the College to Raleigh.

1. The College is greatly in need of a larger endowment which Durham offers to the amount of $44,000 with additional subscriptions now promised.

2. The site of 60 acres will relieve the College of the necessity of ever investing in additional lands.

3. The building offered at Durham will be more ample. Its cost will be about $25,000 more than the one offered to us in the gift of Raleigh.

4. The proposed removal of the College to Durham will unite the entire Conference of North Carolina in the interest of the College, and forestall the erection of a rival College in the Western Conference after the division of the Conference. This harmony is assured and pledged by individual letters and statements from the opposition to removal to Raleigh. A removal to Raleigh would therefore disappoint the friends of the College who favor that move as well as the citizens of Raleigh by the withdrawal of the patronage of the Western half of the Conference, since with two rival colleges in the same Conference both might be doomed to weakness and continual friction.

5. The removal to Raleigh would, in view of the liberal cash endorsement offered by Durham, raise an almost insurmountable obstacle to securing additional Endowment Fund for the College, if located at Raleigh.

6. The assurance of still greater gifts for the College at Durham are so definite that the Trustees consider the financial prosperity of the College as good as guaranteed for the future.

The Committee wish further to emphasize the fact that both the Board of Trustees and the citizens of Durham have constantly made prominent the necessity of keeping faith with the citizens of Raleigh in relation to the removal of the College; and that both Trustees and donors alike have refused to entertain any proposal of removal to Durham except upon conditions of a free and voluntary release from the obligation to remove to Raleigh.

Great as our love for the College is, positive as our judgment is, of the greater advantages to be derived by the acceptance of the offer of Durham, we place the future of the College, and the unanimous judgment of the Trustees, at the mercy of your willingness to forego the removal

of the College to Raleigh. If released, the College will be no less interested in the prosperity of your city; if not released, it will seek to fulfill its obligations to you, with the high sense of honor and gratitude with which it and its representatives have always tried to act.[49]

Attached to these resolutions was a communication from Raleigh releasing Trinity from any obligation to remove to the capital city. The executive committee accepted these resolutions together with the communication from Raleigh and appointed the following building committee: W. Duke, R. E. Lyon, R. T. Gray, J. M. Odell, J. S. Carr, E. J. Parrish, J. F. Crowell, W. F. Kornegay, E. A. Yates, and J. W. Alspaugh.

The approval of the two Methodist conferences was now the only remaining obstacle to the removal of Trinity to Durham. Since the last meeting of the North Carolina Conference, Methodism in the state had been divided into the North Carolina and the Western North Carolina conferences. The trustees anticipated no great opposition to their action in either of these bodies. At their separate meetings in November and December, 1890, the conferences acted quickly and enthusiastically in accepting the recommendations of the trustees in regard to the College and in concurring with the board in plans for the conversion of the buildings and grounds at old Trinity into a preparatory school under the control of Trinity College. The trustees were further directed to take all legal steps for the transference of the property in Durham.[50]

Such steps, already in progress by the trustees, were continued; a new charter was prepared; bills were formulated; and in 1891 these proposals were enacted into law by the General Assembly of North Carolina.[51] Under the terms of the new charter, the trustees were authorized "to remove the operation and exercise" of Trinity College and to locate necessary buildings "at or near the town of Durham, North Carolina." The board was further empowered to

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 208-212.

[50] Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference, 1890-1893, pp. 51-54; Journal of the Western North Carolina Conference, First Session, Held at Concord, N. C., Nov. 26, 1890, pp. 37-40.

[51] Unless otherwise indicated, references to these acts are taken from the following: Journal of the North Carolina Conference, 1880-1889, pp. 217-218, 1890-1893, pp. 109-110; *Supplemented Trinity College Bulletin, 1891;* Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1891-1900, p. 108; *Laws of North Carolina, 1891.*

"establish and maintain in connection with said College, institutions of primary and intermediate education at the present site of the College in Randolph County and at such other points as they may hereafter determine, for the purpose of preparing students for admission to a collegiate course." The management of "such auxiliary and subordinate high schools and academies," as well as the making of "by-laws and regulations for them" and for Trinity, was vested in the board of trustees. The board was authorized to acquire or accept as gifts and bequests for the College and "its dependent schools," property "to value not exceeding in the aggregate the sum of $3,000,000." The composition of the board itself was changed: it was to be made up of thirty-six members, twelve elected by each of the two Methodist conferences, and twelve by the "graduates" of the College. The method of choosing the trustees from the conferences was left with those bodies, but the board of trustees was authorized to "regulate by by-law the manner of election of the trustees to be chosen by the graduates." The term of office was to be six years, with the terms of a third of the membership expiring every two years. The term of all members of the old board was to expire on January 1, 1892, and new trustees were to be selected according to the provisions of the new charter. Should vacancies occur for any reason, the new board was empowered to select new members for any unexpired terms. All laws or charters heretofore granted which were in conflict with the new charter were repealed; and a final provision declared that "this act shall be in force from and after its acceptance by the Board of Trustees of Trinity College."

It was a brief charter, differing radically from the previous charters of the institution. It said nothing about the ownership of the College by the Methodist conferences; the trustees, no longer self-perpetuating, constituted the final authority of the College; all references to degrees and academic distinctions were omitted; nothing was said about the selling of liquor on or near the grounds or forbidding the operation of bawdy houses and gambling devices near the College.

There was a reasonable explanation for the omission of these points. The property in Durham was not donated by the Conferences, or to those bodies, but it was given by individuals to Trinity

College. The change in the selection and composition of the board of trustees represented a deep conviction of Crowell. It was his desire to secure a "more representative composition of the body, and to make the controlling authorities less of the inbred type of custodian and more of the newly arising elements of the State and Conferences in particular and of the South in general."[52]

Instead of prohibitive measures against questionable establishments on or near the property of the College, a "novel experiment" in self-government for the College was proposed in a bill by the trustees, and enacted into law by the General Assembly of 1891. The bill was entitled "an act to incorporate the grounds of Trinity College as Trinity College Park; and an act to amend the charter of Trinity College, so as to provide for the admission of students to a share in the government thereof." According to provisions of this act, the sixty-two and one-half acres of land owned by the College, and any other adjacent lands acquired, were incorporated as Trinity College Park, and "shall have the benefit of and be subject to all the provisions of law in reference to the government of municipal communities" as set forth in the laws of North Carolina. The officers of the Park were to consist of a mayor, three commissioners, and a constable "to be elected on the first Monday of May, 1892, and annually thereafter." The qualified voters in these elections were all residents within the limits of the Park, "who are entitled to vote under the laws of North Carolina and of the United States." The jurisdiction of the "municipal officers" extended "to the enforcement of the authority of the governing powers of the College."

The governing bodies of the College consisted of the President of the College, the elected officers, an Upper Council composed "of all male citizens among the faculty and officers of the College and all students thereof having attained the age of twenty-one years or over," and a Lower Council made up of "all minor members of the Junior and Senior classes and all members not of age in the professional schools." The councils were empowered to enact "laws and acts" over which the President of the College was given the power of veto; and by vote the trustees could at any time declare "null and void" any act by the students, residents, or president. The

[52] J. F. Crowell to W. K. Boyd, Feb. 4, 1922 (Private Collection).

government of Trinity Park as thus set up was declared *"in loco parentis"* to all students who had not been admitted in full standing to the College and who were not members of the junior and senior classes.[53]

This experiment in college government provided that "the higher classes in College undertake their own government within the restraints of the higher authorities of the College." It represented the ideas of Crowell, and settled "the question as to the relation of the civil to the college authorities." The provisions of the act were purposely elastic to enable the College to set up its own government "within the established laws of the land." A college bulletin pointed out that the students at Trinity, unlike students in the other colleges, did not lose their franchise while they were in school.[54]

While the new charter with its supporting laws was being prepared and enacted, officials were making definite plans for the removal of the College. Although removal under any circumstances was difficult, it was further complicated by the bitterness of the residents of old Trinity and their friends. They felt that they had been betrayed and that the College had been given into the hands of the "tobacco interests."[55] Disregarding both criticism and praise, Crowell planned the conversion of old Trinity into a preparatory school and the expansion of the educational program at the College in Durham.[56] Late in 1890 he outlined some of his ideas to Josephus Daniels, representing the *State Chronicle:*

> The scope of collegiate education is to be widened to embrace all the chief subjects of popular interest. There is no reason why a college should not educate its students up to a point where they can step directly into industrial and commercial life as well as into other phases of human development. The old A.B. course is to be strengthened and broadened; this will be pre-eminently the intellectual course. For the industrial, the school of Mechanics and Engineering will be built and equipped. For political education the School of Political and Social Science is being developed as rapidly as possible. A large collection of political studies have accumulated in this school as the results of the work of its instructors and

[53] *Supplement to Trinity College Bulletin, 1891.*

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 164.

[56] Memorandum to Professor W. K. Boyd from J. F. Crowell, Jan. 19, 1922 (Private Collection).

scholars, and we are preparing to publish them in a Journal of Political Science under the management of this school. The religious part of a liberal education will be provided for in the Divinity School. . . .

We regard athletics as a part of collegiate culture. Our grounds are not excelled by any of which I know in any American college. The fine half mile track will make a fine bicycle track on which we hope to have annual bicycle races and competitors from all over the State and from other States. . . . We propose to make physical instruction part of our curriculum. Every physically weak youth can be made strong and vigorous by the right kind of exercise chosen with reference to his state of body upon admission to college. Young men ought to be required to pass a required standard in physical as well as in mental attainments. . . . We need better lungs for our youth and young men; better muscles and better appetites and the open air is the place to get them. Therefore, I believe in body-culture as well as in soul culture. Their lives will be longer, less dyspepsia and more vigorous in every way. . . .

We propose to have an endowed printing press. This powerful agency in education has been too much neglected by the colleges. They do much that ought to be made known to the public or used for distribution among educational institutions. We will dispense with a professorship to have our own printing press. It will do more teaching than any two teachers, and it is the best way to educate the public which never gets to college. . . .[57]

At the close of this interview Daniels announced his confidence in Crowell's plans and in his "power to carry them out." To these words of approval, President G. W. Winston of the University of North Carolina added his congratulation in a speech before the State Educational Meeting in 1890.[58] Not to be outdone, General J. M. B. Leach, erstwhile opponent of removal, praised the Dukes and urged Methodism to rally to the support of Trinity at its new location. He declared that the names of Craven and Duke would be forever united in a great institution of learning at Trinity.[59] The Methodist press of the South approved the new plans for the College and extended congratulations to both Trinity and North Carolina.[60]

[57] *State Chronicle*, Nov. 19, 1890.

[58] *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1890.

[59] J. M. Leach, "The Founder and Friend of Trinity College," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 25, 1890.

[60] The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* printed selections from the *Richmond Advocate*, *Wesleyan Advocate*, and *Nashville Advocate*. See *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 2, 1890.

Preparation at the New Site

Meanwhile plans were rapidly taking form for the erection of buildings in Durham.[61] There was much curiosity about Blackwell Park, especially from those who had wanted Trinity to remove to Raleigh. L. L. Nash visited the site and wrote his enthusiastic approval to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*:

> The Blackwell Park at Durham, where Trinity College will be located, is one of the finest pieces of property in the State. I had no idea what a magnificent site, and fine grounds the College had until Brother B. N. Duke took me over them. There is 62½ acres, upon which $40,000 has been expended in improvements of various kinds. There are a number of neat cottages scattered around over the grounds, four fine wells of water; a large building used for a grandstand, and a fine drive, made for a track to try the speed of horses, and within this circle is the finest grounds for athletic sports to be found anywhere. There is a fine orchard on the grounds, and grape vineyard, a large stable (two of them) and a hennery. In fact there is every appliance for a truck and dairy farm. Then there is a fine grove of young oaks, large enough to make an excellent shade on another part of the grounds, of several acres dimensions. When I rode through these grounds, I could not help exclaiming: "The Lord, by His special Providence, gave this beautiful site to His choice for a Christian School."[62]

This was the spot—the present site of the Woman's College of Duke University—upon which the building committee prepared to erect new buildings. In the early months of 1890 these officials held meetings in Durham, and by April arrangements were well under way for the erection of the Main Building, later known as the Washington Duke Building. Plans by S. L. Leary, architect of Charlotte, were accepted; and C. H. Norton was chosen builder.[63]

November 11, 1890, was the date set for laying the cornerstone of the Main Building. By that time the foundation was laid and the walls were "above ground." The date had been announced through the press, and Durham, Trinity College, and its officials prepared an elaborate ceremony. On the appointed day people from North Carolina and other states gathered for the celebration.[64]

[61] *State Chronicle*, June 18, 1890.

[62] L. L. Nash, "Blackwell Park," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 1, 1890.

[63] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, April 2, 23, June 11, 1890; *State Chronicle*, June 11, 1890; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, pp. 36-38.

[64] Durham *Daily Sun*, Nov. 6, 7, 11, 12, 1890.

Josephus Daniels, representing the *State Chronicle*, wrote warmly about Durham as a "public-spirited town" and declared that its citizens would "leave nothing undone to make the College one of the greatest institutions in the South."[65] Besides representatives of the press, many state officials and leaders in the religious, educational, and economic life of North Carolina were present. From old Trinity Crowell brought the faculty and fifty students, including the senior class in cap and gown.[66]

The "order of march" was as follows: chief of police (mounted), marshal-in-chief and staff, Durham Band, Durham Light Infantry, fire companies, the schools, Tobacco Board of Trade, Commonwealth Club, Mayor and Board of Town Commissioners, Pythians, Odd Fellows, Knights Templars, Masons, Building Committee, and speakers. When the procession reached the college campus, the Masons took charge and proceeded with the "usual masonic ceremony of laying the cornerstone." The following items were placed in the stone: Masonic Code of North Carolina; Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of 1890; copies of the *State Chronicle*, *News and Observer*, *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, and *Turner's Almanac of 1891*; program of the graduating exercises of Trinity College, 1890; Trinity catalogues; blank diploma of Trinity College; reports of the President of Trinity College to the North Carolina Conference, 1887 and 1888; official blanks in use at the College; coins of various kinds; and "sundry papers and documents."[67]

After the Masonic ceremony Captain E. J. Parrish introduced Crowell, "who in a few appropriate remarks expressed the thanks of Trinity" and introduced General R. B. Vance, who delivered the "Masonic Address." Vance spoke of Masonry and its history; then he talked about the College and declared that "it was dedicated to God and to the enlargement of the mind."[68] Following this speech, the main address of the day was delivered by Thomas J. Jarvis. He spoke of the fine physical plant that was being built and pointed out that the new Trinity was founded upon the lifework of Braxton Craven and his helpers. They had sacrificed greatly that Trinity

[65] *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1890; *State Chronicle*, Nov. 19, 1890.
[66] *Ibid.*; *Trinity Archive*, IV (Dec., 1890), 45-46.
[67] *State Chronicle*, Nov. 19, 1890; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 19, 1890.
[68] *State Chronicle*, Nov. 19, 1890; *Trinity Archive*, IV (Dec., 1890), 45-46.

might live and produce Christian men, trained to serve their state and age. The College had moved geographically nearer the University of North Carolina; together the two institutions could serve more effectively the citizens of the state. Jarvis urged that every influence be given toward the development of public education during the next decade. With these final words of advice, Jarvis ended what was pronounced "one of the best speeches of his life."[69]

This address closed the formal ceremony of laying the cornerstone. The lighter entertainment of the day was furnished by a football game between two Trinity teams. Visitors found further amusement in a farmer who brought his tobacco to sell in Durham. He found business houses closed and everyone gathered in Trinity Park. Turning homeward with his load of tobacco unsold, he remarked disgustedly: "I can't sell my tobacco today, for everybody is going to see the laying of that tombstone of Trinity College."[70]

The Main College Building[71] fronted toward a railroad track which ran between Raleigh and Greensboro, and the structure was located about two hundred yards from this line. It was a three-story brick building, covered with slate, and with an imposing tower in the center. Lavatories, "a fine large Howard clock with three faces," and a "wonderful college bell" were finally located in this tower, whose archway furnished the main entrance to the building. The building was wired for electricity, "heated with warm air, and ventilated by the most perfect system for supplying pure air, warm or cold, and removing vitiated atmosphere from a building." There were "bathing apartments" on every floor but the first, and "the dry-closet system was used with underground drainage from the inside and from the surface about the building." The building was 208 x 50 feet and contained nearly sixty dormitory rooms on the second

[69] T. J. Jarvis, "Address of Governor Jarvis," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Nov. 26, 1890; *State Chronicle*, Nov. 19, 1890.

[70] Durham, "The Beginning of Football at Trinity"; *Trinity Archive*, IV (Dec., 1890), 49; Durham *Daily Sun*, Nov. 12, 1890.

[71] Unless otherwise indicated, the descriptions of the buildings are taken from the following: *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, Part II, pp. 33-35; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 20, 1891, June 29, 1892; Durham *Daily Globe*, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, pp. 36 ff.; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 169 ff.; *Trinity Alumni Register*, I, 24-26, 104-105, 191, III, 145-146, IV, 95-97, VIII, 178-179; *Alumni Register of Duke University*, XI (Feb., 1925), 88-91.

and third floors. There was space for twelve lecture rooms and offices, "special laboratories for the use of the professors, and apartments for assistants and employees." An ample basement provided space for toilets. The interior of the building was "finished throughout with bright North Carolina pine." Though "somewhat dull and heavy in its effect upon the observer," it was declared the "most complete College building in the State in point of ventilation, architecture, comfort, and modern conveniences."

The College Inn (later known as Epworth) was also in process of construction. It was described as "the most attractive feature of the new Durham plant" and "of extraordinary merit both in architectural design and in point of utility." It was located within one hundred yards of the Main Building "in the midst of tall oaks, with Faculty Row terminating at its main western porch. . . ." It was "so convenient of access that strangers coming for the first time realized its homelike character," and its "ample porches afforded opportunity for social life." It was for the completion of the College Inn that Washington Duke in January, 1892, made his second donation to the building fund, this time the sum of $15,000. The *Raleigh Christian Advocate* declared: "This makes Mr. Duke the donor of the largest gift ever made by any Southern man for educational purposes. It puts him at the head of the list."[72]

The College Inn provided seventy-five dormitory rooms accommodating one hundred and sixty persons, two parlors, a library, a dining room with a seating capacity of two hundred and fifty, an office, and a waiting room, all "brightened by the finest North Carolina pine." Its provisions for lighting and heating were similar to those of the Main College Building, and its sanitary arrangements were "very complete."

As a memorial to Laura Getz Crowell, his wife who had died shortly after he came to Trinity, Crowell planned and donated to the College the Technological Building (in 1947 the Panhellenic Building on the Woman's College Campus).[73] While it was not completed until after Crowell left Trinity, during his administration it provided for the schools of physics, chemistry, biology, and engi-

[72] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Jan. 27, 1892.
[73] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 170-175.

neering. This building "fronted on the athletic field, included in the race track of the old fair ground." It was a three-story brick structure with a basement in which was installed a dynamo for generating the electric current used in the various buildings on the campus. The finished parts of the building contained space for laboratories, lecture rooms, carpenter shop, machine shop, and a "blue print room."

The plans for a gymnasium remained unexecuted during 1890-1892. The same was true of plans for a building to be erected as a memorial to Braxton Craven. In 1891 Crowell was active in raising money among the alumni for such a project.[74]

Besides the three college buildings, six new residences of "the cottage type" were erected; and one older residence, already on the grounds, was remodeled. The new houses, "of frame structure with seven or eight rooms each and a bathroom," were erected from plans purchased from an architectural company in New York. Built for the faculty, they were known as Faculty Row, "fronting on the main driveway at the entrance of the campus, with their backyards on the old Guess Road [in 1949 Buchanan Boulevard]." Their modern conveniences, electricity, toilets, and bathrooms with hot and cold water, were unattainable luxuries at Old Trinity. To guarantee the healthfulness of the location of all the buildings and their sanitary arrangements, the building committee consulted the State Board of Health, which approved all plans.[75]

Trinity was scheduled to open at its new plant in September, 1891, and much remained to be done. Working under high pressure, Crowell went to Durham in August to supervise the finishing of the Main Building. Everything was completed but its tower, and there were curious rumors that it was unsafe. The contracting builder assured Crowell that such rumors were untrue, that they were harming his reputation, and requested that Crowell make a public statement branding them as false. Crowell consented, and one of the Durham papers printed his statement. A few days later,

[74] *Trinity Archive*, IV (June, 1891), 145; *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1890-1891*, Part II, pp. 33 ff.; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Sept. 30, 1891.

[75] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 11, 1890; J. H. Way and L. B. McBrayer, *Medical Colleges in North Carolina* (an address read before the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, May, 2, 1928).

to his horror, he was awakened one morning by a cry in the streets of Durham: "The Trinity College Tower fell last night!" Seven hours before the collapse he and the architect had stood upon the tower while the masons "were smoothing out the base on top for the clock tower." The two men had congratulated each other upon their successful achievement.[76]

On the day before the crash, C. H. Norton, the builder, had noticed "a small crack under the arch of the vestibule" and had left orders with his foreman to dismiss the workmen if it "got worse." The crack widened about five o'clock, and the foreman dismissed his workers. No one was near the hundred-foot tower when it crashed that night. It appeared that the arch at the vestibule door gave way, and the weight of thousands of bricks "carried everything before it to the basement." The estimated loss was between $6,000 and $10,000.[77]

The executive committee of the board of trustees and the building committee met immediately to investigate the catastrophe and to make plans for the future. "The blame for the blunder was not easily located." Crowell felt that it was due to "an architectural mistake in design," but one that a "practical builder" should have foreseen. B. N. Duke employed W. J. Hicks, an eminent architect, to aid in the investigation. Hicks showed that the masonry was defective; "large gaps" had not been "filled in," and as a result the whole tower was weakened. Without fixing definite blame, the officials decided to rebuild the tower at once. Hicks, who was employed to supervise its reconstruction, was instructed to rebuild the tower "in the most substantial manner."[78]

It soon became evident that with the added burden of rebuilding, it would be impossible to open Trinity on schedule at its new plant. After considering the problem, the executive committee decided to postpone removal until the following year, 1892. With a strong declaration of faith in the College regardless of its recent misfortune,

[76] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 201; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, May 20, 1891.

[77] Durham *Daily Globe*, Aug. 10, 1891; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 21, 1891.

[78] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 199-200; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Aug. 3, 1892.

the members of the committee announced their decision in a prepared statement to the press.[79]

This statement did little to calm the fury of criticism that was raging throughout the state. Immediately after the fall of the tower, the Durham *Globe* advised the public "to keep on its shirt," for an investigation would be made, and to talk as little as possible about the disaster. When the sinking of the tower was hailed as an act of God to prevent Trinity from deserting its birthplace, when anathemas were heaped upon the head of Crowell, and when the good intentions of the town of Durham were attacked, the *Globe* kept neither cool nor silent. In strong language the editor urged loyalty to Trinity and Durham. The buildings must be safe, and the authorities would see to that. As far as the critical press of the state was concerned, the *Globe* could take care of barking newspapers. It complimented the *News and Observer* for its treatment of the catastrophe, but taunted the *Chronicle*, because the "battered old wreck" did not print "a line concerning the Trinity mishap."[80]

The editor of the *Globe* reserved his most startling epithets for the High Point *Enterprise*. This newspaper, published about six miles from old Trinity, had always opposed removal. It now declared that the falling of the tower was a "calamity to the denomination and an injury to the school." Moreover, it ventured to prophesy: "No one will ever rest easy in the building if it is repaired." Then the *Enterprise* took a shot at Durham: "As the building was put there to boom Durham and not to benefit the school, the denomination don't know exactly what sort of a face to make at the calamity." This was too much for the *Globe*. It wilted the *Enterprise* with an editorial entitled "A Jealous Slanderer." Among other remarks the editor stated:

> People who think, people who read, and people who are honest, will say that the creature at High Point is not the kind of man who would inspire confidence, even if he tried to borrow a dime on the peach blow tint of his classic countenance.

[79] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 19, 1891; *Durham Daily Globe*, Aug. 14, 1891; *Supplement to Bulletin Number 10*.

[80] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 199-202; Durham *Daily Globe*, Aug. 10, 11, 14, 22, 1891.

When he strikes at Trinity College, while the blow is weak, the animus of the fellow is shown, and it is only the inspiring wail of a very cheap attempt to allow people to stop at his town while on their way to college.

This is terrible. . . .
This is the milk in the cocoanut.
This is the monkey in the tree.
This is the jackass in High Point.
When he brays,
If he prays,
Wonder if he wants some brains.
He's an ass,
Let it pass,
Will he go in if it rains?
Well, the possibilities are that he will not.[81]

The officials of Trinity took no part in this unpleasantness. Crowell wrote a dignified explanation of the disaster to the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, stated the plans for rebuilding and expanding the plant at Durham, and urged loyalty to the College. He and other friends of Trinity answered criticism by work, monetary donations, and other gifts.[82]

Even these efforts were not sufficient to cope with the financial requirements of removal and building. The depression of 1890-1892 severely strained the finances of the College and its supporters. Pledges were unpaid, and the College faced disaster worse than the fallen tower. Washington Duke, B. N. Duke, and others loyally supported the College during this time when it seemed that even the economic forces of the nation were bent on its destruction.[83]

Added to the financial strain of building the new plant were the demands of the preparatory schools affiliated with Trinity. The requirements of the school that was being established at old Trinity were especially urgent. By provisions of deeds, the land there could not be sold but must be used for educational purposes. It was a concession to the opponents of removal that the old site of the College

[81] Durham *Daily Globe*, Aug. 22, 1891.

[82] J. F. Crowell, "Trinity's Misfortune," *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, Aug. 26, 1891; see also issues for Jan. 27, June 29, July 13, Aug. 3, 10, 17, 31, Sept. 7, 14, 28, Oct. 5, 21, 26, Nov. 9, Dec. 14, 1892.

[83] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, pp. 188, 197-199; Boyd, *Story of Durham*, pp. 123, 170-172; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1900, pp. 48-49.

would be used as a preparatory school affiliated with Trinity. Arrangements were made for the opening of this institution as the Trinity High School as soon as the College removed to Durham.[84]

Meanwhile the buildings at the plant in Durham were nearing completion. By February, 1892, the "last brick" had been laid for the rebuilding of the tower of the Main Building. On the day of its completion, a crowd gathered on the grounds to see the tower again crash to the ground. There was no such spectacle. The *Globe* announced that the structure was a "very fine piece of work and as strong as the rock of Gibraltar."[85]

Although the buildings were nearing completion, no funds had been raised or earmarked for their furnishing. The Reverend F. L. Reid, editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, proposed that individual Methodists, churches, Sunday Schools, and other organizations assume the responsibility for furnishing one or more rooms. To this end, he and Crowell urged this cause before quarterly conferences and other Church gatherings. In a regular column in the *Advocate*, Reid printed the names and donations of all contributors. The donors were "recognized by a printed card covered by a glass and fastened in a small frame on the inside of each room." In this way practically all the rooms were furnished and made ready for the students.[86]

During the spring and summer of 1892 a few articles were removed from old Trinity to Durham. The "College Clock and big bell" were placed in the tower of the Main Building. Other "movables" were "several thousand books belonging to the Hesperian and Columbian Literary societies, some reference volumes and records belonging to the College Office," and a safe for the keeping of "valuable college documents."[87] The members of the faculty who had decided to follow the College to Durham moved their families and

[84] Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, 1880-1891, p. 200; 1891-1900, pp. 38-39, 56; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 2, 1890, May 13, 1891, Aug. 17, Sept. 14, 1892.

[85] Durham *Daily Globe*, Feb. 1, 1892.

[86] *Ibid.*; *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 29, July 13, Aug. 3, 10, 17, 31, Sept. 7, 14, 21, 28, Oct. 5, 12, 26, Nov. 2, 9, 16, Dec. 14, 1892; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 187.

[87] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, March 23, 30, 1892; Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 168.

household furnishings to their new homes on Faculty Row. The "only chattels" that could not make the trip in the freight car, hired for the purpose of transporting household goods, were Professor Pegram's cow and the horses belonging to the Crowell family. These "footed the journey to their new home. . . ."[88]

During the months of building and removal, the students bore all inconveniences with good-natured tolerance. They had favored removal, and they were willing to bear their part of any incidental hardship. They visited Durham and reported enthusiastically upon their reception.[89] Meanwhile at old Trinity they showed that they did not expect all their dreams to come true at the new plant. One doubter expressed his feelings in rhyme:

"Oh, when we get to Durham," is a phrase that's often used
In matters that pertain unto our work,
And we fear this poor expression is extremely much abused,
For its made to bear the blame of every shirk.

"When we git, When we git," you may hear the teacher tell,
"O when we git to Durham, why, then, all will be well."
For when our dusky janitor had left the fire unmade,
And in the chilly room we'd slowly freeze,
"Oh, when we get to Durham," the Professor gently said,
"We'll all be just as happy as you please."
"When we git, when we git," etc.

When we go into the library to get some needful books,
And all in vain we search the meager shelves,
"Why, when we get to Durham," is in Professor's looks,
So we all say just the same unto ourselves.
"When we git, when we git," etc.

When in want of apparatus to make a science test,
You will hear again the burden of their wail;
The Professor'll answer solemnly, in earnest or in jest,
And "When we get to Durham" is his tale.
"When we git, when we git," etc.

In the cold and rainy weather, when within door we must stay,
And have no means to exercise our muscle,
"Now when we get to Durham," the Professor'll softly say,
"All through a fine gymnasium you may hustle."
"When we git, when we git," etc.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, June 8, 1892; *Trinity Archive*, V (June, 1892), 386.

When we think about the social side of life upon this sphere,
And say we think facilities are small,
It is answered back unto us, "Well, we know that they are here,
But when you get to Durham, you'll have all."
"When we git, when we git," etc.

So unto the present classes, you will pardon me, I pray,
If what I say may sacreligious [*sic*] seem,
We think a lesser heaven we will attain that day,
And trust it will not all end in a dream.
"When we git, when we git," etc.[90]

The long-expected time for the opening of the new plant was set for September 1, 1892. On that date, with many details still unfinished, Trinity opened its doors in Durham.[91] Enthusiastically the town welcomed the College as more than a hundred students entered Trinity at its new location. The editor of the *Trinity Archive* wrote of the new venture:

After three years of laborious effort the College opens its first session at Durham in its new buildings. In many respects they are as yet incomplete in minor details of finish and arrangement, but in general the buildings are in shape to enter upon the year's work with incomparably greater advantage to all concerned than ever before. There are now more and better buildings; the furnishings are new and substantial, giving the interior a fresh and comfortable appearance. The grounds themselves, with the neat cottages for the Professors, are home-like and well drained. The conveniences of modern life are here. To these the body of students have entered earlier this year than usual, and therefore added to the difficulty of getting things in as good working order at the start as was desired. But these inconveniences are being gradually overcome, in spite of the fact that contractors, whose work should have been completed months ago, are still here and in the way of the work of the College proper.

Such things as these cannot be helped. They are the necessary accompaniments of improvements and growth. Growth means passing out of the old and into the new. This passage involves a readjustment of ourselves to new conditions with which we are not yet familiar. Our duty is to enter upon this new order of things, not with murmur and com-

[90] *Trinity Archive*, V (May, 1892), 345-346.

[91] *Raleigh Christian Advocate*, July 20, Aug. 10, Sept. 24, 1892; Durham *Daily Globe*, Sept. 9, 23, 1892; G. T. Rowe, "The Washington Duke Building," *Trinity Alumni Register*, I (July, 1915), 104; M. T. Plyler, "Trinity Commencement Fifty Years Ago. . . ," Durham *Herald*, May 24, 1942.

plaint but with the sense that we are a part of the change and progress, and that as such we have a part to play in making the advance into a higher and better order of life.[92]

In moving the College from its old site, Crowell felt that he had achieved "the Impossible."[93] He had guided Trinity nearer the main currents of American life; now with faith in its ability to train students for leadership in state and nation, he confidently faced the future.

[92] *Trinity Archive*, VI (Sept., 1892), 23-24.
[93] Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*, p. 144.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Relics And Remains

In connection with Springfield Friends Church, near High Point, North Carolina, there is a Museum of Old Domestic Life. This museum contains furniture, farm implements, clothing, spinning wheels, looms, cooking utensils, candle molds, leather goods, and other articles used and manufactured by people of the vicinity of Old Trinity and Archdale during the nineteenth century, together with a few manuscripts, pictures, rare books, and other printed materials.

In the Springfield churchyard are buried some of the families of the early settlers of Randolph and Guilford counties. Their names, dates of birth, marriage, and death, together with other information, appear on the stones which mark their graves. Other families are buried in the churchyards of the Hopewell, Ebenezer, and Trinity Methodist churches, a few miles away.

Hunt Inn, formerly owned by Nathan Hunt, Junior, but in 1942 used as a private residence, stands near the State Highway between Archdale and High Point. Before the Civil War this inn was an important stop for stages operating over the plank road between Fayetteville and Salem, North Carolina.

A few miles from Trinity is the family burying ground of General Alexander Gray and his relatives. At Trinity stand the homes of Braxton Craven and his family, together with those of William Trigg Gannaway and other members of the community of old Trinity College; and at Archdale are the homes of Allen U. Tomlinson and members of his family together with remains of early manufacturing plants.

Appendix

EXPLANATION OF TABLES 1 AND 2

The information in Tables 1 and 2 is assembled from various catalogues and official reports of the institution. Since these records do not

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF STUDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO COURSES, 1850-1892

Year	Special Depts.	College Department				Graduates	Total
	Preparatory and Other Special Courses	Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior		
1850-51..	48	71	2	8	0	0	129
1851-52..	106	23	21	2	0	0	152
1852-53..	100	46	28	9	2	2	185
1853-54..	99	51	27	10	8	8	195
1854-55..	92	30	22	12	6	6	162
1855-56..	112	23	19	8	8	8	170
1856-57..	132	25	16	11	6	5	190
1857-58..	147	45	21	13	12	12	238
1858-59..	107	36	26	10	13	10	192
1859-60..	107	25	33	20	9	9	194
1860-61..	109	32	31	24	19	18	215
1861-62..	...	..	..	..	..	8	82
1862-63..	...	..	..	..	..	1	65
1863-64..	...	..	..	..	..	1	85
1864-65..	...	..	..	..	..	0	20(?)
1865-66..	...	..	..	..	..	3	50
1866-67..	...	..	..	..	..	1	103
1867-68..	105	19	14	6	1	4	131
1868-69..	100	29	15	13	8	8	142
1869-70..	166	31	24	19	14	14	201
1870-71..	125	34	21	18	16	16	165
1871-72..	109	33	34	15	11	11	158
1872-73..	91	27	37	21	9	10	143
1873-74..	70	18	18	22	13	13	122
1874-75..	30	30	17	16	14	14	107
1875-76..	99	21	28	18	15	15	140
1876-77..	85	20	18	21	12	12	126
1877-78..	100	21	25	14	19	22	134
1878-79..	80	21	19	16	10	10	114
1879-80..	68	28	11	7	14	14	104
1880-81..	81	22	25	9	5	5	117
1881-82..	...	..	..	..	..	10	(?)
1882-83..	40	24	19	17	20	18	100
1883-84..	35	27	16	12	14	11	104
1884-85..	60	27	18	10	10	8	125
1885-86..	51	46	28	9	12	12	146
1886-87..	51	45	26	14	6	6	142
1887-88..	...	..	..	..	..	8	154
1888-89..	...	64	23	14	10	10	111
1889-90..	...	44	36	19	14	11	113
1890-91..	63	31	42	28	12	12	177
1891 92..	70	82	41	18	18	18	229

TABLE 2

Geographical Distribution of Students, 1850-1892

Year	Alabama	Arkansas	China	Connecticut	Florida	Georgia	Cherokee Indian Res.	Louisiana	Mississippi	Missouri	Nebraska	New York	North Carolina	Pennsylvania	South Carolina	Tennessee	Texas	Virginia	Total
1850-51	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	119	..	9	1	..	..	129
1851-52	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	131	..	15	..	..	5	152
1852-53	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	162	..	17	..	..	3	185
1853-54	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	163	..	23	1	..	4	195
1854-55	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	145	..	8	..	..	7	162
1855-56	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	3	..	..	..	141	..	6	..	..	16	170
1856-57	1	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	2	1	..	..	153	..	6	..	2	16	190
1857-58	3	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	198	..	10	1	..	16	238
1858-59	2	..	..	..	..	14	..	1	2	..	..	..	144	..	11	..	..	18	192
1859-60	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	1	2	..	..	..	149	..	21	..	..	7	194
1860-61	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	2	..	..	..	173	..	18	..	1	10	215
1861-62	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82
1862-63	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	65
1863-64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	46
1864-65	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20(?)
1865-66	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50
1866-67	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	103
1867-68	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	128	..	..	..	..	..	131
1868-69	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	138	..	..	1	..	..	142
1869-70	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	5	..	..	..	179	..	7	1	3	2	201
1870-71	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	156	..	3	..	4	..	165
1871-72	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	4	..	..	..	146	..	5	..	..	..	158
1872-73	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	134	..	3	1	..	..	143
1873-74	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	3	..	..	..	111	..	4	1	..	..	122
1874-75	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	99	..	3	2	1	..	107
1875-76	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	133	..	2	2	1	1	140
1876-77	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	123	..	3	..	..	..	126
1877-78	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	131	..	3	..	..	..	134
1878-79	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	106	..	6	..	..	2	114
1879-80	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	91	..	8	..	..	4	104
1880-81	..	..	1	..	..	1	12	..	..	..	..	..	97	..	3	..	..	3	117
1881-82	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(?)
1882-83	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	67	..	8	..	..	5	100
1883-84	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	76	..	4	..	..	4	104
1884-85	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	104	..	..	..	..	1	125
1885-86	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	146	..	..	..	..	..	146
1886-87	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	137	..	5	..	..	..	142
1887-88	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	148	3	3	..	..	..	154
1888-89	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	108	1	2	..	..	..	111
1889-90	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	107	2	1	..	..	1	113
1890-91	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	172	2	..	..	..	2	177
1891-92	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	216	1	1	..	..	..	229

always agree, the figures may be considered only approximately correct. The total number of students does not always equal the total number registered in individual classes during a given year. This discrepancy is due to the fact that students were permitted to enter "special" courses

along with other regular classifications. In this way, they were sometimes listed and counted twice in official reports and publications. The catalogue for 1890-1891 lists one graduate student, the first to appear in any official publication. No catalogue has been found for the year 1881-1882, and no list of students appears in other reports of the College; hence the failure to include statistics for that year. The catalogue for 1887-1888 did not group students according to classes. For the years between 1862 and 1867 no catalogues have been found.

Appendix

TRUSTEES OF UNION INSTITUTE NORMAL AND TRINITY COLLEGES (1839-1892)

Since the records of the institution are incomplete and in some instances disagree on names and dates, the following list of trustees may be somewhat inaccurate. It was compiled from the catalogues and manuscript records of the institution (1839-1892). The term of office of the trustees whose names are marked by asterisks extended beyond 1892.

Names and Dates in Office

* Adams, S. D., 1869-1892
* Alspaugh, Col. J. W., 1867-1892
Andrews, Rev. A. S., 1850-1855
Andrews, Col. W. S. G., 1858-1878
* Barnett, Rev. W. R., 1890-1892
Barringer, Rev. W., 1856-1872
Battle, Hon. Kemp, 1868-1873
Beckwith, Dr. John, 1857-1879
* Black, Rev. W. S., 1873-1892
Blackmer, J. L., 1850-1858
Bledsoe, M. A., 1868-1873
Blocker, J. C., 1857-1861
Bobbitt, Rev. J. B., 1870-1891
Bobbitt, Rev. W. H., 1858-1890
Boykin, Hon. E. T., 1889-1891
* Bradshaw, G. S., 1891-1892
Burkhead, Wm. G., 1888-1891
Burkhead, Rev. L. S., 1867-1887
Bragg, Gov. Thomas, 1854-1858
Caldwell, G. W., 1852-1856
* Carr, Julian S., 1882-1892
* Carr, Prof. O. W., 1882-1892
Cherry, Jos. B., 1852-1858
Clark, J. F., 1858-1868
* Clark, Hon. Walter, 1889-1892
Closs, Rev. W., 1857-1881
Coffin, S. G. (M.D.), 1850-1870
Craven, Rev. Braxton, 1850-1882
* Crowell, John F., 1887-1892
* Cunninggim, Rev. J. A., 1888-1892
Davis, Matthew M., 1868-1891

Names and Dates in Office

Deems, Rev. Charles F., 1856-1871
Dobbin, Hon. J. C., 1852-1857
Dodson, Rev. C. C., 1882-1883
Doub, Rev. Peter, 1867-1869
Dowd, Hon. C., 1887-1890
Dowd, Major P. C., 1868-1887
* Duke, B. N., 1889-1892
Elliott, Henry B., 1850-1858
Ellison, Henry, 1839-(?)
* Ferree, J. H., 1882-1892
Finch, T. A., 1877-1887
Freeman, Dr. W. E., 1873-1878
Gales, Major Seaton, 1868-1875
Gannon, Rev. W. C., 1871-1891
Garrett, James M., 1852-1870
Gatlin, T. H., 1873-1887
Gilmer, John A., 1850-1868
Gray, General Alexander, 1839-(?), 1852-1853
* Gray, R. T., 1882-1892
* Gray, James A., 1885-1892
Graves, Calvin, 1852-1857
Gudger, H. A., 1890-1891
* Hall, Rev. B. R., 1889-1892
Hargrave, Col. Samuel, 1851-1855
Harris, Rev. J. T., 1888-1890
Harriss, T. W., 1858-1868
Heflin, Rev. R. T., 1856-1861
Hill, S. P., 1852-1856
* Hoyle, L. J., 1889-1892
Hudson, Rev. H. T., 1878-1892
Hunt, Nathan, Jr., 1839-1841
* Jarvis, Gov. T. J., 1882-1892

Names and Dates in Office

Johnson, Joseph, 1841(?)-1860
Johnson, K., 1854-1881
Jones, Rev. T. M., 1867-1889
* Jurney, Rev. N. M., 1891-1892
Kornegay, W. F., 1880-1891
Lane, Dr. W. B., 1852-1853
Leach, Jabez, 1839(?)-1853
Leach, James, 1839(?)-1881
Leach, General J. M. (B.), 1839-(?), 1850-1891
Leach, Col. Martin W., 1839-1861
Lewis, Rev. J. W., 1867-1884
Lillington, John A., 1852-1854
Lily, Henry, 1858-1881
Lines, C. M., 1849(?)-1856
McDonald, Rev. Thales, 1852-1853
McGee, Dr. J. W., 1878-1890
Mann, Rev. J. E., 1873-1890
Mangum, Rev. A. W., 1870-1878
Mauney, J. W., 1885-1892
Mendenhall, Joseph, 1841-(?)
* Mercer, Dr. W. P., 1891-1892
Merrimon, Hon. A. S., 1873-1881
* Montgomery, W. J., 1870-1892
Moore, Rev. J. P., 1870-1877
Morehead, Hon. J. T., 1852-1857
Nicholson, Rev. D. B., 1856-1867
* Norman, Rev. W. C., 1885-1892
* Odell, Wm. R., 1888-1892
Ogburn, E. W., 1852-1857
* Pegram, Prof. W. H., 1891-1892
Pinnix, J. C., 1870-1891
Purnell, T. R., 1878-1889
Puryear, Col. R. C., 1852-1858
Reid, Gov. David S., 1853-1854
* Reid, Rev. F. L., 1888-1892
* Reid, Rev. James, 1870-1872

Names and Dates in Office

Reid, Rev. N. F., 1857-1873
Robbins, Ahi, 1839-1886
Robbins, Rev. J. H., 1854-1869
* Robins, Colonel W. M., 1868-1892
Robey, Rev. W. M., 1885-1889
Russ, Major J. P. H., 1850-1875
Russel, Eli, 1850-1852
Saunders, Hon. R. M., 1852-1856
Scroggs, Dr. A. A., 1870-1887
Sheppard, A. H., 1850-1856
Simmons, F. M., 1891-1892
* Sharpe, Rev. V. A., 1888-1892
Short, H. B., 1858-1870
* Smith, Rev. M. A., 1891-1892
Spinks, Prof. H. W., 1885-1891
Steed, B. F., 1854-1891
Steele, Col. W. L., 1852-1875
Strange, Robert, 1852-1853
* Swindell, Rev. F. D., 1890-1892
Thomas, John W., 1850-1870
* Thomas, Dr. R. W., 1876-1892
Thorn, E. H., 1868-1875
Tillet, Rev. John, 1867-1875
Townsend, Aaron, 1867-1869
Troy, John B., 1850-1861[?]
Tucker, Rev. J. W., 1858-1868
Wallace, Col. S. D., 1858-1873
Washington, Hon. W. H., 1852-1858
Wiley, Calvin H., 1852-1857
Williamson, Dr. James E., 1857-1861(?)
Wilson, Rev. N. H. D., 1856-1887
* Wilson (or Willson), Rev. W. C., 1878-1892
* Wood, Rev. Marquis L., 1873-1892
Woodard, F. A., 1890-1891
Woodfin, N. W., 1852-1853
Wyche, Rev. Ira T., 1857-1880
* Yates, Rev. E. A., 1882-1892

Appendix

FACULTY AND ASSISTANTS AT BROWN'S SCHOOLHOUSE, UNION INSTITUTE, NORMAL AND TRINITY COLLEGES

(1838-1892)

This information was compiled from the minutes of the Union Institute Society; the *Autobiography of Brantley York*, edited by W. K. Boyd; the catalogues of the institutions; and "Dr. Craven's Interest in Public Education After the War," by E. C. Brooks (*Trinity Alumni Register*, IV, April, 1918).

The names of those who continued as members of the faculty beyond 1892 are marked by asterisks.

Allen M. Frazier	teacher at Brown's Schoolhouse, 1838 (?)
Brantley York, D.D.	teacher at Brown's Schoolhouse, 1838-1839; superintendent or principal of Union Institute Academy, 1839-1842
Isaiah Ingold	assistant teacher at Brown's Schoolhouse, 1838
Irene Leach	assistant teacher at Union Institute Academy, 1838-1841
Braxton Craven, A.B., A.M., D.D., LL.D.	assistant teacher at Union Institute Academy, 1841-1842; superintendent or principal of Union Institute Academy, 1842-1851; president of Normal College, 1851-1859; concurrently professor of ancient languages and instructor and lecturer in normal training, professor in the normal department, professor of mental and moral science, 1851-1859; president of Trinity College, 1859-1863, 1866-1882; concurrently professor of mental and moral science, professor of metaphysics, rhetoric and logic, professor of national and constitutional law, professor of biblical literature; teacher in the summer schools of 1878 and 1879

Rev. D. C. Johnson, A.M.	principal assistant, 1849; professor, pro tempore, of mathematics, 1850-1851
A. C. Speer	professor, pro tempore, of English literature and natural science, 1850-1851
W. M. Robbins, A.B.	professor of mathematics, 1851-1854
Rev. A. S. Andrews	professor of English literature and natural science, 1851-1852; professor of English literature and moral science, 1852-1854
Lemuel Johnson, A.M.	tutor, 1853-1854; professor of mathematics, 1854-1863 (?), 1869-1885; teacher in the summer school of 1879
I. L. Wright, A.M.	professor of English literature and natural science, 1854-1855; professor of ancient languages, 1855-1856; professor of Latin language and modern history, 1856-1859; professor of natural science, 1859-1861 (?)
O. W. Carr, A.M.	tutor, 1854-1855; tutor of languages, 1855-1856; tutor of mathematics and ancient languages, 1856-1857; tutor of Latin and Greek, 1859-1860; tutor of Greek and English literature, 1860-1861; professor of Greek and English literature, 1866-1870; professor of Greek and modern languages, 1870-1879
J. H. Robbins, A. B.	tutor of mathematics, 1855-1856; instructor in natural science, 1856-1858; tutor in English literature and natural science, 1858-1859
Joseph H. Speed	professor of Greek language and natural philosophy, 1856-1857
R. H. Skeen, A.B.	tutor in mathematics and ancient history, 1858-1859; tutor in mathematics, 1859-1860

W. T. Gannaway, A.M.	professor of Greek language and natural philosophy, 1858-1859; professor of Latin and Greek, 1859-1865; president, pro tempore, of Trinity, 1863-1865; professor of Latin and history, 1866-1883; professor of Latin and French, 1883-1888; professor of Latin, 1888-1892
L. W. Andrews, A.M.	tutor of mathematics, 1860-1863 (?)
W. C. Doub, A.M.	professor of natural science, 1867-1873
Rev. Peter Doub, D.D.	professor of biblical literature, 1867-1869
R. S. Andrews	tutor of mathematics, 1870-1871
Rev. J. K. Tucker, A.M.	tutor of mathematics, 1871-1872
Mrs. Louise Pollock	teacher of kindergarten in the summer school of 1878
Susie Pollock	teacher of kindergarten in the summer school of 1878
J. M. Weatherly	teacher in the summer school of 1879
W. A. Welborn, A.M.	teacher in the summer school of 1879
Lorena Reynolds	teacher in the summer school of 1879
Mary Giles, A.B., A.M.	teacher in the summer school of 1879
* Rev. W. H. Pegram, A.M.	tutor of natural science, 1873-1874; professor of natural science, 1874-1883; chairman of the faculty, 1882-1883; professor of natural sciences and English literature, 1883-1886; professor of natural sciences, 1886-1892; teacher in the summer school of 1879
John W. Young, A.M. (?)	instructor in law, 1873-1874
C. P. Frazier, A.B.	assistant professor of modern languages, 1878-1879
J. D. Hodges, A.M.	professor of Greek and modern languages, 1879-1881

Rev. J. M. Ashby, A.B.	professor of Greek and modern languages, 1883-1884
Rev. J. Franklin Heitman, A.M.	professor of Greek and German, 1883-1884; chairman of the faculty, 1884-1887; professor of metaphysics and theology, 1885-1888; J. S. Carr Professor of Metaphysics and Greek, 1888-1889; professor of philosophy and theology, 1889-1892
Bonner G. Marsh	tutor in mathematics, 1883-1884
Marcus M. Lemmond	instructor, 1883-1884
Marquis L. Wood, A.B., D.D.	president of Trinity College, 1883-1884; concurrently professor of metaphysics, logic, and theology
* James M. Bandy, A.M.	professor of mathematics, 1885-1888; professor of mathematics and engineering, 1888-1892
Henry Horace Williams, A.M.	professor of Greek and German, 1884-1886
Augustus W. Long, A.B.	professor of English literature and history, 1884-1887
Nereus C. English, A.M.	principal of the preparatory department and business course, 1884-1885; professor of the preparatory department and business course, 1885-1888; professor of oratory, associate professor in history and civil engineering, 1880-1890; professor of oratory, associate professor in history, economics, and international and civil law, 1890-1892
James A. Elliot, A.B.	tutor in the preparatory department, 1884-1885
George N. Raper, A.B.	tutor in the preparatory department, 1885-1887
Dred Peacock, A.B.	tutor in German, 1886-1887
* Joseph L. Armstrong, A.M.	professor in English and German, 1888-1892
* John Franklin Crowell, A.B., Litt.D.	president of Trinity College, 1887-1892; professor of theology, 1887-1888; Winston Professor of History and Political Science, 1888-1889;

	Winston Professor of History, Political Economy, Jurisprudence, Administrative Law, and Finance, 1889-1891; professor of social science, 1891-1892
William Price, A.B.	professor of French, 1888(?)-1889
* Frank E. Welch, A.B.	instructor in French, Latin, and Greek, 1888(?)-1892
Julius Hathcock, A.B.	tutor in the preparatory department, 1887-1888
* Rev. L. W. Crawford, A.M.	professor of pastoral theology and chaplain of the College, 1890-1892
* John S. Bassett, A.B.	principal of the high school and instructor in English, 1890-1891
* W. I. Cranford, A.B.	instructor in Greek, 1890-1891; instructor in Greek and English, 1891-1892
George C. Sutton	instructor in stenography, 1890-1891
W. T. McDowell, Ph.B.	instructor in mathematics, 1890-1892
* B. B. Nicholson, Ph.B.	instructor in high school, 1890-1891; instructor in law, 1891-1892
* J. M. Stedman, B.S.	professor of biology, 1891-1892
* B. C. Hinde, A.B.	professor of physics, 1891-1892
* Stephen B. Weeks, Ph.D.	professor of history, 1891-1892; librarian, 1891-1892
* H. Austin Aikins, Ph.D.	professor of logic and philosophy, 1891-1892
* R. L. Flowers, graduate of the United States Naval Academy	instructor in mathematics and electrical engineering, 1891-1892
T. W. Valentine	instructor in Latin, 1891-1892
Thomas C. Daniels, Ph.B.	director of physical culture, 1891-1892

Appendix

GRADUATES OF NORMAL AND TRINITY COLLEGES (1853-1892)

The College conferred its first degrees in 1853. The list of graduates with data about each individual was compiled from the catalogues of Trinity College for 1859-1860 and 1888-1889, records in the Duke University Alumni Office, and Minutes of the Board of Trustees. The higher academic degrees, appearing after the names, were conferred either by Trinity or by some other educational institution. The catalogue for 1888-1889 declared that the information was "imperfect in several particulars." It will be noted that the information relative to graduates is based on their activities prior to 1892. No attempt has been made to record their later achievements.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
D. C. Johnson, A.M.	1853	member of the North Carolina Conference
L. Johnson, A.M.		professor in Trinity College
L. H. Carter	1854	tutor in Emory and Henry College, Va.; lawyer
C. C. Cole, A.M.		editor of the *Times*, Greensboro, N. C.; colonel, killed in the Civil War
J. A. Edwards, A.M.		farmer, Hookerton, N. C.
J. W. Pearson		member of the St. Louis Conference
J. W. Payne, A.M.		lawyer, Greensboro, N. C.
S. D. Peeler		member of the North Carolina Conference
T. S. Whittington, A.M.		teacher and school administrator in North Carolina
I. L. Wright, A.M.		professor in Trinity College
J. W. Alspaugh, A.M.	1855	lawyer, banker, and editor of the *Western Sentinel*
D. R. Bruton, A.M.		member of the North Carolina Conference
Alson Fuller, A.M., M.D.		physician, Science Hill and Hannersville, N. C.
J. S. Leach, M.D.		physician, Leachburg and Smithfield, N. C.
H. T. Roper, A.M.		principal of Gainesville Seminary, Fla.; merchant
M. L. Wood, A.M., D.D.		missionary to China; member of the North Carolina Conference
R. F. Andrews, M.D.	1856	physician, North Carolina and Alabama

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
L. Branson, A.M.		principal Lenoir Collegiate Institute, N. C.; bookseller in Raleigh, N.C.
E. Faw		lawyer, Marietta, Ga.
W. C. Gannon, A.M.		member of the North Carolina Conference
G. W. Hege, A.M.		principal of Yadkin Institute, N. C.; farmer
J. E. Short		lawyer, Plymouth, N. C.
J. F. Smoot, A.M.		member of the North Carolina Conference
W. H. Weatherly		principal of the Hertford Academy, N. C.
W. W. Flood	1857	lawyer, Henry County, Va., and in Florida
F. C. Fraizer, A.M.		principal of Grove Hill Academy, Ala.; dentist in North Carolina
G. L. Hearn, M.D.		physician, Holly Springs, Miss.
J. S. Midgett, A.M.		teacher, Everittsville, N. C., and in Arkansas
L. R. Wright		lawyer, Darlington, S. C.
J. H. Brown		physician, Mississippi
E. C. Hinshaw		California
C. C. Andrews, A.M.	1858	president of Louisburg College, N. C.; teacher in Georgia
S. J. Andrews, A.M.		teacher in Georgia; officer, killed in the Civil War
T. M. Anderson, A.M.		principal, South Lowell Academy, N. C.; farmer in Virginia
J. W. Ballance		continuing his studies, North Carolina; farmer
B. B. Culbreth, A.M.		member of the North Carolina Conference
J. M. Jones		farmer, Person County, N. C.
A. P. Leach		president of the Soulé Female College, Tex.; chaplain, killed in the Civil War
J. T. Leach		farmer, Johnson County, N. C.
A. Q. Moody, A.M.		principal of Thomasville Academy, Ga.
M. McR. Ray, A.M.		principal of Goldsboro Academy, N. C.
R. H. Skeen, A.M.		tutor in Trinity College, teacher
W. W. Withers, M.D.		physician, Stokes County, N. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
E. A. Armfield, M.D.		merchant and government officer, Monroe, N. C.
L. W. Andrews, A.M.	1859	professor in Louisburg College, N. C.; manufacturer and farmer
J. W. Cheatham		principal of Bethany Academy, Ga; merchant
O. W. Carr, A.M.		tutor and professor in Trinity College
D. S. Latham		professor in Hiwassee College, Tenn.; killed in the Civil War
J. C. LaPrade, A.M.		farmer, Halifax County, Va.; teacher.
J. H. Robbins, A.M.		member of the North Carolina Conference
R. S. Small, B.M.		teacher in Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Raleigh, N. C.; lieutenant, killed in the Civil War
W. F. Watson		teacher in Kansas; killed in the Civil War
J. R. Winston, A.M.		principal of Memphis Academy, Tenn.; lawyer
W. C. White		principal of Lebanon High School, Mo.; businessman
D. F. Armfield	1860	Union County, N. C.; officer, killed in the Civil War
T. A. Branson, A.M.		Randolph County, N. C.; captain, killed in the Civil War
W. J. Carman		physician, Hookerton, N. C.
I. B. Choice, A.M.		lawyer, Texas
C. C. Dodson, A.M.		Member of the North Carolina Conference
R. H. Jones		farmer, Clinton, N. C.
I. T. Woodall		Johnston County, N. C.; captain, died in the Civil War
J. C. B. Wright, M.D.		physician, South Carolina
J. A. Williamson		farmer, Caswell County, N. C.
C. N. Allen, A.M.	1861	farmer, Wake County, N. C.
W. S. Byrd, A.M.		teacher, Wayne County, N. C.
E. T. Branch, A.M.		farmer, Wake County, N. C.
A. J. Burt		killed in the Civil War
J. R. Cole, A.M.		president, Female College, Tex.
W. Debnam, A.M.		physician, Wake Forest, N. C.
E. S. Davenport		physician, Columbia, S. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
H. F. Grainger, A.M.		lawyer, Goldsboro, N. C.
A. B. Gross		physician, Georgia
C. C. Hines, A.M.		minister, South Georgia Conference
I. Q. Jackson, A.M.		lawyer, Kinston, N. C.
B. Y. Rayl, A.M.		lawyer, Kinston, N. C.
G. C. Stow		Arkansas.
R. P. Troy, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
W. C. Wilson, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
R. A. Walters		merchant, Danville, Va.
E. A. Walters		merchant, Danville, Va.
F. B. Watson	1862	lawyer, Pittsylvania C. H., Va.
H. M. Alford, A.M., M.D.		physician, Greensboro, N. C.
I. W. Brock		lieutenant, killed in the Civil War
A. C. Blackburn		captain, killed in the Civil War
J. W. Goslen, A.M.		editor, Winston, N. C.
D. D. McCotter, A.M.		teacher, New Bern, N. C.
W. C. McMackin		merchant, Raleigh, N. C.
C. W. Ogburn, A.M.		merchant, Greensboro, N. C.
J. D. Pitts, A.M.		farmer, South Carolina
C. C. Lanier, A.M.	1863	merchant, Tarboro, N. C.
E. H. Tapscott	1864	lawyer, Tallahassee, Fla.
[none]	1865	
A. S. Peace, A.M.	1866	lawyer, Oxford, N. C.
J. W. Townsend, A.M.		merchant, Monroe, N. C.
L. W. Perdue		farmer, Charlotte, N. C.
W. G. Woods, A.M.	1867	teacher, Wilkesboro, N. C.
J. F. Heitman, A.M.	1868	teacher, editor, professor in Trinity College
J. C. Brown, A.M., D.D.S.		surgeon dentist, Ansonville, N. C.
S. R. Holton		(?)
H. C. Thomas		farmer, Thomasville, N. C.
W. K. Gibbs, A.M.	1869	farmer, Davie Co., N. C.
E. T. Jones, A.M.		teacher, Wake Co., N. C.
J. L. Keene		minister, North Carolina Conference
T. R. Purnell, A.M.		lawyer, Raleigh, N. C.
C. F. Siler		teacher, Farmers, N. C.
J. R. Webster		editor, Reidsville, N. C.
W. A. Webster		farmer, Richmond Co., N. C.
J. A. Simpson, A.M.		teacher in the Institute for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, Raleigh, N. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
H. B. Adams, A.M.	1870	lawyer, Monroe, N. C.
R. S. Andrews, A.M.		lawyer, Eureka, Kan.
S. W. Brown, A.M.		teacher, Sparta, N. C.
W. A. Flynt, A.M.		teacher, Stokes, N. C.
W. G. Gaither, A.M.		teacher, Hertford, N. C.
J. T. Harris, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
J. T. LeGrand, A.M.		lawyer, Richmond Co., N. C.
W. B. Maness		Sharon, N. C.
J. D. Pemberton, A.M.		lawyer, Wadesboro, N. C.
F. L. Reid, A.M.		editor, *Raleigh Christian Advocate*
A. H. Stokes, A.M.		businessman, Durham, N. C.
V. B. Swann		South Carolina
W. T. Swann, A.M.		banker, Danville, Va.
J. J. White		farmer, Trinity College, N. C.
O. H. Allen, A.M.	1871	lawyer and State Solicitor, Kenansville, N. C.
W. W. Briskell		Halifax, N. C.
D. D. Bryant		lawyer, Sherman, Tex.
R. S. Bynum, A.M.		lawyer, Ellis Co., Tex.
J. L. Craven, A.M., M.D.		physician, Trinity College, N. C.
J. L. Davis, A.M.		teacher, Smithfield, N. C.
A. J. Ellington, A.M.		manufacturer, Reidsville, N. C.
Alexander Green		physician, Stantonburg, N. C.
D. D. Hines, A.M.		college professor, California
J. W. Mauney, A.M.		lawyer, Salisbury, N. C.
H. W. Norris, A.M.		minister, Wake Co., N. C.
J. R. Pierce		officer, U. S. Army
O. S. Paul, A.M.		physician, Mississippi
W. L. Steele		merchant, Rockingham, N. C.
J. K. Tucker, A.M.		president, Female College, Ill.
J. A. Barringer, A.M.	1872	lawyer, Greensboro, N. C.
L. L. Doub		farmer, Wake, N. C.
J. A. Monroe, A.M.		teacher, Monroe, N. C.
M. Mial		farmer, Wake Co., N. C.
W. C. Norman, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
W. L. Terry, A.M.		lawyer, Little Rock, Ark.
C. B. Townsend		lawyer, Lumberton, N. C.
J. L. Tomlinson, A.M.		teacher, Winston, N. C.
J. A. Turner, A.M.		lawyer, High Point, N. C.
T. W. Welborn		teacher, High Point, N. C.
C. F. Emory, A.M.	1873	teacher, Yazoo City, Mo.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
G. B. Everett, A.M.		lawyer, Idaho Territory
J. D. Hodges, A.M.		teacher, Jerusalem, N. C.
J. A. Lockhart, A.M.		lawyer, Wadesboro, N. C.
W. H. Pegram, A.M.		professor of natural science, Trinity College
F. M. Simmons, A.M.		lawyer, Member of Congress, 2d District, New Bern, N. C.
S. Simpson, A.M.		professor of physics and chemistry, Western Maryland College, Md.
J. I. Watson, A.M.		merchant, Hyde County, N. C.
T. Winningham, A.M.		lawyer, Kansas City, Mo.
L. J. Steed		mechanic, Archdale, N. C.
J. C. Black, A.M.	1874	lawyer, Carthage, N. C.
E. T. Boykin, A.M.		lawyer, Judge Superior Court, Clinton, N. C.
W. P. Craven		physician, Martindale (?)
John Cooper, A.M.		merchant, Savannah, Ga.
N. C. English, A.M.		professor in Trinity College
N. M. Jurney, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
B. F. Long, A.M.		lawyer and State Solicitor, Statesville, N. C.
C. C. Lowe		teacher, Progress, N. C.
L. S. Overman, A.M.		lawyer, Salisbury, N. C.
W. J. Scroogs, A.M.		teacher, Lexington, N. C.
W. W. Staley, A.M.		minister, Suffolk, Va.
J. M. Stockard		manufacturer, Massachusetts
G. D. Tysor		salesman, N. C.
A. D. Brooks, A.M.	1875	teacher, Company Shops, N. C.
J. L. Brower		[?]
J. M. Brown		lawyer, Albemarle, N. C.
M. A. Gray		lawyer, Kinston, N. C.
B. R. Hall, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
J. L. Holmes		teacher, Alabama
E. J. Kennedy, A.M.		lawyer, Chester, S. C.
D. B. Nicholson, A.M.		lawyer and editor, Clinton, N. C.
W. R. Odell		manufacturer, Concord, N. C.
B. H. Palmer		lawyer, Florida
J. M. Rhodes, A.M.		president, Littleton Female College Littleton, N. C.
H. W. Spinks, A.M.		teacher, Albemarle, N. C.
T. Taylor		teacher, Swannanoa, N. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
W. A. Welborn, A.M.		clerk, Washington, D. C.
G. S. Bradshaw, A.M.	1876	lawyer and Clerk of Superior Court, Asheboro, N. C.
W. G. Burkehead		lawyer and editor, Durham, N. C.
N. E. Coltrane, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
S. G. Coltrane		farmer, Gladesboro, N. C.
J. W. Coltrane		teacher, Iowa
T. M. Gross		lawyer, Haywood, N. C.
L. S. Gaither		Williston, Tenn.
E. C. Hackney		lawyer and editor, Durham, N. C.
C. L. Heitman		lawyer, Canada
W. P. Ivey, A.M.		physician, Lowesville, N. C.
P. J. Kernodle, A.M.		teacher, Suffolk, Va.
B. J. Reynolds		merchant, Danville, Va.
J. F. Tanner		Saundersville, Ga.
W. D. Turner, A.M.		lawyer, Statesville, N. C.
J. C. Welborn		farmer, Rock Hill, S. C.
W. G. Bradshaw	1877	physician and druggist, High Point, N. C.
L. C. Caldwell		farmer, South Carolina
C. P. Frazier, A.M.		teacher, Archdale, N. C.
P. L. Groom		minister, North Carolina Conference
J. D. Kernodle		lawyer and editor, Graham, N. C.
D. S. Koonce		teacher, Mt. Olive, N. C.
W. P. Mercer, A.M.		physician, Toisnot, N. C.
D. W. Michael		minister, Alamance, N. C.
O. C. B. McMullen		physician, Hertford, N. C.
D. B. Parker		teacher, Bladen, N. C.
Owen Parker		Clinton, N. C.
C. W. White, A.M.		teacher, Missouri
M. Bradshaw	1878	lawyer and editor, Asheboro, N. C.
J. F. Brower		teacher, Winston-Salem, N. C.
J. D. Bundy		editor, Laurinburg, N. C.
G. C. Edwards, A.M.		physician, Hooker, N. C.
M. L. Edwards, A.M.		lawyer, Chatham, N. C.
T. E. Everhart		farmer, Kentucky Town, Tex.
J. E. Field		merchant, Leaksville, N. C.
A. O. Gaylord, A.M.		lawyer, Plymouth, N. C.
E. S. F. Giles		lawyer, Greenwood, S. C.
Theresa Giles, A.M.		teacher, Greenwood, S. C.
Persis P. Giles, A.M.		teacher, Greenwood, S. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
Mary Z. Giles, A.M.		teacher, Greenwood, S. C.
J. Hill		physician, Tyro, N. C.
C. B. Ingram		physician, Mt. Gilead, N. C.
W. C. Ingram		teacher, Lexington, N. C.
J. Kinsey		merchant, Henderson, N. C.
C. N. Mason		physician, Trenton, N. C.
Y. P. Ormond		farmer, Hookerton, N. C.
J. J. Partridge		farmer, Jonesboro, N. C.
J. E. Thompson, A.M.		minister, North Carolina Conference
E. T. White		physician, Oxford, N. C.
J. W. Lucas, A.M.		teacher, Parrotsville, Tenn.
G. M. Bulla, A.M.	1879	lawyer, Lexington, N. C.
R. B. Clarke, A.M.		teacher, Gibson's Station, N. C.
W. T. Cutchins		minister, North Carolina Conference
J. C. C. Harris		minister, California
T. N. Ivey, A.M.		minister, North Carolina
G. W. Koonce		government official, Washington, D. C.
H. E. Norris		lawyer, Raleigh, N. C.
D. B. Reinhart		physician, Raleigh, N. C.
E. Tanner		farmer, Oxford, N. C.
T. W. Taylor		teacher, Mecklenburg Co., Va.
C. H. Armfield	1880	lawyer, Statesville, N. C., and private secretary to governor, Raleigh
R. T. Crews		farmer, Oxford, N. C.
E. H. Davis		minister, North Carolina Conference
F. R. Dearmin		lawyer, Stoneville, N. C.
W. B. Dowd		New York, N. Y.
J. A. Edwards		merchant, Hookerton, N. C.
G. D. Ellsworth, A.M.		government official, Washington, D. C.
W. D. Griffin		railroad agent, Black Mountain, N. C.
G. W. Holmes		teacher, Nicholson's Mill, N. C.
W. A. Jones		teacher, Texas
N. F. R. Loftin		lawyer, Lexington, N. C.
E. G. Moore		teacher, Ridgeway, N. C.
D. E. Perry		lawyer, Kinston, N. C.
G. T. Sikes		teacher, Grissom, N. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
B. M. Bodie	1881	manufacturer, Freeman's Mills, N. C.
B. N. Bodie		merchant, Leesville, N. C.
R. H. Broom, A.M.		teacher, Jonesboro, N. C.
P. Holland		lawyer, Fayetteville, N. C.
C. A. Plyler		teacher, Wild Cat, S. C.
J. M. Ashby	1882	minister, North Carolina Conference
D. N. Farnell		editor, Dunn, N. C.
E. P. Hauser		teacher, Winston, N. C.
B. F. Lane		farmer, Stantonburg, N. C.
T. E. May		teacher, Conway, S. C.
G. F. McRae		Wadesboro, N. C.
Isaac Sutton		teacher, Providence, R. I.
R. A. Whitaker		physician, Trenton, N. C.
T. L. White		teacher, Independence, Va.
J. W. Welborn		teacher, Liberty, N. C.
A. Anderson	1883	medical student, Virginia
W. C. Beakwith		lawyer, Raleigh, N. C.
J. A. Bowles		minister, North Carolina Conference
Z. F. Blair		salesman and farmer, Trinity College, N. C.
J. M. Bandy, A.M.		professor of mathematics, Trinity College, N. C.
W. P. Bynum		lawyer, Greensboro, N. C.
W. S. Clarke		teacher, Leesville, N. C.
S. D. Cole		teacher, Carthage, N. C.
E. F. Finch		lawyer, Rogers, Ark.
S. W. Finch		teacher, Lexington, N. C.
J. W. Gannon		bookkeeper, Winston, N. C.
J. B. Hurley		minister, North Carolina Conference
W. D. Keech		merchant, Tarboro, N. C.
W. H. Nicholson		physician, Franklinton, N. C.
F. M. Shamburger		minister, North Carolina Conference
M. A. Smith		minister, North Carolina Conference
A. C. Weatherly		teacher, Greensboro, N. C.
T. P. Wynn		physician, Noblis Store, N. C.
A. A. Bulla	1884	physician, Jackson's Hill, N. C.
H. L. Coble		principal, Kernersville, N. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
W. C. Earnhardt		hotelkeeper, Greenville, S. C.
E. S. Gunn		minister, Yanceyville, N. C.
J. A. Johnson		student, Trinity College, N. C.
B. G. Marsh		teacher, Jerusalem, N. C.
M. W. McCollum		merchant, Hillsboro, N. C.
J. M. Sikes		lawyer, North Carolina
P. A. Snider		law student, Winston, N. C.
A. M. Stack		lawyer, Danburg, N. C.
A. L. Wynn		medical student, Ridgeway, N. C.
Arch. Cheatham	1885	physician, Henderson, N. C.
J. A. Downum		minister, North Carolina Conference
J. A. Elliot		merchant, Thomasville, N. C.
W. J. Exum		lawyer, Durham, N. C.
J. D. Ezzell		teacher, Clinton, N. C.
J. Y. Fitzgerald		medical student, Lexington, N. C.
Paul Jones		lawyer, Tarboro, N. C.
F. P. Wyche		teacher, Beaufort, N. C.
G. O. Andrews	1886	editor, Raleigh, N. C.
J. A. Bell		law student, Statesville, N. C.
L. J. Best		lawyer, Goldsboro, N. C.
J. A. Carpenter		teacher, Ansonville, N. C.
Jefferson Davis		teacher, La Grange, N. C.
J. D. Jenkins		medical student, Virginia
C. L. Jenkins		farmer, Tarboro, N. C.
J. C. Pinnix		lawyer, Yanceyville, N. C.
J. A. Rackley		teacher, Taylor's Bridge, N. C.
C. W. Robinson		minister, North Carolina Conference
L. P. Skeen		lawyer, Jefferson City, Mo.
R. M. Whitehead		farmer, Mississippi
W. P. Andrews	1887	teacher, Norwood, N. C.
W. E. Fentress		Pleasant Garden, N. C.
J. Hathcock		teacher, Trinity, N. C.
J. R. Overman		legislator, Goldsboro, N. C.
Dred Peacock		teacher, Middleburg, N. C.
J. S. Bassett	1888	teacher, Durham, N. C.
W. A. Barrett		Alabama
T. E. McCrary		Lexington, N. C.
J. C. Montgomery		medical student, Concord, N. C.
J. A. Ragan		teacher, Archdale, N. C.
G. N. Raper		teacher, Winston, N. C.

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
D. C. Roper		teacher, Adamsville, N. C.; legislator
J. J. Scarborough		teacher, Allensville, N. C.
G. T. Adams	1889	member of the North Carolina Conference
D. C. Branson		travel and work in Europe
J. L. Cornelius		Monroe, N. C.
W. J. Helms		Poortith, N. C.
J. F. Jones		student, Vanderbilt University; died there in 1890
W. A. Johnston		farmer, Littleton, N. C.
E. L. Moffitt		student at Harvard; Asheboro, N. C.
P. E. Parker		teacher and preacher
O. M. Wade		businessman, Troy, N. C.
P. L. Welborn		teacher, North Carolina
A. C. English	1890	teacher and farmer, Trinity, N. C.
G. F. Ivey		businessman, Hickory, N. C.
S. E. Koonce		medical student, Trenton, N. C.
R. H. Mitchell		Middleburg, N. C.
B. B. Nicholson		instructor at Trinity College
W. E. Ormond		Hookerton, N. C.
S. A. Stevens		teacher, Stevens, N. C.
G. K. West		Kinston, N. C.
A. H. White		teacher, Pollocksville, N. C.
E. K. Wolfe		Monroe, N. C.
W. F. Wood		teacher, Trinity, N. C.
W. I. Cranford	1891	instructor at Trinity College
T. C. Daniels		director of physical culture at Trinity College
D. R. Davis		businessman, New Bern, N. C.
R. L. Durham		law student, Trinity College
Fred Harper		law student, University of Virginia
D. A. Houston		graduate student, Trinity College
W. H. Jones		study and travel in Europe
W. B. Lee		instructor, Kinston College, N. C.
L. S. Massey		member of the North Carolina Conference
C. E. McCanless		teacher
J. R. McCrary		student at the University of Michigan
W. T. McDowell		instructor in mathematics, Trinity College

Name	*Class*	*Occupations, 1860-1892*
F. Armfield	1892	student at Yale College
S. T. Barber		member of the Western North Carolina Conference
E. T. Bynum		student in Europe
J. H. Crowell		graduate student
R. L. Davis		student at Vanderbilt University
S. J. Durham		student
D. T. Edwards		Trinity College, N. C.
J. R. Moose		member of the Western North Carolina Conference
R. A. Myrick		Trinity College, N. C.
A. L. Ormond		member of the North Carolina Conference
A. W. Plyler		member of the Western North Carolina Conference
M. T. Plyler		member of the North Carolina Conference
C. L. Raper		instructor at Trinity College
J. P. Rogers		teacher, Bellwood Institute
J. L. Rumley		member of the North Carolina Conference
W. T. Sessons		teacher, Atlanta, Ga.
H. D. Stewart		medical student, University of Maryland
W. H. Willis		member of the Western North Carolina Conference

HONORARY DEGREES

The College conferred its first honorary degrees in 1855. Data relative to these degrees were assembled from the catalogues of Trinity College for 1859-1860 and for 1888-1889, and from the Minutes of the Board of Trustees (1859-1892).

Master of Arts

Dougan C. Clark, 1855
T. H. Brame, 1857
Rev. W. H. Bobbitt, 1858
Rev. A. G. Stacy, 1864
W. J. [J. W. (?)] Young, 1866
Rev. W. M. Robey, 1868
Rev. J. E. Maynarde, 1869
Rev. R. L. Abernathy, 1869
Charles T. Browne, 1870
S. F. Tomlinson, 1872
S. D. Bagley, 1873
Rev. S. W. Trawick, 1873
Rev. W. S. Long, 1873
Rev. D. A. Long, 1873
David C. Dudley, 1874
John M. Webb, 1879
John T. Pate, 1879
Rev. John A. Murphy, 1885
Rev. Andrew P. Tyree, 1885
Professor G. W. Gooch, 1888
Professor G. P. Marsh, 1888
W. P. Bynum, 1888

Dred Peacock, 1889
Augustus W. Long, 1889
W. A. Blair, 1889
J. L. Armstrong, 1889
J. H. Scarborough, 1890
E. H. Branson, 1890
L. M. H. Reynolds, 1890

Doctor of Divinity

Rev. Peter Doub, North Carolina Conference, 1855
Rev. R. T. Heflin, North Carolina Conference, 1860
Rev. William Closs, North Carolina Conference, 1860
Bishop E. M. Marvin, St. Louis, Mo., 1866
Rev. A. R. Winfield, Little Rock Conference, 1866
Rev. N. H. Lee, Louisville Conference, 1867
Rev. T. M. Jones, President Greensboro Female College, 1870
Rev. W. M. Rush, North Missouri Conference, 1871
Rev. F. M. Kennedy, Editor, *Southern Christian Advocate*, 1872
Rev. W. H. Flemming, South Carolina Conference, 1873
Rev. N. H. D. Wilson, North Carolina Conference, 1874
Rev. C. C. Woods, S. W. Missouri Conference, 1876
Rev. William T. Harris, Memphis Conference, 1877
Rev. H. M. Ford, Kentucky Conference, 1878
Rev. J. Lewis, Alabama Conference, 1878
Rev. Samuel Lander, South Carolina, 1878
Rev. J. W. North, North Carolina Conference, 1879
Rev. S. S. Bryant, Missouri Conference, 1879
Rev. E. A. Yates, North Carolina Conference, 1880
Rev. J. W. Heidt, Georgia, 1881
Rev. A. O. Darley, South Carolina, 1881
Rev. G. W. Horn, Missouri, 1884
Rev. R. O. Bruton, North Carolina Conference, 1884
Rev. J. E. Mann, North Carolina Conference, 1889
Rev. J. A. Cunninggim, North Carolina Conference, 1890
Rev. W. S. Greasy, North Carolina Conference, 1890
Rev. J. B. McGehee, South Carolina Conference, 1890
Rev. James Atkins, Holson Conference and President of Emory and Henry College, 1890

Doctor of Laws

Hon. John Kerr, Yanceyville, N. C., 1871
Hon. A. S. Merrimon, Raleigh, N. C., 1872
Rev. W. H. Pool, Toronto, Canada, 1879
R. B. Pattison, former Governor of Pennsylvania, 1890
Hon. John S. Henderson, Salisbury, N. C., 1890
General James H. Lane, of Alabama, 1890
Professor George T. Winston of the University of North Carolina, 1890

Master of Science

Rev. C. D. Smith, Franklin, N. C., 1890

Bibliography

I. Original Sources

A. MANUSCRIPTS

Account Book of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1887. (Manuscript Division of the Duke University Library.) This book contains a report from Trinity College.

Bragg, Thomas, Letter Book, 1855-1857. (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.)

Bulla, J. R. My Early Life. (In the possession of Mrs. Bruce Craven, Trinity, N. C.)

———. "Scraps, etc., Political" (1863-1880). A scrapbook containing pamphlets, broadsides, circulars, notices, clippings, political advertising, proclamations, Democratic and Republican national and local tickets, and other miscellaneous items. (In the possession of Mrs. Bruce Craven, Trinity, N. C.)

Bynum, B. F. Letters and Papers, 1800-1906. (Duke University Library.)

Carr, O. W. Private Journal, 1855-1865. (Copy in the Duke University Library.)

Chaffin, W. S. Diary, 1845-1895. (Duke University Library.)

———. Normal College Dedication—A Sermon, July, 1856. (Duke University Library.)

Clark, Henry T. Papers, 1861-1862. (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.)

Commissioners Book for the Town of High Point, 1859. (Public Library, High Point, N. C.)

Court Minutes, 1800-1862. (Office of the Clerk of the Court, Randolph County Courthouse, Asheboro, N. C.)

Court Minutes, 1800-1862. (Office of the Clerk of the Court in the Guilford County Courthouse, Greensboro, N. C.)

Craven, Braxton. Class Book, 1879. (Office of the Treasurer, Woman's College, Duke University.)

———. Class Records, 1875. (Office of the Treasurer, Woman's College, Duke University.)

———. Conference Business, 1876. (Office of the Treasurer, Woman's College, Duke University.)

———. Papers. A private collection. (In the possession of the late Miss Kate Craven, Durham, N. C.)

Crowell, John Franklin. Personal Recollections of Trinity College, 1887-1894. (A typescript in the Duke University Library.) This manuscript has been published as follows: John Franklin Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1894* (Durham, 1939).

———. Duties of Monitors. n.d. (Office of the Treasurer, Woman's College, Duke University.)

Day Book, 1872. Financial accounts of students. (Office of the Treasurer, Woman's College, Duke University.)

Dodson, Nora. Scrapbook. This scrapbook contains clippings from newspapers and periodicals, 1866-1882. (In possession of Miss Dodson, Winston-Salem, N. C.)

Elliott, Benjamin P. Collection, 1831-1836. (Duke University Library.)

English, N. C., Jr. Sketch of N. C. English. (In the possession of Mrs. N. C. English, Trinity, N. C.)

Family Records, 1830-1892. A collection of materials relative to the following families in Randolph and Guilford counties: Blair, Brown, English, Finch, Frazier, Gray, Harper, Hogan, Hoover, Hunt, Johnson, Leach, Mendenhall, and Tomlinson. (In the possession of John R. Peacock, High Point, N. C.)

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